NATIONAL
MUNICIPAL
REVIEW

Bound
Periodical

Kansas City
Public Library

THE SCHOOL DISTRICT OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI.

This Volume is for

REFERENCE USE ONLY

PUBLIC LIBRARY
KANSAS CITY
MO

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/nationalmunicipa39natirich

PUBLIC LIBRARY
KANSAS CITY
MO

PUBLIC LIBRARY
KANSAS CITY
MO

National Municipal Review

INDEX
1950

VOLUME XXXIX

January	1-68	July	321-372
		No August Issue	
February	69-116	September	373-428
March	117-168	October	429-484
April	169-220	November	485-532
May	221-268	December	533-584
June	269-320		

Supplement to the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW
January 1951, Vol. XL, No. 1

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE
299 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 7

INDEX

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

Volume XXXIX, 1950

AUTHORS

Abraham, Henry J. 395
American Municipal Association 87
Arnold, James A., Jr. 357
Atkins, Richard A. 464
Bebout, John E. .. 5, 59, 110, 161, 211, 262, 313, 365, 421, 475, 525, 577
Bell, Bryan 125
Biser, D. Benton 350
Bowen, Don L. 450
Bromage, Arthur W. 283
Burke, Louis H. 157
Burton, John E. 11
Case, George S., Jr. 278
Childs, Richard S. .. 3, 41, 186, 225, 481, 494, 530, 581
Cline, Dorothy I. 233
Crowley, Joseph H. 178
Currier, Charles E. 150
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research 17
Edison, Charles 536
Elz, A. Greta 152
Faulkner, Bayard H. 554
Feldman, Justin N. 330
Frank, Forest 55, 101
French, Lewis C. 335
Galatas, S. A. 79
Gregg, Ronald E. 48
Gulick, Luther 324
Hallett, George H., Jr. .. 47, 101, 149, 199, 252, 303, 355, 411, 466, 515
Ingersoll, Hugh D. 208
Kelso, Paul 383
Langmuir, John D. 344
Larsen, William F. 497
Larson, James E. 182
Lewis, Thelma Brown 389
MacCorkle, Stuart A. 130
Mauck, Elwyn A. .. 42, 98, 146, 156, 196, 249, 300, 353, 408, 463, 513, 567
McHenry, Dean E. 228
McManus, Robert H. 258
Mott, Rodney L. 172
Murphy, T. E. 121
Nathan, Maxwell 308
National Training School for Public Service 17
Nuquist, Andrew E. 245
Ogden, Daniel M., Jr. 237
Olmsted, H. M. .. 36, 91, 140, 189, 242, 293, 344, 400, 416, 455, 481, 507, 561
Parker, Elsie S. .. 49, 55, 107, 157, 206, 258, 309, 360, 417, 471, 521, 573
Pate, James E. 251
Perkins, John A. 72
Pinchbeck, Raymond B. 339
Reed, Thomas H. 542
Reeves, J. E. 297
Roberts, Harold S. 377
Sawyer, Robert K. 273
Schneider, Alan 288
Schuchman, F. E. 489
Seltzer, Robert D. 246
Shapiro, Harry H. 501
Sherman, Edna S. 245
Smith, Alfred F. 469
Smith, Wade S. 52, 104, 154, 202, 255, 306, 357, 413, 468, 518, 570
Sondern, Frederic, Jr. 433
Spaulding, Richard C. 14
Spencer, Richard C. 83
Stene, Edwin O. 136
Sutherland, Gertrude B. 98
Thornton, H. V. 94
Toepel, M. G. 577
Trachsel, Herman H. 53
Ware, Richard A. 417
White, Howard 110, 142
Willbern, York 439
Winter, William O. 445
Woodward, Julian L. 288
Woodward, Wm. Redin .. 47, 101, 149, 199, 252, 303, 355, 411, 466, 515

TITLES AND SUBJECTS

(Main Articles in Italics)

A

- **Absentee Voting:**
  - *One Way to Get Out the Vote* 395
- **Accounting:**
  - Louisville Award Split 416
  - Municipal Accounting Committee 53
  - Research Studies 578
  - Wis. Co. Highways Cost Accounting 257
- **Administration:** (See Public Administration)
- **Administrative Assistant:**
  - Administrative Assistant Proposed for Philadelphia 296
  - St. Louis Board Agrees to Strong-Mayor Charter 295
  - Seattle Mayor Asks for Administrative Assistant 145
- **Adult Education:** (See also Education)
  - Civics for the Adult 419
  - Conferences Past and Coming .. 363
  - Toledo Extends Citizenship Training to Adults 259
- **Air Pollution:**
  - Research Studies 526
- **Airports:**
  - Research Studies 315
- **Akron, Ohio:**
  - Citizenship Training to Adults .. 259
  - Election Proposals Fate 570
- **Alabama:**
  - *Losing the Human Touch* 439
  - Ohio Valley Anti-Pollution 96
  - Prescriptions for Legislatures .. 365
  - 246 Cities Decontrol Rents 244
- **Alamagordo, New Mexico:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 561
- **Alameda, California:**
  - Citizens Probe Operations 471
- **Alaska:**
  - League of Cities Formed 566
- **Albany, California:**
  - Manager Plan Developments 457
- **Albany, Oregon:**
  - Manager Plan Developments 510, 562
- **Albemarle, North Carolina:**
  - City-County Relations 43
- **Alberta, Canada:**
  - Considers County Government .. 372
- **Albert Lea, Minnesota:**
  - Stages Bond Burning 414
- **Albuquerque, New Mexico:**
  - City-county Consolidation ... 513, 569
  - City-county Consolidation Wins 100
- **Alexandria, Virginia:**
  - Manager Plan Developments ... 38
- **Allegan, Michigan:**
  - Manager Plan Developments ... 510
- **Allegheny Co., Pennsylvania:**
  - Campaign for Intelligent Ballot 521
  - Committees at Work 420
  - Group Activities 473
  - *Hope for Suburbanitis* 542
  - New Civic Club Bulletin 312
  - *Pittsburgh—Smokeless City* 489
  - Planning Group Activities 309
  - Program for Citizen Education 418
  - Voters Directories Appear 312
- AMA to Hold Annual Meeting .. 512
- **Amherst, Massachusetts:**
  - Manager Plan Developments ... 456
  - Recent Publications 473
- **Annapolis, Maryland:**
  - Annexes Six Times Its Area 350
- **Ann Arbor, Michigan:**
  - *Running a City the Hard Way* .. 283
  - Waste of Civic Energy (Edit.) 271
- **Anne Arundel County, Maryland:**
  - Baltimore Co. Business Survey .. 205
  - Manager Plan Makes Progress .. 197
  - With the Women Voters 523
- **Annexation:**
  - Annapolis Annexes 350
  - *Kansas City Leaps a River* 445
  - Other Outstanding Annexations 350
  - *Relations Between Governments* . 87
  - Research Studies 265, 526, 578
  - Terre Haute Environs Fight Annexation 246
  - Va. to Study Urban Growth ... 351
  - Wash. Cities Adopt Policy 404
- **Anniston, Alabama:**
  - Manager Plan Developments ... 349
- **Arcadia, California:**
  - Manager Plan Developments 402, 510
- **Arizona:**
  - Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
  - Vote on Constitution Changes .. 348
- **Arkansas:**
  - School Consolidation Continues .. 45
  - Voters Pass on State Proposals .. 563
- **Arlington, Texas:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 143
- **Ashland, New Hampshire:**
  - Manager Plan Developments 193
- **Ashland, Virginia:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 247
- **Assessments:**
  - Enact Tax and Fiscal Measures 306
  - Houston Studies Assessments 519
  - Ill. Equalization Program ... 155
  - Inventory Assessment Practices 155
  - Mo. Survey on County Finance 43
  - N. Y. Modified Review Law 306
  - Research Studies 213

  - *Small Manager Cities Thrive* .. 130
  - *Tax Rates of American Cities* .. 17
  - Trained Assessors Urged by Ga. 308
  - Urge Realistic Valuation Base 359
  - Wis. County-wide Assessment 113
  - Wyo. Cities Seek More Revenue 53
- **Atlanta, Georgia:**
  - Commission Reports on Fulton Co. 198
- **Australia:**
  - *One Way to Get Out the Vote* 395
  - Senate Chosen by P. R. 199
- **Austria:**
  - Elections Defeat Communists 356
- **Authorities:**
  - *Long Machine Foiled Again* .. 125
  - 103 Authorities in Pa. 195
  - Philadelphia Parking Authority 145
  - Toll Roads Approved 306
  - Traffic Commissioner Replaces N. Y. Commission 351
- **Avalon, California:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 509

B

- **Baker, Oregon:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 401
- **Baltimore County, Maryland:**
  - Activities in Md. Counties 467
  - Charter Petition Dropped 568
  - Circulates Charter Petition 354
  - Counties Seek Home Rule 196
  - County Manager, Home Rule Plans 250
  - County Planning Continues 100
  - Makes Business Survey 205
  - Seek Home Rule 464
- **Baltimore, Maryland:**
  - Election Proposals Fate 570
  - Municipal Surveys in Md. 145
- **Bar Harbor, Maine:**
  - Manager Plan Developments 143, 509
- **Baton Rouge, Louisiana:**
  - *Hope for Suburbanitis* 542
- **Bayonne, New Jersey:**
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 456
- **Beautification:**
  - Hartford Students Junior Council 258
- **Beckley, West Virginia:**
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 195
- **Belgium:**
  - King's Supporters Win Majority 355
- **Belmont, Massachusetts:**
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 144
- **Belton, Texas:**
  - *Small Manager Cities Thrive* .. 130
- **Bend, Oregon:**
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 402
- **Bennington (Town), Vermont:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 193
  - Consolidation Efforts Made 245
- **Bennington (Village), Vermont:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 247
- **Bergen County, New Jersey:**
  - Planning Activities 309, 524
- **Berkeley, California:**
  - Report on City Finance 210
- **Bernalillo County, New Mexico:**
  - City-county Consolidation .. 513, 569
  - City-county Consolidation Wins 100
- **Berrien Springs, Michigan:**
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 510
- **Berwick, Maine:**
  - *Maine Has a New Export* 121
- **Bethel, Vermont:**
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 194
- **Bethlehem, New Hampshire:**
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 194
- **Big Rapids, Michigan:**
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 349
- **Biloxi, Mississippi:**
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 349
- **Bishop, Texas:**
  - Counties Cooperate with Cities 100
- **Bloomfield, New Jersey:**
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 91
- **Boise, Idaho:**
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 402

- Books in Review (Dept.) 65
114, 166, 217, 267, 318
370, 426, 481, 530, 581

- **Boonville, Missouri:**
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 295
- **Boston, Massachusetts:**
  - Bureau Notes 164, 367
  - Efforts to Postpone Plan A .. 39
  - New Boston Committee 573
- **Bridgewater, New Jersey:**
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 561
- **Bristol, Rhode Island:**
  - Manager Plan Developments 144, 294
- **Bristol, Virginia-Tennessee:**
  - Sales Taxes Spread 414
- **Britton, Oklahoma:**
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 457
  - Outstanding Annexations 350
- **Brookline, Massachusetts:**
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 144, 294, 561
- **Brooks, Maine:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 294
- **Brownfield, Texas:**
  - City-county Cooperation 205

- Bruère Nominated for League President 486

- **Buchanan County, Missouri:**
  - Citizens Lose Charter Battle .. 98
- **Budgets:** (See Finance—Budgets)
- **Buena Vista, Virginia:**
  - Manager Plan Developments 349, 509

Buffalo, New York:
Bureau Notes 315
Civic Teamwork Theme of Conference 430
Hope for Suburbanitis 542
National Conference on Government 374
Program Highlights 486
Building Codes and Regulation:
Future of an Oversize City 324
Research Studies 265, 423
Burnet, Texas:
Small Manager Cities Thrive 130
Business: (See also Industry)
Baltimore Co. Business Survey 205

C

Cairo, Georgia:
Manager Plan Developments 195
Caldwell County, North Carolina:
City-county Relations 43
California:
Campaign for Intelligent Ballot 521
City-county Relations 43
Councilmen Take Short Course 459
County Manager Developments 409
Election Proposals Fate 570
Initiative on Personalty Tax 415
Invitation to the Masquerade 228
Manager Plan Developments 195, 511
Mutual Aid Keystone of Defense 507
Now Gold Feather Week 576
Over 100 Cities Have Administrative Assistants 511
Powers for Sanitary Districts 44
Prescription for Legislatures 365
Reorganization Studies under Way 347
Research Reports 422
State Taxes Set New Record 518
Strengthening Home Rule 172
Study City-county Relations 257
To Vote on Parking Amendment 256
Vote on Court Reorganization 95
Voters Directories Appear 312
Canada:
Bureau Notes 367
Cities Draft Program 511
Federal in Lieu Payments 105
Research Reports 422
Carmel, Maine:
Adopts Manager Plan 294
Caspian, Michigan:
Adopts Manager Plan 247
Caucus:
Where Caucus Is King (Edit.) 119
Censorship:
N. J. County Censorship 257
Census:
Census of Governments on Five-year Basis 508
Juvenile Courts Aided by Proposed Fla. Amendment 461
Quinquennial Census of Governments 297
Research Studies 526
Chanute, Kansas:
Adopts Manager Plan 561
Manager Plan Developments 350, 402, 457, 510
Charleston County, South Carolina:
Tradition Bows to Efficiency 497
Charters: (See also Council-Manager Government and County Manager Plan)
Baltimore Co. Charter Petition 354
Baltimore Co. Petition Dropped 568
Bureaus Aid Charter Commissions 421
Cuyahoga Charter Commission 146
Home Rule Questions in Courts 409
Mayor Charter for Philadelphia 455
Montclair Government Study 400
New Type Civic Laboratory 501
94 Seek to Write Charter 513
An Old Lesson (Edit.) 376
Research Studies 423
St. Louis Charter Defeated 403
St. Louis Co. Charter Voted 98
St. Louis Co. Vote on Charter 168
Cheboygan, Michigan:
Adopts Manager Plan 561
Manager Plan Developments 401, 510
Chesterfield County, Virginia:
Consider Manager Plan 100
Chicago:
Campaign for Intelligent Ballot 521
Corruption and Punishment (Edit.) 488
Employee Reclassification Urged 566
Local Civic Groups Meet 312
Potpourri 363, 576
Recent Publications 160
Schools in Civic Education 574
State Constitutions Scored 362
Voice of the People (Edit.) 534
Chickasha, Oklahoma:
Manager Developments 295
Chula Vista, California:
Adopts Manager Plan 91
Cincinnati, Ohio:
Bureau Notes 422
Chooses Charter Council 101
Committees at Work 420
Effort for Good Government 55
Election Proposals Fate 570
Medical Schools Aid Coroners 41
And Now Television 362
Planning Group Activities 309
P. R. League Holds Session 49
Speaking of Money 209
Strengthening Home Front (Edit.) 322
Train City Drivers 459
Citizen Action and Organization: (See also Democracy)
Administrative Theory, Practice 262

Another Civic Victory 420
Art of Compromise (Edit.) 4
Awake at Last—A Bit Late 536
Awards for Getting out Vote 521
Baltimore Co. Seeks Home Rule 464
Buchanan Co. Loses Charter 98
Cincinnati Charter Council 101
Citizen Action (Dept.) 55 107, 157, 206, 258, 309 360, 417, 471, 521, 573
Citizen Publications 57
Citizen School News 311
Citizenship Day May 21 159
Citizens Honor Manager 209
Citizens Probe City Operations 471
A City Beats the Rackets 433
A City Statesman (Edit.) 375
Civic Award 159
Civic Secretaries Meet 107
Civics for the Adult 419
Civic Teamwork Theme of Conference 430
Committee for Ky. Swan Song 207
Committees at Work 420
Conferences—Past and Future 109 210, 363
Conn. State Reorganization Plan 191
Constitution Revision in Md. 347
Counties Seek Manager Plan 196
County Manager Developments 409
Education for Citizenship 159
Effort for Good Government 55
Fairfax, Santa Clara Charters 567
Federal Reorganization 36
50% of Hoover Report Realized 580
For the School Citizen 58
From Home Town and Back 554
Future of an Oversize City 324
Good Government and Labor 79
Group Activities 473
Hartford Students City Council 258
Hope for Suburbanitis 542
How City Got Manager Charter 157
Ill. Gateway Amendment 461
Irate Voters Get Action 209
Kansas City Civic Association 360
King Co. Charter Commission 568
Legislative Commission Seeks Taxpayers' Advice 155
Local Civic Groups Meet 312
Losing the Human Touch 439
Manager Plan in Anne Arundel 197
Manager Plan in the News 260
Manager Proposed for King Co., Wash. 42
Mass. Houses Divide on P. R. 200
Medford P. R. Election 102
Mich. Citizens Aid Reorganization 417
Miss Government 209
Model Constitution Conventions 208
Mutual Aid Keystone of Defense 507
New Boston Committee 573
New Civic Club Bulletin 312
New Groups Expand 472
N. H. Secures Reorganization 344
N. J. 14 Optional Charters 293
N. J. Taxpayers Study Finances 148
New Type Civic Laboratory 501
N. Y. C. Sets up Commission 92
Now Gold Feather Week 576
And Now Television 362
Okla. Vote on Constitution Convention 94
Onondaga Co., N. Y., Drafts Manager Charter 464
Phoenix Makes New Start 383
Pittsburgh—Smokeless City 489
Planning Group Activities 309, 524
Playing to Get Touchdowns 278
Politicians Lose Again 389
Potpourri 363, 576
Prescription for Legislatures 365
Private Groups Use Hare System 372
Program for Citizen Education 418
Quincy P. R. Council 152
Radio Program 210
Reapportionment 210
Recent Publications 160, 473
Reorganization Urged in Conn. 140
Report on City Finance 210
Running a City the Hard Way 283
St. Louis Co. Adopts Charter 249
San Mateo Co. Retains Manager 353
Schools in Civic Education 574
Schools vs. City Government 313
Speaking of Money 209
State Constitutions Scored 362
State Management Limited 72
Strengthening Home Front (Edit.) 322
This Is the Time (Edit.) 375
Toledo Extends Citizenship Training to Adults 259
Toledo Loses P. R. 48
Twin Cities Conference 5
Two Counties Vote on Manager 463
Va. Counties Seek Manager Plan 300
Va. County Efforts for Manager 354
Va. County Moves Toward Manager 146
Voters Directories Appear 312
Voters Nominate by Postcard 206
Way to Better State Government 211
What Civic Groups Are Doing 109
What Do the Citizens Think? 288
What Price Patronage? (Edit.) 223
Wis. Women Study Finance 208
With the Civic Groups 159
With the Women Voters 108, 523
Women Voters Hold Sessions 311
Worcester Off to Good Start 150
Worcester Plan E Group 361
City Councils: (See Legislative Bodies and Proportional Representation)

City-County Consolidation and Cooperation: (See also Consolidation of Functions and Metropolitan Areas)
  Calif. City-county Relations 257
  City-county Consolidation ... 513, 569
  City-county Consolidation Wins in N. M. 100
  City-county Cooperation 205
  City-county Merger Rejected .. 251
  City-county Relations 43, 301
  Commission Reports on Fulton Co. 198
  County Manager, Home Rule Plans 250
  County Planning and Zoning .. 147
  Neb., Tex. Rural Fire Districts 147
  N. M. Constitution Changes 94
  Phoenix Makes New Start 383
  Planning Group Activities 309
  Powers for Los Angeles Co. Sanitary Districts 44
  Running a City the Hard Way 283
  San Angelo, Tex., Consolidation 410
  Silver Spring, Md., Advised to Stay under County 148
  Tex. Counties Cooperate with Cities 100
City Managers: (See Council-Manager Government)
Civic Awards:
  Awards for Getting Out Vote 521
  Awards for Municipal Reports 41
  Civic Award 159
  GRA Meets in Asbury Park .. 525
  Louisville Award Split 416
  Montgomery Co. Wins Award 353
Civic Centers:
  Research Studies 423
Civil Service: (See Personnel)
Clare, Michigan:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 195
Clarksdale, Mississippi:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 248
Clarks Summit, Pennsylvania:
  Adopts Manager Plan 193
Clarksville, Texas:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 248
Clay County, Missouri:
  Kansas City Leaps a River 445
Cleanliness:
  Future of an Oversize City 324
Cleburne, Texas:
  Adopts Manager Plan 247
Cleveland County, North Carolina:
  City-county Cooperation 205
Cleveland, Ohio:
  Playing to Get Touchdowns 278
  Voters Directories Appear 312
Clifton, New Jersey:
  Irate Voters Get Action 209
Cobleskill, New York:
  Adopts Manager Plan 193
Codification:
  Ia. Municipal Statutes Study ... 193
  La. Adopts Recodification 299
  Mo. Statutes Revised 192
  Research Studies 368
Coleman, Texas:
  Adopts Manager Plan 193
  Manager Plan Developments ... 145
College Station, Texas:
  Small Manager Cities Thrive .. 130
Colorado:
  League District Organization .. 512
  Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
Colorado Springs, Colorado:
  Police Chiefs to Meet 201
Colton, California:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 195
Columbia, South Carolina:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 194
Columbus, Nebraska:
  Manager Plan Developments 456, 562
Columbus, Ohio:
  Medical Schools Aid Coroners 41
Commission Government:
  From Home Town and Back ... 554
Communism: (See also Subversion)
  Austria Defeats Communists 356
  Awake at Last—A Bit Late .. 536
  Danish Cities Hold Elections .. 372
  Nothing to Fear (Edit.) 431
  P. R. Local Elections Abroad .. 515
Compulsory Voting:
  One Way to Get Out the Vote .. 395
Concord, Massachusetts:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 38
Connecticut:
  Awards for Municipal Reports .. 41
  Broad Reorganization Urged .. 140
  Education for Citizenship 159
  Forest Fire Protection Aided .. 142
  Governor Modifies Reform Plan 298
  Principle and Practice 475
  Raises a Standard (Edit.) .. 170
  Recent Publications 160, 473
  Reorganization Minimized 346
  School Commission Survey 462
  Strengthening Home Front (Edit.) 322
  Studies State Reorganization .. 191
  Toll Roads Approved 306
  Way to Better State Government 211
  What Civic Groups Are Doing 109
  With the Women Voters 108
  Women Voters Hold Sessions .. 311
Conservation:
  Activities in Md. Counties 467
  Forest Fire Protection Aided .. 142
  Lake Champlain Interstate Commission 41
  Wis. Rural Zoning Brings Tax Sources 106
Consolidation of Functions: (See also City-County Consolidation and Cooperation, Intergovernmental

Cooperation and Metropolitan Areas)
  Hope for Suburbanitis 542
  Road District Consolidation 514
  School Consolidation Continues 45
  Va. Approves School Consolidation 302
Consolidation of Local Governments:
  Charter for Tarrytown Merger 93
  Consolidation Efforts in Vt. 245
  Suburb Resists Fragmentation 245
  Tarrytown Merger Defeated 351
Constitutions:
  Ariz. Vote on Changes 348
  Cal. to Vote on Courts 95
  Cal. to Vote on Parking 256
  Campaign for Intelligent Ballot 521
  Conn. Governor Modifies Reform Plan 298
  Conn. Raises a Standard (Edit.) 170
  Conn. State Reorganization 191
  Constitution Revision in Md. 347
  Convention to Meet in Hawaii 97
  Court Outlaws State Aid 182
  Easier Amendment Urged for Ky. Constitution 297
  Hawaiians Approve Constitution 565
  Hawaii Proposed Constitution 192
  Ill. Gateway Amendment 461
  Juvenile Courts Aided by Proposed Fla. Amendment 461
  Long Machine Foiled Again 125
  Md. for Constitution Convention 564
  Md. League Legislative Goals 93
  Model Constitution Conventions 208
  N. M. Reapportions; Other Changes 94
  No Convention for La. 565
  Ohio Studies Constitution 142
  Okla. to Vote on Convention 94
  Ore. Constitution Measures 460
  Prescriptions for Legislatures 365
  Principle and Practice 475
  Reapportionment 210
  Research Studies 265, 423, 527, 578
  Revision Sought in Ore. 348
  Sound Prelude to Statehood 377
  S. C. Legislative Reorganization 190
  State Constitution for Hawaii 405
  State Constitutions Scored 362
  Strengthening Home Front (Edit.) 322
  Strengthening Home Rule 172
  Turn Down Constitution Conventions 563
  Twin Cities Conference 5
  Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
  Way to Better State Government 211
  Where Caucus Is King (Edit.) 119
  With the Civic Groups 159
  With the Women Voters 523
Cook County, Illinois:
  Counties Seek Manager Plan 196
Cork, Ireland:
  Manager Plan Developments 195
Corona, California:
  Adopts Manager Plan 508
Coroners:
  Medical Schools Aid Ohio Coroners 41
  Model Medical Examiner Law 68
  Rubbing Out the Coroners 494
Corruption: (See also Political Parties and Politics)
  Awake at Last—A Bit Late 536
  Behind the Scandal (Edit.) 223
  A City Beats the Rackets 433
  A City Statesman (Edit.) 375
  Corruption and Punishment (Edit.) 488
  Fraud in New York Schools 520
  Mo. Governor Shakes Up Kansas City Police Board 297
  Small Manager Cities Thrive 130
  Voice of the People (Edit.) 534
  What Price Patronage? (Edit.) 223
  You See, It Was Like This (Edit.) 71
Council-Manager Government: (See also County Manager Plan)
  Behind the Scandal (Edit.) 223
  Citizens Honor Manager 209
  Citizens Probe City Operations 471
  A City Statesman (Edit.) 375
  Council-Manager Developments 37, 91, 143, 193, 247, 294, 349, 401, 456, 508, 561
  The Durable City Manager 335
  Efficient Service Not Enough 136
  From Home Town and Back 554
  Gloucester Adopts Plan E 47
  Good Government and Labor 79
  How City Got Manager Charter 157
  Human Freedom for Us, Too (Edit.) 487
  Ireland Must Be Heaven 186
  Maine Has a New Export 121
  Manager Places Pass 1,000 Mark 561
  Manager Plan Hits 1,000 (Edit.) 535
  Manager Plan in the News 260
  Model Charter in Japanese 118
  N. J. Commission on Local Government Revises Plans 190
  N. J. 14 Optional Charters 293
  Northeast Regional Conference 270
  Nothing to Fear (Edit.) 431
  Outstanding Annexations 350
  Over 100 Cities Have Administrative Assistants 511
  Phoenix Makes New Start 383
  Politicians Lose Again 389
  Program for Citizen Education 418
  Quincy P. R. Council 152
  Research Studies 61, 111
  Running a City the Hard Way 283
  79 Places Adopt Manager Plan 91

Small Manager Cities Thrive .. 130
Students Junior City Council .. 258
Twin Cities Conference 5
Waste of Civic Energy (Edit.) 271
Why Politicians War Against P. R. (Edit.) 272
Worcester Off to Good Start .. 150
Worcester Plan E Group 361

Counterfeiting:
Stamp Tax Counterfeiter 359

County Consolidation:
City-county Merger Rejected ... 251

County Executive Plan:
Counties Vote on Manager 463
Fairfax, Santa Clara Charters .. 567
Va. Counties Discuss Manager .. 464

County Government—General: (See also City-County Consolidation, County Consolidation, County Manager Plan, Federal-State-Local Relations, Local Government, State-Local Relations and names of individual counties)
Can. Province Considers County Government 372
County and Township (Dept.) 42, 98, 146, 196, 249
300, 353, 408, 463, 513, 567
County Officials' Publication .. 302
County Road Association in Mich. 113
Enact Tax and Fiscal Measures 306
Home Rule for Whole City ... 178
Hope for Suburbanitis 542
Mo. Survey on County Finance 43
N. J. Taxpayers Study Finances 148
Reorganization Urged in Conn. 140
Research Studies 478, 527
Road District Consolidation 514
Study of County Government .. 569
Study of Miss. Counties 465
Tenn. Cities Get Permanent Registration 402
Traffic Officers Institute 532
Va. Counties Get Third Option .. 408
Wash. Counties Retirement Plan 302
W. Va. Studies County Finance 409
Wis. Changing Rural Zoning .. 44
Wis. Co. Highways Have Cost Accounting 257
Wis. Co. Treasurers Institute 205
Wis. Educates Local Officials .. 577

County Manager Plan:
Buchanan Co. Loses Charter .. 98
Counties Seek Manager Plan .. 196
Counties Vote on Manager 463
County Charter Developments .. 513
County Manager Charter Digest 118
County Manager Developments .. 409
County Manager, Home Rule Plans 250
County Managers Meet in Md. 569
Cuyahoga Commission Recommends Mayor 353
Fairfax, Santa Clara Charters .. 567
Ireland Must Be Heaven 186
King Co. Charter Commission .. 568
Manager Proposed for King Co., Wash. 42
Managers in Ireland May Have Powers Reduced 410
Montgomery Co. First Report .. 251
Onondaga Co. Drafts Manager Charter 464
Petroleum Co. Basis of Study .. 568
Progress in Anne Arundel Co., Md. 197
Progress in Counties (Edit.) ... 120
San Mateo Co. Retains Manager 353
Santa Clara Charter Invalid 42
Santa Clara Charter on Ballot .. 408
Santa Clara Co. Charter Upheld 513
Tradition Bows to Efficiency .. 497
Two Counties Vote on Manager 463
Two Va. Counties Consider Manager 100
Va. Counties Discuss Manager .. 464
Va. Counties Seek Manager Plan 300
Va. County Efforts for Manager 354
Va. County Moves Toward Manager 146
With the Women Voters 523

Courts:
Cal. to Vote on Courts 95
College Makes in Lieu Payments 202
Committees at Work 420
Commuters Aid City Comeback 273
Court Says Yonkers Employees Did Not Strike 297
Courts Invalidate Local Tax .. 203
Courts Outlaw State Aid 182
Dayton Voters Adopt Income Tax 308
Easier Amendment Urged for Ky. Constitution 297
Fairfax, Santa Clara Charters 567
Ga. Electoral Methods Survive .. 299
Home Rule for Whole City 178
Home Rule Questions in Courts 409
Ida. Reorganization Committee 242
Ill. Equalization Program 155
Intergovernmental Studies 476
Juvenile Courts Aided by Proposed Fla. Amendment 461
Kansas City Leaps a River 445
Loyalty Laws Invalidated 142
N. M. Constitution Changes 94
Reorganization Urged in Conn. .. 140
Research Studies 213
Roanoke Excise Taxes Upheld 307
Santa Clara Charter Invalid 42
Santa Clara Charter on Ballot 408
Santa Clara Co. Charter Upheld 513
Some Good Shortening (Edit.) 432
State Constitution for Hawaii .. 405
Strengthening Home Rule 172
Toledo Income Tax Upheld, Dayton's Illegal 255
Voice of the People (Edit.) ... 534

Way to Better State Government 211

Crime:
Future of an Oversize City 324
Research Studies 111, 578
Rubbing Out the Coroners 494
Strong Position for Cities 40

Cuyahoga County, Ohio:
Charter Commission Organizes .. 146
Commission Recommends Mayor 353
Fairfax, Santa Clara Charters .. 567
Hope for Suburbanitis 542
Medical Schools Aid Coroners 41

D

Dade County, Florida:
Hope for Suburbanitis 542
Juvenile Courts Aided by Proposed Fla. Amendment 461

Dallas County, Texas:
County Manager, Home Rule Plans 250

Dallas, Texas:
Manager Plan Developments .. 194
Train City Drivers 459

Danville, Illinois:
Potpourri 363

Danville, Virginia:
Adopts Manager Plan 143
Manager Plan Developments .. 38
Potpourri 363

Dartmouth, Massachusetts:
Manager Plan Developments .. 509

Davis, California:
Manager Plan Developments .. 510

Dayton, Ohio:
Toledo's Income Tax Upheld; Dayton's Illegal 255
Voters Adopt Local Income Tax 308

Dedham, Massachusetts:
Manager Plan Developments .. 38

Defense: (See also War)
Future of an Oversize City ... 324
Mutual Aid Keystone of Defense 507
Relations Between Governments 87
War Portends Fiscal Problems 413

Delaware, Ohio:
Manager Plan Developments 194, 401

Del Rio, Texas:
Manager Plan Developments .. 402

Delta, Colorado:
Adopts Manager Plan 349
Manager Plan Developments .. 91

Democracy: (See also Citizen Action and Organization)
Administrative Theory, Practice 262
Awake at Last—A Bit Late ... 536
Committee for Ky. Swan Song .. 207
Human Freedom for Us, Too (Edit.) 487
Nothing to Fear (Edit.) 431
One Way to Get Out the Vote .. 395
This Is the Time (Edit.) 375

Denmark:
Cities Hold P. R. Elections 372
Elects New Folketing 466

Denver, Colorado:
Cal. to Vote on Parking 256
Voters Pass on State Proposals 563

Derby, Connecticut:
Manager Plan Developments .. 401

Derry, New Hampshire:
Manager Plan Developments .. 193

Des Moines, Iowa:
Kansas City Civic Association .. 360
Recent Publications 473

Detroit, Michigan
Campaign for Intelligent Ballot 521
Local Civic Groups Meet 312
Reapportionment 210

Dickens County, Texas:
City-county Relations 301

District of Columbia:
Campaign for Intelligent Ballot 521

Dublin, Ireland:
Manager Plan Developments .. 195
P. R. Local Elections 515

Duluth, Minnesota:
Research Reports 422

Durant, Oklahoma:
Manager Plan Developments .. 39

Durban, South Africa:
Manager Plan Developments .. 457

Durham County, North Carolina:
City-county Relations 43
County Planning and Zoning .. 147

Durham, New Hampshire:
Manager Plan Developments .. 38

Durham, North Carolina:
City-county Relations 43
County Planning and Zoning .. 147

Dykstra Dies Serving Others 270

E

Earmarking:
Wyo. Cities Seek More Revenue 53

Earthquake Problems:
Research Studies 423

East Baton Rouge, Louisiana:
Hope for Suburbanitis 542

East Jordan, Michigan:
Manager Plan Developments .. 349

Edison Reelected President *2*

Editorial Comment .. 3, 70, 119, 170, 223
271, 322, 375, 431, 487, 534

Education:
Citizen School News 311
City-county Relations 301
Conferences—Past and Future 109, 363
Conn. School Commission Survey 462
Education for Citizenship 159
Election Proposals Fate 570
For the School Citizen 58

Fraud in New York Schools .. 520
Future of an Oversize City 324
Good Government and Labor ... 79
Higher Debt, Lower Interest ... 572
International Local Authorities Stress Education 459
Irate Voters Get Action 209
Loyalty Laws Invalidated 142
Medford P. R. Election 102
Miss Government 209
Model Constitution Conventions 208
N. M. Constitution Changes 94
New Type Civic Laboratory 501
Planning Group Activities .. 309, 524
Private Groups Use Hare System 372
Program for Citizen Education 418
Quincy Elects School Committee 152
Research Studies 61, 112, 164, 213, 265, 368, 424, 478, 527, 578
St. Paul Abandons Single Education Head 566
School Consolidation Continues 45
Schools in Civic Education 574
Schools vs. City Government .. 313
State-Local Debt Peaks 104
Students Junior City Council .. 258
Tax Rates of American Cities .. 17
Va. Counties Get Third Option 408
Va. Approves School Consolidation 302
Voters Pass on State Proposal 563
What Civic Groups Are Doing 109
What Do the Citizens Think? 288

Efficiency in Government:
  Administrative Theory, Practice 262
  Congress Urged to Efficiency ... 97
  Federal Personnel Efficiency ... 305
  Federal Reorganization 36
  Good Government and Labor ... 79
  Phoenix Makes New Start 383
  This Is the Time (Edit.) 375

Eire: (Ireland)
  County Managers May Have Powers Reduced 410
  Ireland Must Be Heaven 186
  P. R. Local Elections 515

El Cajon, California:
  Adopts Manager Plan 193

Elections and Voting: (See also Nonpartisan Elections, Nominations, Primaries, Proportional Representation and Registration)
  Awards for Getting Out Vote .. 521
  Civic Secretaries Meet 107
  Ga. Electoral Methods Survive .. 299
  Hartford Students City Council 258
  Long Machine Foiled Again ... 125
  N. M. Reapportions 94
  Now Gold Feather Week 576
  Office-type Ballot in Ohio 46
  One Way to Get Out the Vote .. 395
  Potpourri 363
  Prescription for Legislatures ... 365
  Presidential Election Change Defeated 411
  Presidential Election Change Passes Senate 149
  Recent Publications 473
  Research Studies .. 265, 368, 424, 578
  Va. Counties Seek Manager Plan 300
  Voice of the People (Edit.) .. 534
  Voters Directories Appear 312
  Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
  Voters Plump for First on List 110
  What Two-Party System? (Edit.) 3
  With the Women Voters 108

Electoral College:
  Election Change Defeated 411
  Election Change Passes Senate 149

Eliot, Maine:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 294

Elizabeth City County, Virginia:
  City-county Merger Rejected .. 251

El Paso, Texas:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 402

Employment:
  Research Studies 578

Erie County, New York:
  Civic Teamwork Theme of Conference 430
  Hope for Suburbanitis 542

Essex, Connecticut:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 248

Evansville, Wisconsin:
  Manager Plan Developments 145, 248

F

Fairbury, Nebraska:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 194

Fairfax County, Virginia:
  Adopts Executive Plan.. 561
  Approve Charters 567
  Consider Manager Plan 100
  Counties Discuss Manager Plan 464
  County Manager, Home Rule Plans 250
  Efforts for Manager Plan 354
  Moves Toward Manager Plan .. 146
  Two Counties Vote on Manager 463
  Va. Counties Seek Manager ... 300

Fairfield, Ohio:
  Outstanding Annexations 350

Fairview, Oklahoma:
  Adopts Manager Plan 456
  Manager Plan Developments .. 402

Falls Church, Virginia:
  Adopts Manager Plan 508
  Manager Plan Developments .. 91

Farmington, Michigan:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 510

Federal Government: (See also Federal-State-Local Relations)
  City, State and Nation (Dept.) 36, 91, 140, 189, 242, 293, 344, 400, 455, 507, 561

- Civil Service Assembly Meets .. 352
- Federal Personnel Efficiency .. 305
- Federal Reorganization 36
- 50% of Hoover Report Realized 580
- Hatch Act Modified by Congress 511
- Money Rate Dispute Harbinger of Controls 468
- More Hoover Items Submitted 189
- Recent Publications 473
- Research Studies 61, 112, 213, 265, 423
- State-Local Debt Peaks 104
- U. S. Reorganization Effective 348

Federal-State-Local Relations: (See also State-Local Relations)
- Congress Provides $100 Million for Works Plans 53
- *Grants in Aid: Good and Evil* .. 11
- Intergovernmental Studies 476
- *Ireland Must Be Heaven* 186
- Los Alamos Co. Seeks to Avoid Hatch Act 302
- *Losing the Human Touch* 439
- Money Rate Dispute Harbinger of Controls 468
- *Relations Between Governments* 87
- State Government Council Legislative Program 96
- *Strengthening Home Rule* 172
- Stronger Position for Cities ... 40
- Wash. Cities Adopt Policy 404

Fels, Samuel S. Dies 334

Fergus Falls, Minnesota:
- Manager Plan Developments .. 402

Finance—Bonds and Debts:
- Albert Lea Bond Burning 414
- Election Proposals Fate 570
- Higher Debt, Lower Interest .. 572
- Local Borrowing Approvals 154
- Local Borrowing on Large Scale 256
- Louisville Award Split 416
- N. Y. Bonus Below Estimates .. 255
- Pa. Borrows Record Sum 202
- Research Studies .. 111, 164, 213, 265, 316, 368, 423, 527, 578
- *Small Manager Cities Thrive* .. 130
- State-Local Debt Peaks 104

Finance—Budgets:
- Administrative Theory, Practice 262
- 50% of Hoover Report Realized 580
- Mo. Survey on County Finance 43
- *Playing to Get Touchdowns* .. 278
- Research Studies 60, 111, 164, 213, 265, 315, 367, 423, 477, 526, 578
- Voters Pass on State Proposals 563

Finance—General: (See also Taxation)
- Cal. to Vote on Parking 256
- Census of Governments on Five-year Basis 508
- Citizens Probe City Operations 471
- City-county Relations 43
- City Finances Moderating Trend 570
- Congress Provides $100 Million for Works Plans 53
- *Courts Outlaw State Aid* 182
- Financial Reporting Recognized 470
- *Future of an Oversize City* 324
- *Good Government and Labor* .. 79
- *Grants in Aid: Good and Evil* .. 11
- Gravy Train Disapproved 209
- Ida. Reorganization Committee .. 242
- Louisville Award Split 416
- Manager Proposed for King Co., Wash. 42
- Mich. Investigates State Aid ... 156
- Miss. Urges Municipal Changes 457
- Mo. Survey on County Finance 43
- Money Rate Dispute Harbinger of Controls 468
- Montgomery Co. Wins Award .. 353
- N. H. Secures Reorganization .. 344
- N. J. Taxpayers Study County Finances 148
- N. Y. C. Sets up Commission ... 92
- N. Y. Transit Revenues Drop .. 154
- *Phoenix Makes New Start* 383
- Quinquennial Census of Governments Proposed 297
- Recent Publications 473
- Reorganization in 27 States 460
- Reorganization Urged in Conn. 140
- Report on City Finance 210
- Research Studies 63, 113, 215, 316, 369, 425, 480, 528, 579
- Research Studies, Grants-in-Aid 213
- Research Urged for Saskatchewan 416
- St. Louis Payroll Tax Expires 413
- *Small Manager Cities Thrive* .. 130
- *State Management Limited* 72
- Stronger Position for Cities 40
- Strong Mayor Charter Drafted for Philadelphia 455
- Study of Miss. Counties 465
- Taxation and Finance (Dept.) 52, 104, 154, 202, 255, 306, 357, 413, 468, 518, 570
- *Tradition Bows to Efficiency* .. 497
- U. S. Reorganization Effective 348
- W. Va. Studies County Finance 409
- Wis. Co. Treasurers Institute .. 205
- Wis. Rural Zoning Brings Tax Sources 106
- Wyo. Cities Seek More Revenue 53

Finance—Trust Funds:
- N. J. Investment Division 416

Finland:
- P. R. Local Elections 515

Fire:
- City-county Cooperation 205
- City-county Relations 43
- Forest Fire Protection Aided .. 142
- Manager Plan Developments .. 511
- Neb., Tex. Rural Fire Districts 147

Phoenix Makes New Start 383
Research Studies 112, 368
San Francisco Voters Say No! 469
Tex. Counties Cooperate with Cities 100
Florida:
Few New State Taxes in 1949 52
Juvenile Courts Aided by Proposed Amendment 461
Principle and Practice 475
Toll Roads Approved 306
Food Regulation:
Research Studies 61

Forbes in U. S. Purchasing Post 118

Forms of Government:
Montclair Government Study 400
N. J. Commission Revises Plans 190
N. J. 14 Optional Charters 293
Running a City the Hard Way 283
Fort Scott, Kansas:
Manager Plan Developments 510, 562
Fort William, Canada:
Manager Plan Developments 195
Franklin, New Hampshire:
Manager Plan Developments 37
Franklin Park, Illinois:
Manager Plan Developments 145
Frederick County, Maryland:
Activities in Md. Counties 467
City-county Relations 301
Counties Discuss Manager Plan 464
Frederick, Maryland:
City-county Relations 301
Fresno County, California:
County Charter Developments 513
Fulton County, Georgia:
County Manager Developments 409
Local Commission Reports 198

G

Gainesville, Texas:
Adopts Manager Plan 37
Gambling:
A City Beats the Rackets 433
Corruption and Punishment (Edit.) 488
Election Proposals Fate 570
Group Activities 473
Research Studies 424, 527
Voice of the People (Edit.) 534
Garden City, Michigan:
Manager Plan Developments 401
Gate City, Virginia:
Manager Plan Developments 401
Georgetown, Texas:
Small Manager Cities Thrive 130
Georgia:
Citizen Publications 57
Electoral Methods Survive Court 299
Home Rule Loses in Ga. 244
Trained Assessors Urged 308
Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
With the Women Voters 108
Giddings, Texas:
Small Manager Cities Thrive 130
Glendale, California:
Intern Program 93
Gloucester, Massachusetts:
Adopts Plan E 37, 47
Battle Continues in Mass. 252
Glynn County, Georgia:
Citizen Publications 57
Gordon, Nebraska:
Adopts Manager Plan 143
Gorham, New Hampshire:
Manager Plan Developments 194, 247
Governors:
Puerto Rico Commission Urges Changes 96
Research Studies 265
State Constitution for Hawaii 405
State Management Limited 72
Way to Better State Government 211
Western Governors Cooperate 565
Where Caucus Is King (Edit.) 119
Grand Island, Nebraska:
Adopts Manager Plan 37
Grand Rapids, Michigan:
Voters Nominate by Postcard 206
Great Bend, Kansas:
Adopts Manager Plan 247
Manager Plan Developments 457
Great Britain:
British P. R. Report 467
Name P. R. as Price of Union 303
Greece:
Awake at Last—A Bit Late 536
Figures on Parliament Election 305
Parliament Chosen by P. R. 253
Greeley, Colorado:
Adopts Manager Plan 37
Greeneville, Tennessee:
Manager Plan Developments 510
Greensboro, North Carolina:
City-county Relations 43
Greenville, South Carolina:
Manager Plan Developments 248, 294, 561
Grenada County, Mississippi:
Seeks Reorganization 465
Grenada, Mississippi:
Adopts Manager Plan 401
Manager Plan Developments 349
Grosse Pointe Park, Michigan:
Manager Plan Developments 349, 562
Grosse Pointe Woods, Michigan:
Manager Plan Developments 562
Guilford County, North Carolina:
City-county Relations 43

H

Halifax, Nova Scotia:
Manager Plan Developments 195, 457, 561
Hamilton County, Ohio:
With the Civic Groups 159

Hamilton County, Texas:
Counties Cooperate with Cities .. 100
Hamilton, Ohio:
Revamps Its City Council 47
Hamilton, Ontario:
Manager Plan Developments .. 195
Hamilton, Texas:
Counties Cooperate with Cities .. 100
Hampton, Virginia:
City-county Merger Rejected .. 251
Hanford, California:
Adopts Manager Plan 561
Manager Plan Developments .. 457
Hanover, New Hampshire:
Manager Plan Developments .. 247
Harbor Springs, Michigan:
Manager Plan Developments .. 349
Harnett County, North Carolina:
County Charter Developments .. 513
Harris County, Texas:
Area Studies Assessments 519
Harrisonburg, Virginia:
Manager Plan Developments 294, 349, 509
Harrison County, Texas:
City-county Relations 301
Hartford, Connecticut:
Students City Council 258
Hastings, Nebraska:
Manager Plan Developments .. 350
Hastings-on-Hudson, New York:
Manager Plan in News 260
Haverhill, Massachusetts:
P. R. Continues in Mass. 355
Hawaii:
Approve Proposed Constitution 565
Constitution Convention to Meet 97
Interest in Constitution 192
Model Constitution Conventions 208
Sound Prelude to Statehood 377
State Constitution Completed .. 405
Way to Better State Government 211
Hearne, Texas:
Small Manager Cities Thrive .. 130
Helsinki, Finland:
P. R. Local Elections 515
Highways: (See Streets and Highways)
Hobbs, New Mexico:
Adopts Manager Plan 37
Hoboken, New Jersey:
College Makes in Lieu Payments 202
Hoisington, Kansas:
Manager Plan Developments .. 456
Holden, Massachusetts:
Manager Plan Developments .. 294
Holland, Michigan:
Adopts Manager Plan 561
Manager Plan Developments .. 401
Holton, Kansas:
Efficient Service Not Enough .. 136
Home Rule:
Baltimore Co. Charter Petition 354
Baltimore Co. Seeks Home Rule 464
Constitution Revision in Md. .. 347
Counties Seek Home Rule 196
County Manager, Home Rule Plans 250
Easier Amendment Urged for Ky. Constitution 297
From Home Town and Back ... 554
Home Rule for Whole City 178
Home Rule Loses in Md., Ga. .. 244
Home Rule Questions in Courts 409
Human Freedom for Us, Too (Edit.) 487
Kansas City Leaps a River 445
Loosening the Purse Strings .. 14
N. J. Commission Revises Plans 190
New Orleans Granted Home Rule 400
New Type Civic Laboratory ... 501
Relations Between Governments 87
Research Studies 265, 478
St. Louis Board Agrees to Strong-Mayor 295
St. Louis Co. Adopts Charter .. 249
Santa Clara Charter Invalid .. 42
Strengthening Home Front (Edit.) 322
Strengthening Home Rule 172
Twin Cities Conference 5
Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
Wash. Cities Adopt Policy 404
Hopkins, Minnesota:
P. R. League Session 49
Hot Springs, New Mexico:
Manager Plan Developments .. 91
Hot Springs, South Dakota:
Manager Plan Developments .. 350
Housing:
Future of an Oversize City 324
Good Government and Labor 79
Planning Group Activities 309
Research Studies 165, 266
Houston, Texas:
Area Studies Assessments 519
Howard County, Maryland:
County Planning Continues 100
Hudson County, New Jersey:
County Manager Developments 409
You See, It Was Like This (Edit.) 71

I

Idaho:
Labor Departments Increase ... 246
Reorganization Committee Reports 242
School Consolidation Continues 45
Western Governors Cooperate .. 565
Illinois:
Campaign for Intelligent Ballot 521
Equalization Program 155
Manager Plan Developments .. 295
Ohio Valley Anti-pollution 96
Recent Publications 473
School Consolidation Continues 45

- State Constitutions Scored 362
- To Vote on Gateway Amendment 461
- Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
- With the Women Voters 523

- **Imperial, Nebraska:**
  - Manager Plan Developments 456, 562
- **Indiana:**
  - Ohio Valley Anti-pollution 96
  - School Consolidation Continues .. 45
  - Women Voters Hold Sessions .. 311
- **Indians:**
  - Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
- **Industry:** (See also Business)
  - Research Studies 316, 578
- **Initiative and Referendum:**
  - Cal. Would Repeal Personalty Tax 415
  - Ore. Constitution Measures 460
  - Research Studies 316
  - San Francisco Voters Say No! 469
- **Intergovernmental Cooperation:** (See also City-County Consolidation and Cooperation, Consolidation of Functions, Federal-State-Local Relations, Interstate Cooperation and State-Local Relations.)
  - Administrative Theory, Practice 262
  - *Home Rule for Whole City* 178
  - Mutual Aid Keystone of Defense 507
  - Planning Activities 524
  - *Relations Between Governments* 87
  - Research Studies 579
- **International Relations:**
  - Inter-American Congress of Municipalities 93, 352
  - International Local Authorities Stress Education 459
  - International Town Planners Urge Control of Land Use ... 566
- **Interstate Cooperation:**
  - Forest Fire Protection Aided .. 142
  - Lake Champlain Interstate Commission 41
  - Ohio Valley Anti-pollution 96
  - Pollution Agencies Confer 407
  - States Cooperate on Delinquents 462
  - Survey Delaware River Basin .. 46
  - Western Governors Cooperate .. 565
- **Inventories:**
  - Inventory Assessment Practices 155
- **Iowa:**
  - Municipal Statutes Study 193
  - Turn Down Constitution Convention 564
  - Universities Serve States 161
- **Iowa City, Iowa:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 294
  - *Politicians Lose Again* 389
- **Ipswich, Massachusetts:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 193

J

- **Jackson County, Missouri:**
  - New Groups Expand 472
- **Jamestown, Rhode Island:**
  - Human Freedom for Us, Too (Edit.) 487
- **Janesville, Wisconsin:**
  - *The Durable City Manager* 335
- **Japan:**
  - Bureau Notes 477
  - Model Charter in Japanese 118
- **Jasper, Alabama:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 508
- **Jefferson County, Colorado:**
  - Counties Seek Manager Plan ... 196
- **Jersey City, New Jersey:**
  - You See, It Was Like This (Edit.) 71
- **Jim Wells County, Texas:**
  - Counties Cooperate with Cities 100

- Jones Promoted in Germany 222

- **Judicial Councils:**
  - Research Studies 112
- **Judiciary:** (See Courts)
- **Justices of Peace:**
  - Research Studies 478
- **Juvenile Delinquency:**
  - Juvenile Courts Aided by Proposed Fla. Amendment 461
  - Western Governors Cooperate .. 565

K

- **Kansas:**
  - Discretion Urged for Welfare Boards 301
  - For the School Citizen 58
  - Makes Public Library Survey .. 244
  - Principle and Practice 475
  - Road District Consolidation 514
  - School Consolidation Continues .. 45
  - Va. Counties Seek Manager Plan 300
  - Universities Serve State, Local Governments 161
- **Kansas City, Missouri:**
  - Behind the Scandal (Edit.) 223
  - A City Statesman (Edit.) 375
  - Civic Secretaries Meet 107
  - For the School Citizen 58
  - *Good Government and Labor* ... 79
  - *Leaps a River* 445
  - Mo. Governor Shakes Police Board 297
  - New Groups Expand 472
  - Outstanding Annexations 350
  - Planning Activities 524
  - Potpourri 363, 576
  - Radio Program 210
  - Revives Civic Association 360
  - Training Course for Supervisors 195
  - *Twin Cities Conference* 5
- **Keansburg, New Jersey:**
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 38
- **Kearney, Nebraska:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 247
  - Manager Plan Developments .. 39

Kennewick, Washington:
- Manager Plan Developments 295

Kentucky:
- Committee Sings Swan Song 207
- Easier Amendment for Constitution 297
- Enact Tax and Fiscal Measures 306
- Half-year Revenues Up 202
- Ohio Valley Anti-pollution 96
- Reorganization in 27 States 460

Keokuk, Iowa:
- Manager Plan Developments 402

Killeen, Texas:
- *Small Manager Cities Thrive* 130

King County, Washington:
- County Manager, Home Rule Plans 250
- Home Rule Questions in Courts 409
- King Co. Charter Commission 568
- Manager Plan Proposed 42
- 94 Seek to Write County Charter 513
- Va. Counties Seek Manager Plan 300

L

Labor: (See also Public Employee Unions)
- *Commuters Aid City Comeback* 273
- *Good Government and Labor* 79
- Labor Departments Increase 246
- Research Studies 424
- *Twin Cities Conference* 5

Lackawanna County, Pennsylvania:
- *Loosening the Purse Strings* 14

La Grange, Georgia:
- Adopts Manager Plan 193

Lake County, Illinois:
- Potpourri 363

Lampasas, Texas:
- *Small Manager Cities Thrive* 130

Lancaster, Pennsylvania:
- Manager Plan Developments 349

Land Use:
- Research Studies 112
- Town Planners Urge Control of Land Use 566
- Wis. Rural Zoning Brings Tax Sources 106

Lane County, Oregon:
- Counties Seek Manager Plan 300
- County Manager, Home Rule Plans 250

Lansing, Michigan:
- Louisville Award Split 416

Laurinburg, North Carolina:
- Manager Plan Developments 562

Lawrence, Kansas:
- Adopts Manager Plan 247
- Manager Plan Developments 145

Leadership:
- Waste of Civic Energy (Edit.) 271

Lebanon, Maine:
- Manager Plan Developments 294

Legislation:
- Research Studies 266
- State Government Council Program 96

Legislative Bodies: (See also Legislative Councils and Committees, Proportional Representation and Reapportionment)
- Ariz. Vote on Constitution Changes 348
- Cal. Councilmen Take Course 459
- Congress Urged to Efficiency 97
- Conn. Governor Modifies Reform Plan 298
- Council Advised by Postcard Ballots 201
- *Court Outlaws State Aid* 182
- *The Durable City Manager* 335
- Easier Amendment Urged for Ky. Constitution 297
- Gravy Train Disapproved 209
- Hartford Students City Council 258
- *Home Rule for Whole City* 178
- How City Got Manager Charter 157
- Ida. Reorganization Committee 242
- *Ireland Must Be Heaven* 186
- *Neb. Idea 15 Years Old* 83
- One House Proposed in Vt. 299
- Prescription for Legislatures 365
- Recent Publications 473
- Research Studies 527
- Research Studies—City Council 213
- Research Studies—Secret Sessions 113
- Roll Call Machines 192
- *Running a City the Hard Way* 283
- Seek Fewer New Taxes in 1950 204
- *Sound Prelude to Statehood* 377
- S. C. Legislative Reorganization 190
- State Constitution for Hawaii 405
- *State Management Limited* 72
- *Strengthening Home Rule* 172
- Strong Mayor Charter Drafted for Philadelphia 455
- *They All Get into the Show* 450
- Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
- Waste of Civic Energy (Edit.) 271
- Where Caucus Is King (Edit.) 119
- With the Civic Groups 159
- Worcester Plan E Group 361

Legislative Councils and Committees:
- Md. for Constitution Convention 564
- Mich. Citizens Aid Reorganization 417
- Okla. Vote on Constitution 94
- Ore. Studies Administration 405
- Research Studies 61
- S. C. Legislative Reorganization 190
- *They All Get into the Show* 450

Lenoir, North Carolina:
- City-county Relations 43

Libraries:
- Kan. Makes Library Survey 244
- Research Studies 112
- Springfield Library Study 477
- *What Do the Citizens Think?* 288

Licenses:
Research Studies 61, 478
Va. Bill Exempts Radio, Video 204
Limerick, Eire:
Manager Plan Developments .. 195
Lincoln, Nebraska:
Manager Plan Developments 350, 402
Liquor Control:
Research Studies 61, 112
Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
Lisbon, Maine:
Adopts Manager Plan 294
Lititz, Pennsylvania:
Adopts Manager Plan 508
Littleton, New Hampshire:
Manager Plan Developments .. 194
Livermore Falls, Maine:
Manager Plan Developments .. 143
Livonia, Michigan:
Manager Plan Developments 295, 401
Local Government: (See also County, Municipal and Township Government; Federal-State-Local Relations and State-Local Relations)
Census of Governments on Five-year Basis 508
Civil Service Assembly Meets ... 352
Local Borrowing Approvals 154
Local Borrowing on Large Scale 256
Philippine Local Government Review 305
P. R. Local Elections Abroad .. 515
Quinquennial Census of Governments 297
State-Local Debt Peaks 104
Universities Serve Local Governments 161
War Portends Fiscal Problems.. 413
Long Beach, California:
Election Proposals Fate 570
Los Alamos, New Mexico:
New County Created 146
Seeks to Avoid Hatch Act 302
Los Angeles, California:
Higher Debt, Lower Interest .. 572
Los Angeles County, California:
Powers for Sanitary Districts ... 44
Los Banos, California:
Manager Plan Developments .. 563
Loudoun County, Virginia:
Counties Discuss Manager Plan 464
Fairfax, Santa Clara Charters .. 567
Louisiana:
Adopts Recodification 299
Bureau Notes 315
Election Proposals Fate 570
Long Machine Foiled Again 125
Move for Merit System Fails .. 407
New Orleans Home Rule Rights 400
No Constitution Convention 565
Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
Louisville, Kentucky:
Election Proposals Fate 570
What Do the Citizens Think? .. 288
Lowell, Massachusetts:
Democratic Council Majority .. 103
Lower Peninsula, Virginia:
City-county Merger Rejected .. 251
Luray, Virginia:
Adopts Manager Plan 561
Lynn, Massachusetts:
Manager Plan Developments 38, 144
Manager Plan in the News 260

M

Machias, Maine:
Revises Manager Charter 143
Madbury, New Hampshire:
Manager Plan Developments 247, 294
Madera, California:
Manager Plan Developments .. 295
Madison, Wisconsin:
Manager Plan Developments 510, 562
Wis. Educates Local Officials .. 577
Maine:
Awards for Municipal Reports .. 41
Has a New Export 121
Manager Plan Developments .. 511
Reorganization in 27 States 460
States Cooperate on Delinquents 462
Toll Roads Approved 306
Malta:
Elects Parliament by P. R. 467
Manchester, New Hampshire:
Manager Plan Developments .. 294
Manchester, Vermont:
Manager Plan Developments .. 194
Manhattan, Kansas:
Adopts Manager Plan 247
Manistee, Michigan:
Manager Plan Developments 349, 510
Manitoba, Canada:
Cities Form Organization 351
Mansfield, Ohio:
Manager Plan Developments .. 562
Marceline, Missouri:
Manager Plan Developments .. 194
Marquette, Michigan:
Manager Plan Developments 349, 510
Marshall, Texas:
City-county Relations 301
Martinsburg, West Virginia:
Manager Plan Developments 39, 144, 194
Martinsville, Virginia:
Manager Plan Developments .. 144
Va. Bill Exempts Radio, Video 204
Maryland:
Bureau Notes 422
Constitution Revision Urged ... 347
For Constitution Convention 564
Home Rule Measures Lose 244
League Sets Legislative Goals .. 93
Loyalty Laws Invalidated 142
Progress in Counties (Edit.) .. 120
Rubbing Out the Coroners 494
State Constitutions Scored 362
Voters Pass on State Proposals 563

Mason, Michigan:
- Manager Plan Developments .. 349

Massachusetts:
- Awards for Municipal Reports .. 41
- Battle Continues 252
- Citizen School News 311
- Election Proposals Fate 570
- Forest Fire Protection Aided .. 142
- For the School Citizen 58
- Houses Divide on P. R. 200
- Human Freedom for Us, Too (Edit.) 487
- Legislative Commission Seeks Taxpayers' Advice 155
- Manager Plan Developments 247, 456
- Manager Plan in the News 260
- *One Way to Get Out the Vote* .. 395
- P. R. Continues 355
- P. R. League Holds Session .. 49
- P. R. Meeting to Stress Mass. .. 517
- *Rubbing Out the Coroners* 494
- Town Meeting 473
- Why Politicians War Against P. R. (Edit.) 272
- Women Voters Hold Sessions .. 311
- Worcester Plan E Group 361

Mayors:
- Administrative Assistant Proposed for Philadelphia 296
- Cuyahoga Commission Recommends Mayor 353
- Mayors to Meet in New York .. 201
- N. J. 14 Optional Charters 293
- *Running a City the Hard Way* .. 283
- St. Louis Board Agrees to Strong Mayor 295
- St. Louis Charter Defeated 403
- Seattle Mayor Asks for Administrative Assistant 145
- Strong Mayor Charter Drafted for Philadelphia 455
- Waste of Civic Energy (Edit.) 271
- *What Do the Citizens Think?* 288

Medford, Massachusetts:
- Battle Continues in Mass. 252
- Holds First P. R. Election 102
- Manager Plan in the News 260
- P. R. Continues in Mass. 355
- Worcester Plan E Group 361

Medical Examiner: (See Coroners)

Memphis, Tennessee:
- Manager Plan Developments .. 39
- Outstanding Annexations 350

Merced, California:
- How City Got Manager Charter 157

Merced County, California:
- Counties Seek Manager Plan ... 300
- Counties Vote on Manager 463
- Fairfax, Santa Clara Charters .. 567

Meredith, New Hampshire:
- Manager Plan Developments .. 193

Methuen, Massachusetts:
- Manager Plan Developments .. 144

Metropolitan Areas: (See also City-County Consolidation and Cooperation)
- Col. League District Organization 512
- *Commuters Aid City Comeback* 273
- *Future of an Oversize City* 324
- *Home Rule for Whole City* 178
- *Hope for Suburbanitis* 542
- *Pittsburgh—Smokeless City* ... 489
- Planning Activities 524
- Research Studies .. 112, 213, 368, 424
- Toledo's Income Tax Upheld .. 255
- Va. to Study Urban Growth .. 351

Miami, Florida:
- *Hope for Suburbanitis* 542
- Schools in Civic Education 574

Michigan:
- Citizens Aid Reorganization 417
- Conferences Past and Coming .. 363
- County Road Association 113
- Election Proposals Fate 570
- Inventory Assessment Practices 155
- Investigates State Aid 156
- Manager Plan Developments .. 195
- Over 100 Cities Have Administrative Assistants 511
- Principle and Practice 475
- Reapportionment 210
- *State Management Limited* 72
- *Strengthening Home Rule* 172
- Uniform Traffic Code for Cities 40
- Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
- With the Civic Groups 159

Midvale, Utah:
- Manager Plan Developments .. 195

Miles City, Montana:
- Manager Plan Developments 457, 510

Millbridge, Maine:
- Adopts Manager Plan 193

Milwaukee County, Wisconsin:
- Counties Seek Home Rule 196
- County Manager, Home Rule Plans 250
- Welfare Department Studied 569

Milwaukee, Wisconsin:
- Citizens Probe Operations 471
- Committees at Work 420

Minneapolis, Minnesota:
- Suffers One-week City Strike .. 40

Minnesota:
- Intergovernmental Studies 476
- Miss Government 209
- Principle and Practice 475
- *Strengthening Home Rule* 172
- With the Women Voters .. 108, 523

Mississippi:
- Manager Plan Developments .. 402
- Roll Call Machines in Legislatures 192
- Sales Taxes Spread 414
- Study of Counties Issued 465
- Urges Municipal Changes 457

Missouri:
- Behind the Scandal (Edit.) 223

Gas Tax Defeated 307
Governor Shakes Up Kansas City Police Board 297
Progress in Counties (Edit.) .. 120
Research Reports 422
School Consolidation Continues 45
Statutes Thoroughly Revised .. 192
Survey on County Finance 43

Missouri River Development:
Research Studies 478

Monroe County, Florida:
Juvenile Courts Aided by Proposed Fla. Amendment 461

Monroe County, New York:
Progress in Counties (Edit.) .. 120

Montana:
Courts Invalidate Local Tax .. 203
Election Proposals Fate 570
Labor Departments Increase .. 246
League Regional Meetings 93

Montclair, New Jersey:
From Home Town and Back .. 554
Starts Government Study 400

Montebello, California:
Adopts Manager Plan 247

Monterey County, California:
County Charter Developments .. 513

Montgomery County, Maryland:
Activities in Md. Counties 467
Home Rule Questions in Courts 409
Issues First Home Rule Report 251
Louisville Award Split 416
Silver Spring, Md., Advised to Stay under County 148
Va. Counties Seek Manager Plan 300
Wins Achievement Award 353

Montpelier, Vermont:
Manager Plan Developments .. 194

Montrose, Colorado:
Manager Plan Developments .. 91

Moorhead, Kentucky
Adopts Manager Plan 37

Mountain View, California:
Manager Plan Developments .. 510

Multnomah County, Oregon:
Ore. Considers Reapportionment 243

Municipal Automobiles:
Schenectady Cuts Car Accidents 403

Municipal Government: (See also City-County Consolidation and Cooperation, Council-Manager Government, Federal-State-Local Relations, Local Government, Metropolitan Areas, State-Local Relations, and names of individual cities)
AMA to Hold Annual Meeting .. 512
Austria Defeats Communists ... 356
Can. Cities Draft Program 511
Census of Governments on Five-year Basis 508
Cities Spend More for Planning 204
City Finances Moderating Trend 570
City, State and Nation (Dept.) 36, 91, 140, 189, 242, 293 344, 400, 455, 507, 561
Col. League District Organization 512
Courts Outlaw State Aid 182
Danish Cities P. R. Elections .. 372
Federal in Lieu Payments for Can. Cities 105
Good Government and Labor .. 79
Home Rule for Whole City 178
Inter-American Congress of Municipalities 93, 352
International Local Authorities Stress Education 459
Ireland Must Be Heaven 186
League of Alaskan Cities Formed 566
Leagues of Municipalities 145
Manitoba Cities Organization .. 351
Miss. Urges Municipal Changes 457
Mont. League Regional Meetings 93
Nev. Municipal Association 244
N. J. Commission Revises Plans 190
Old-Age Insurance for Employees 459
103 Authorities in Pa. 195
Ore. League Silver Anniversary 566
Relations Between Governments 87
Research Studies 165, 369, 424, 479, 579
Research Urged for Sask. 416
S. D. City Planning Commissions 94
Stronger Position for Cities .. 40
Tax Rates of American Cities .. 17
Tenn. Cities Get Permanent Registration 402
Traffic Code for Mich. Cities .. 40
246 Cities Decontrol Rents 244
Universities Serve Local Governments 161
Wyo. Cities Seek More Revenue 53

Municipal Insurance:
Research Studies 424

Municipal Reports:
Awards for Municipal Reports .. 41
Research Studies 528

Myrtle Beach, South Carolina:
Manager Plan Developments ... 91

N

Nampa, Idaho:
Manager Plan Developments 457, 562

Napa, California:
Citizens Probe Operations 471

Napoleon, Ohio:
Manager Plan Developments .. 349

Natchez, Mississippi:
Manager Plan Developments 248, 350

National City, California:
Adopts Manager Plan 401
Manager Plan Developments .. 91

National Municipal League:
Annual Meeting of Council 2
Art of Compromise (Edit.) .. 4
Awake at Last—a Bit Late 536
Bruère Nominated for President 486

  Civic Teamwork Theme of Conference 430
  Constitution Revision in Md. .. 347
  County Manager Charter Digest 118
  Dykstra Dies Serving Others .. 270
  Edison Reelected President 2
  Fels, Samuel S., Dies at 90 334
  Forbes in U. S. Purchasing Post 118
  Honors for Murray Seasongood 68
  Jones Promoted in Germany .. 222
  League Loses Valued Friends .. 139
  League's Business 2, 118, 222, 270, 374, 430, 486
  Minority Dictatorship (Edit.) .. 4
  Model Charter in Japanese 118
  Model Direct Primary Law 68
  Model Medical Examiner Law .. 68
  Municipal Accounting Committee 53
  National Conference on Government 374
  New Model Primary Law 225
  Northeast Regional Conference 270
  Peel Heads Census Bureau 118
  Program Highlights 486
  Researchers Confer on Problems 59
  Rubbing Out the Coroners 494
  Seasongood Honored 222
  Seed Director Field Services .. 222
  Seed Visits 22 States 374
  Town Report Pioneer Dead 222
  Twin Cities Conference 5
  Visiting Lecturer 68
  What Two-party System? (Edit.) 3

Natural Resources: (See Conservation)

Nebraska:
  Approve Rural Fire Districts .. 147
  Idea 15 Years Old 83
  School Consolidation Continues 45
  They All Get into the Show 450
  246 Cities Decontrol Rents 244

Negaunee, Michigan:
  Adopts Manager Plan 294

Neosho, Missouri:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 350

Netherlands:
  Elect Provincial Councils 304

Neuces County, Texas:
  Counties Cooperate with Cities .. 100

Nevada:
  Bureau Notes 315
  Municipal Association Organized 244

New Britain, Connecticut:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 509

New Glasgow, Canada:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 195

New Hampshire:
  Adopts Personnel System 406
  Principle and Practice 475
  Secures Partial Reorganization .. 344
  States Cooperate on Delinquents 462
  Toll Roads Approved 306

New Haven, Connecticut:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 349
  Northeast Regional Conference .. 270
  Research Reports 422

New Jersey:
  Commission on Local Government 190
  Conferences Past and Coming .. 363
  Creates Investment Division ... 416
  Education for Citizenship 159
  From Home Town and Back .. 554
  Loyalty Laws Invalidated 142
  Planning Group Activities 309
  Provides Optional Charters 293
  Recent Publications 160, 473
  Roll Call Machines 192
  State Tax Commission Reports 357
  Strengthening Home Front (Edit.) 322
  Survey Delaware River Basin .. 46
  Taxpayers Study County Finance 148
  Where Caucus Is King (Edit.) 119
  With the Women Voters 108

New Mexico:
  Bureau Notes ....,164
  City-county Consolidation Wins 100
  New County Created 146
  Reapportions; Other Changes ... 94
  Retains Primary 233

New Orleans, Louisiana:
  GRA Meets in Asbury Park ... 525
  Granted Home Rule Rights 400
  Inter-American Municipalities .. 93
  Long Machine Foiled Again 125
  Schools vs. City Government .. 313
  Voters Pass on State Proposals 563

Newport, Kentucky:
  Manager Plan Developments 510, 562

Newport, New Hampshire:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 193

Newport News, Virginia:
  City-county Merger Rejected ... 251

Newport, Rhode Island:
  Human Freedom for Us, Too (Edit.) 487
  Manager Plan Developments 144, 194, 248

New Rochelle, New York:
  Unemployment Insurance for City Employees 458

Newton, North Carolina:
  Adopts Manager Plan 143

New Westminster, British Columbia:
  Louisville Award Split 416

New York City:
  Campaign for Intelligent Ballot 521
  Committees at Work 420
  Corruption and Punishment (Edit.) 488
  Efficiency Study under Way 244
  Employee Classification Surveys 458
  Fraud Charged in Schools 520
  Future of an Oversize City 324
  Gravy Train Disapproved 209
  Group Activities 473
  Hope for Suburbanitis 542
  How Tammany Holds Power .. 330

Local Civic Groups Meet 312
Mayors to Meet 201
Minority Dictatorship (Edit.) .. 4
Parties vs. Principles (Edit.) .. 70
Planning Activities 524
P. R. League Holds Session .. 49
Recent Publications 473
Sales Tax Declines 358
Schools vs. City Government ... 313
Sets up Economy Commission .. 92
Some Good Shortening (Edit.) 432
Traffic Commissioner Replaces Commission 351
Transit Revenues Drop 154
Voice of the People (Edit.) .. 534
War Portends Fiscal Problems 413
What Civic Groups Are Doing .. 109
With the Women Voters 108
Women Voters Hold Sessions .. 311

New York State:
Bonus Payments Below Estimates 255
Campaign for Intelligent Ballot 521
Civil Service Law Recodified ... 517
Conferences—Past and Future .. 210
Education for Citizenship 159
Expands Training Plans 462
For the School Citizen 58
Four Pollution Agencies Confer 407
Grants in Aid: Good and Evil 11
Gravy Train Disapproved 209
Invitation to the Masquerade ... 228
Lake Champlain Interstate Commission 41
Loosening the Purse Strings 14
Loyalty Laws Invalidated 142
Modified Assessment Review Law 306
Mutual Aid Keystone of Defense 507
Ohio Valley Anti-Pollution ... 96
Personnel Relations Board 242
Progress in Counties (Edit.) .. 120
Recent Publications 473
Schools vs. City Government ... 313
State Taxes Set New Record .. 518
Strengthening Home Rule 172
Studies Rural Problems 168
Survey Delaware River Basin .. 46
Toll Roads Approved 306
Towns to Meet 46
246 Cities Decontrol Rents 244
Urge Realistic Valuation 359
What Two-party System? (Edit.) 3
With the Women Voters 108

Niagara Falls, New York:
Manager Plan Developments 401, 509, 561

Noise Abatement:
Committees at Work 420

Nominations: (See also Primaries)
How Tammany Holds Power .. 330
Ireland Must Be Heaven 186
N. M. Retains Primary 233
Research Studies — Pre-Primary Convention 579
Voters Nominate by Postcard .. 206

Nonpartisan Elections:
Home Rule Questions in Courts 409

Norfolk County, Virginia:
Counties Seek Manager Plan .. 300
County Manager, Home Rule Plans 250

Norfolk, Virginia:
Mutual Aid Keystone of Defense 507
Revises Zoning Law 296

North Andover, Massachusetts:
Manager Plan Developments 144, 294

North Bay, Canada:
Manager Plan Developments .. 195

North Carolina:
Manager Plan Developments .. 195
Program for Citizen Education 418

North Dakota:
Progress in Counties (Edit.) .. 120
School Consolidation Continues 45

North Kansas City, Missouri:
Kansas City Leaps a River 445

North Kingstown, Rhode Island:
Manager Plan Developments .. 38

North St. Paul, Minnesota:
Manager Plan Developments .. 39

North Tarrytown, New York:
Merger Defeated 351
Revised Charter for Merger .. 93

O

Oak Ridge, Tennessee:
Atomic Town Uses P. R. 41

Ogden, Utah:
Manager Plan Developments 145, 510

Ohio:
Manager Plan Developments .. 195
Office-type Ballot Validated ... 46
Ohio Valley Anti-pollution 96
Progress in Counties (Edit.) .. 120
State Constitutions Scored 362
Strengthening Home Rule 172
Studies State Constitution 142
Voters Directories 312
Voters Plump for First on List 110

Oklahoma:
Group Activities 473
Manager Plan Developments 350
They All Get into the Show ... 450
Turn Down Constitution Convention 564
Vote on Constitution Convention 94
Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
With the Civic Groups 159

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma:
Outstanding Annexations 350

Old Orchard Beach, Maine:
Adopts Manager Plan 143

Omaha, Nebraska:
Manager Plan Developments 402, 562
Program for Citizen Education 418

Onondaga County, New York:
- Counties Seek Manager Plan .. 196
- County Manager, Home Rule Plans 250
- Drafts Manager Charter 464

Opa-locka, Florida:
- Manager Plan Developments .. 349

Orangeburg, South Carolina:
- Manager Plan Developments .. 401

Oregon:
- Considers Reapportionment 243
- Constitutional Revision Sought .. 348
- Election Proposals Fate 570
- League Silver Anniversary 566
- Manager Plan Developments .. 195
- Principle and Practice 475
- Progress in Counties (Edit.) .. 120
- Reapportionment 210
- *Strengthening Home Rule* 172
- Studies State Administration .. 405
- Vote on Constitution Measures .. 460
- Voters Directories Appear 312
- Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
- With the Civic Groups 159
- With the Women Voters 108

Osborne, Pennsylvania:
- Manager Plan Developments 195, 561

Osborn, Ohio:
- Outstanding Annexations 350

Ottawa, Kansas:
- Manager Plan Developments .. 247

Ottawa, Ontario:
- Manager Plan Developments .. 195

P

PACH Half Million Grant 517

Palo Alto, California:
- Adopts Manager Plan 193
- Manager Plan Developments .. 91

Park Forest, Illinois:
- Adopts Manager Plan 508

Parking:
- Cal. to Vote on Parking 256
- Norfolk Administrative Changes 296
- Philadelphia Parking Authority 145
- Research Studies 61, 112, 213, 266, 316, 424
- Traffic Commissioner Replaces N. Y. Commission 351

Pasco, Washington:
- Manager Plan Developments .. 457

Passaic, New Jersey:
- Planning Activities 309, 524

Paterson, New Jersey:
- Manager Plan in the News 260

Peel Heads Census Bureau 118

Pennsylvania:
- Borrows Record Sum 202
- Bureau Notes 164
- Campaign for Intelligent Ballot 521
- Education for Citizenship 159
- Human Freedom for Us, Too (Edit.) 487
- *Loosening the Purse Strings* 14
- Manager Plan Developments 248, 456, 509
- Model Constitution Conventions 208
- Ohio Valley Anti-pollution 96
- 103 Authorities Operate 195
- School Consolidation Continues 45
- Survey Delaware River Basin .. 46
- Toll Roads Approved 306
- Universities Serve State, Local Governments 161

Penn Township, Pennsylvania:
- Manager Plan Developments .. 248

Pensions: (See Social Security)

Permanent Registration: (See Registration)

Perryton, Texas:
- Manager Plan Developments .. 457

Personnel: (See also Public Employee Unions, Salaries and Training for Public Service)
- Civil Service Assembly Meets .. 352
- Civil Service Conference 41
- Civil Service Law to Be Recodified in N. Y. S. 517
- *Efficient Service Not Enough* .. 136
- Employee Classification Surveys 458
- Federal Personnel Efficiency 305
- 50% of Hoover Report Realized 580
- *Good Government and Labor* .. 79
- Hatch Act Modified by Congress 511
- Intern Program in Glendale, Cal. 93
- Kansas City, Mo., Trains Supervisors 195
- *Long Machine Foiled Again* ... 125
- Los Alamos Co. Seeks to Avoid Hatch Act 302
- La. Move for Merit System Fails 407
- Loyalty Laws Invalidated 142
- Manager Proposed for King Co., Wash. 42
- Merit System for Town Clerks 93
- Neb., Tex. Rural Fire Districts 147
- N. H. Adopts Personnel System 406
- N. Y. C. Sets up Commission .. 92
- N. Y. Personnel Relations Board 242
- N. Y. S. Expands Training Plans 462
- Old-Age Insurance for Employees 459
- Quinquennial Census of Governments Proposed 297
- Reclassification for Chicago 566
- Reorganization Urged in Conn. 140
- Research Studies 61, 213, 266, 315, 369, 479
- Research Studies—Holidays .. 368
- Research Studies — Public Employee Bonds 479
- St. Louis Co. Charter Voted .. 98
- St. Louis Considers Lay-off .. 358
- *Small Manager Cities Thrive* .. 130

- Unemployment Insurance for Employees 458
- Universities Serve State, Local Governments 161
- Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
- Wash. Cities Adopt Policy 404
- What Price Patronage? (Edit.) 223

Petroleum County, Montana:
- Manager Plan Basis of Study 568

Pharr, Texas:
- Adopts Manager Plan 37

Philadelphia:
- Administrative Assistant Proposed 296
- Bureaus Aid Charter Commissions 421
- City-county Consolidation 513
- *Commuters Aid City Comeback* 273
- Courts Invalidate Local Tax 203
- Election Proposals Fate 570
- Human Freedom for Us, Too (Edit.) 487
- *Loosening the Purse Strings* 14
- Manager Plan Developments 194, 248, 509
- *New Type Civic Laboratory* 501
- Parking Authority Created 145
- Planning Group Activities 309
- Raises Income Tax 53
- Recent Publications 160, 473
- Strong Mayor Charter Drafted 455
- What Price Patronage? (Edit.) 223

Philippine Islands:
- Local Government Review 305

Phoebus, Virginia:
- City-county Merger Rejected 251

Phoenix, Arizona:
- Cities Establish Interneships 405
- Employee Classification Surveys 458
- *Makes New Start* 383

Pinellas County, Florida:
- County Manager Developments 409

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania:
- *Hope for Suburbanitis* 542
- New Civic Club Bulletin 312
- Planning Activities 524
- *Smokeless City* 489

Pittston, Maine:
- Manager Plan Developments 144

Planning: (See also Urban Redevelopment)
- Cities Spend for Planning 204
- Conferences Past and Coming 210, 363
- County Planning and Zoning 147
- County Planning Commission 44
- County Planning in Md. 100
- *Future of an Oversize City* 324
- *Kansas City Leaps a River* 445
- Ore. County Planning Commission 465
- Planning Activities 309, 524
- Recent Publications 160
- Research Studies 316, 424
- Schools in Civic Education 574
- S. D. City Planning Commissions 94

Pocatello, Idaho:
- Adopts Manager Plan 456
- Manager Plan Developments 402

Police:
- Behind the Scandal (Edit.) 223
- Mo. Governor Shakes Up Kansas City Police Board 297
- *Phoenix Makes New Start* 383
- Police Chiefs to Meet 201
- Research Studies 213, 266, 316, 479, 579
- San Francisco Voters Say No! 469

Political Parties and Politics: (See also Corruption and Elections and Voting)
- *Awake at Last—A Bit Late* 536
- British Liberals Name P. R. as Price of Union 303
- Cincinnati Charter Council 101
- *A City Beats the Rackets* 433
- Conferences—Past and Future 109
- Democratic Council Majority in Lowell 103
- Effort for Good Government 55
- *From Home Town and Back* 554
- Hatch Act Modified by Congress 511
- *How Tammany Holds Power* 330
- Human Freedom for Us, Too (Edit.) 487
- *Invitation to the Masquerade* 228
- *Long Machine Foiled Again* 125
- *Losing the Human Touch* 439
- Minority Dictatorship (Edit.) 4
- Netherlands Provincial Councils 304
- *N. M. Retains Primary* 233
- *New Model Primary Law* 225
- Nothing to Fear (Edit.) 431
- Office-type Ballot in Ohio 46
- An Old Lesson (Edit.) 376
- *Parties Survive Cross-Voting* 237
- Parties vs. Principles (Edit.) 70
- *Politicians Lose Again* 389
- P. R. Continues in Mass. 355
- Research Studies 62
- Toledo Loses P. R. 48
- What Civic Groups Are Doing 109
- What Price Patronage? (Edit.) 223
- What Two-party System? (Edit.) 3
- Where Caucus Is King (Edit.) 119
- Why Politicians War Against P. R. (Edit.) 272

Pollution:
- Four Pollution Agencies Confer 407
- Ohio Valley Anti-Pollution 96
- Wash. Cities Adopt Policy 404

Population:
- Research Studies 266

Port Angeles, Washington:
- Civic Association 360

Port Huron, Michigan:
- Campaign for Intelligent Ballot 521
- Conferences Past and Coming 363

Portland, Oregon:
Campaign for Intelligent Ballot 521
Courts Invalidate Local Tax .. 203
Employee Classification Surveys 458
Manager Plan Developments 91, 402, 457
Ports:
Future of an Oversize City ... 324
Long Machine Foiled Again 125
Poughkeepsie, New York:
Planning Group Activities 309
Potpourri 576
Recent Publications 160
President: (See Electoral College)
Press:
Effort for Good Government ... 55
New Type Civic Laboratory ... 501
One Way to Get Out the Vote 395
Phoenix Makes New Start 383
Politicians Lose Again 389
Twin Cities Conference 5
Pressure Groups:
Parties vs. Principles (Edit.) .. 70
Primaries: (See also Nominations)
How Tammany Holds Power .. 330
Invitation to the Masquerade .. 228
Model Direct Primary Law 68
N. M. Retains Primary 233
New Model Primary Law 225
Parties Survive Cross-Voting .. 237
Voters Plump for First on List 110
Way to Better State Government 211
Prince George's County, Maryland:
County Manager Developments 409
Fairfax, Santa Clara Charters .. 567
Prisons:
With the Women Voters 108
Proportional Representation:
Atomic Town Uses P. R. 47
Australian Senate Chosen 199
Austria Defeats Communists ... 356
Battle Continues in Mass. 252
British Liberals Name P. R. as Price of Union 303
British P. R. Society Report .. 467
Campaign for Intelligent Ballot 521
Cincinnati Charter Council 101
Danish Cities Hold Elections .. 372
Democratic Council Majority Chosen by Lowell 103
Denmark Elects New Folketing 466
For the School Citizen 58
Gloucester Adopts Plan E 47
Greek Parliamentary Election .. 305
Greek Parliament Chosen 253
Hamilton, Ohio, Revamps Council 47
Human Freedom for Us, Too (Edit.) 487
Ireland Must Be Heaven 186
King Wins Belgian Majority .. 355
Malta Elects Parliament by P. R. 467
Mass. Houses Divide on P. R. .. 200
Medford First P. R. Election .. 102
Netherlands Provincial Councils 304
Presidential Election Change .. 411
Presidential Election Change Passes Senate 149
Private Groups Use Hare System 372
P. R. Continues in Mass. 355
P. R. League Holds Session 49, 467
P. R. League Loses Trustee ... 305
P. R. Local Elections Abroad .. 515
P. R. Meeting to Stress Mass. .. 517
Proportional Representation (Dept.) 47, 101, 149, 199, 252 303, 355, 411, 466, 515
Quincy Elects P. R. Council 152
Saugus Holds P. R. Election .. 201
Toledo Loses P. R. 48
Twin Cities Conference 5
What Civic Groups Are Doing .. 109
Wheeling Votes on P. R. 516
Why Politicians War Against P. R. (Edit.) 272
Worcester Off to Good Start 150
Worcester Plan E Group 361
Public Administration:
Administrative Theory, Practice 262
Conn. Governor Modifies Reform Plan 298
Conn. Reorganization Minimized 346
Conn. State Reorganization 191
Fellowships at Harvard 153
Ida. Reorganization Committee .. 242
More Hoover Items Submitted .. 189
N. H. Secures Reorganization .. 344
Over 100 Cities Have Administrative Assistants 511
PACH Half Million Grant 517
Playing to Get Touchdowns 278
Puerto Rico Commission Urges Changes 96
Reorganization Studies in Cal. .. 347
Research Studies 264
State Management Limited 72
U. S. Reorganization Effective .. 348
Universities Serve State, Local Governments 161
Upson Fellowships 212
Va. Reorganizes Again 339
Public Employees: (See Personnel)
Public Employee Unions:
Court Says Yonkers Employees Did Not Strike 297
Minneapolis City Strike 40
Public Health:
Activities in Md. Counties 467
City-county Cooperation 205
City-county Relations 301
Future of an Oversize City 324
Good Government and Labor .. 79
Phoenix Makes New Start 383
Planning Group Activities 309
Research Studies 61, 112, 479
Research Studies—Rabies Control 579
Running a City the Hard Way .. 283

Small Manager Cities Thrive .. 130
States Cooperate on Delinquents 462
Tradition Bows to Efficiency .. 497
Public Libraries:
Research Studies ... 369
Public Opinion:
Council Advised by Postcard Ballots ... 201
New Type Civic Laboratory .. 501
Voters Nominate by Postcard .. 206
What Do the Citizens Think? .. 288
Public Ownership:
Politicians Lose Again ... 389
Wash. Cities Adopt Policy 404
Public Relations:
A City Statesman (Edit.) 375
Civic Secretaries Meet ... 107
Efficient Service Not Enough .. 136
Effort for Good Government 55
N. Y. Personnel Relations Board 242
Phoenix Makes New Start 383
Research Studies ... 214
Twin Cities Conference ... 5
Way to Better State Government 211
Public Safety: (See also Traffic Safety)
Tradition Bows to Efficiency .. 497
Public Utilities:
Election Proposals Fate ... 570
Good Government and Labor 79
Small Manager Cities Thrive .. 130
Public Welfare: (See also Social Security and Unemployment)
Discretion Urged for Welfare Boards ... 301
Milwaukee Co. Welfare Studied 569
Research Studies ... 62, 112, 214, 369, 479, 528
State Management Limited 72
Western Governors Cooperate .. 565
Public Works: (See also Planning)
Congress Provides $100 Million for Plans ... 53
Research Studies ... 165, 425, 479, 528, 579
Tradition Bows to Efficiency ... 497
Pueblo, Colorado:
Adopts Manager Plan ... 37
Manager Plan Developments 194, 295
Puerto Rico:
Commission Urges Changes 96
Pulaski, Virginia:
Adopts Manager Plan ... 561
Purchasing:
Fraud in New York Schools .. 520
Phoenix Makes New Start 383
Puyallup, Washington:
Manager Plan Developments .. 510

Q

Quincy, Massachusetts:
Elects P. R. Council ... 152
For the School Citizen ... 58
Manager Plan Developments .. 509

R

Radio and Television:
Bureau Notes ... 164
Now Television ... 362
Politicians Lose Again ... 389
Radio Program ... 210
Twin Cities Conference ... 5
Va. Bill Exempts Radio, Video 204
Readfield, Maine:
Manager Plan Developments .. 194
Reading, Massachusetts:
Manager Plan Developments 38, 144, 247
Reapportionment:
N. M. Reapportions ... 94
One House Proposed in Vt. 299
Ore. Considers Reapportionment 243
Ore. Constitution Measures 460
Prescriptions for Legislatures .. 365
Reapportionment ... 210
Relations Between Governments 87
State Constitution for Hawaii .. 405
Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
Way to Better State Government 211
Where Caucus Is King (Edit.) 119
Recording:
Research Studies ... 112
Recreation:
Activities in Md. Counties 467
The Durable City Manager 335
Good Government and Labor .. 79
Hartford Students City Council 258
Norfolk Administrative Changes 296
Planning Group Activities ... 309
Survey Delaware River Basin .. 46
Refuse Disposal:
City-county Relations ... 43
Powers for Los Angeles Co. Sanitary Districts ... 44
Research Studies ... 528, 579
Small Manager Cities Thrive .. 130
Registration:
Ga. Electoral Methods Survive .. 299
Tenn. Cities Get Permanent Registration ... 402
With the Women Voters ... 108
Rent Control:
Research Studies ... 369
246 Cities Decontrol Rents 244
Reporting:
Awards for Municipal Reports .. 41
Financial Reporting Recognized 470
Montgomery Co. Issues Report .. 251
Research Studies ... 369, 425
Town Report Pioneer Dead ... 222
Research:
Administrative Theory, Practice 262
Bureaus Aid Charter Commissions 421
GRA Meets in Asbury Park ... 525
1950 GRA Conference ... 366
Prescriptions for Legislatures .. 365
Research Bureau Notes .. 60, 164, 315, 367, 422, 477, 526
Researchers Confer on Problems 59

Researcher's Digest (Dept.) 59, 110, 161, 211, 262, 313, 365, 421, 475, 525, 577
Research Reports 422
Research Studies 62, 214, 316
Research Urged for Sask. 416
Schools vs. City Government 313
Universities Serve State, Local Governments 161
Retirement: (See Social Security)
Rhode Island:
Human Freedom for Us, Too (Edit.) 487
Reorganization in 27 States 460
Rubbing Out the Coroners 494
Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
Richfield, Minnesota:
Adopts Manager Plan 561
Richland County, South Carolina:
County Manager Developments .. 409
Richmond, Virginia:
Another Civic Victory 420
Twin Cities Conference 5
Roanoke, Virginia:
Excise Taxes Upheld 307
Manager Plan Developments .. 401
Rockville, Maryland:
Adopts Manager Plan 401
Rocky Hill, Connecticut:
Manager Plan Developments .. 38
Roll Call:
Roll Call Machines in Legislatures 192
Roseville, California:
Manager Plan Developments .. 248
Rossland, Canada:
Manager Plan Developments .. 195
Rotterdam, Holland:
Elect Provincial Councils 304
Rural Areas: (See also Reapportionment)
Canadian Province Considers County Government 372
Losing the Human Touch 439
Neb., Tex. Rural Fire Districts 147
N. Y. Studies Rural Problems .. 168
Va. to Study Urban Growth 351
Wis. Changing Rural Zoning .. 44
Wis. Rural Zoning Brings Tax Sources 106
Rutland, Vermont:
Manager Plan Developments .. 401

S

St. Anthony, Idaho:
Manager Plan Developments .. 510
St. Jerome, Quebec:
Manager Plan Developments .. 91
St. Louis County, Missouri:
Adopts Home Rule Charter 249
Charter Plan Voted 98
To Vote on Charter Proposal .. 168
St. Louis, Missouri:
Board Agrees to Strong Mayor 295
Bureaus Aid Charter Commissions 421
Considers Lay-off of 2,000 358
Hope for Suburbanitis 542
Louisville Award Split 416
An Old Lesson (Edit.) 376
Payroll Tax Expires 413
Planning Activities 524
Potpourri 576
Strong Mayor Charter Defeated 403
To Provide Earnings Tax 256
St. Mary's County, Maryland:
County Planning Continues 100
St. Paul, Minnesota:
Abandons Single Education Head 566
Twin Cities Conference 5
Salaries:
Employee Classification Surveys 458
Gravy Train Disapproved 209
N. M. Constitution Changes 94
Ore. Constitution Measures ... 460
Research Studies .. 214, 425, 479, 579
San Francisco Voters Say No! 469
Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
Salem, West Virginia:
Adopts Manager Plan 193
Salt Lake City, Utah:
City-county Relations 301
Manager Plan Developments .. 91
Salt Lake County, Utah:
City-county Relations 301
San Angelo, Texas:
City-county Consolidation 410
San Antonio, Texas:
Manager Plan Developments 39, 194, 295, 402, 457
San Bruno, California:
Manager Plan Developments .. 402
San Carlos, California
Manager Plan Developments .. 39
San Diego, California:
City-county Relations 43
Election Proposals Fate 570
San Diego County, California:
City-county Relations 43, 257
Sand Springs, Oklahoma:
Manager Plan Developments .. 562
San Francisco, California:
Planning Group Activities 309
Recent Publications 473
Voters Say No! 469
Sangamon County, Illinois:
Equalization Program Sustained 155
Sanitation:
Powers for Los Angeles Co. Sanitary Districts 44
San Joaquin County, California:
County Charter Developments .. 513
San Jose, California:
Now Gold Feather Week 576
San Luis Obispo, California:
Manager Plan Developments ... 91
San Mateo County, California:
Retains Manager Plan 353

Santa Clara County, California:
  Adopts Manager Plan 561
  Approve Charters 567
  Charter Upheld 513
  Home Rule Charter Invalid 42
  Manager Charter on Ballot 408
Santa Fe, New Mexico:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 402
Santa Paula, California:
  Adopts Manager Plan 508
  Manager Plan Developments 39, 563
Santa Rosa, California:
  Citizens Probe Operations 471
Sarnia, Ontario:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 511
Saskatchewan:
  Research Commission Urged ... 416
Saugus, Massachusetts:
  Holds Second P. R. Election .. 201
  Manager Plan Developments .. 38
Savannah, Georgia:
  Manager Plan Developments 248, 294
Savanna, Illinois:
  Adopts Manager Plan 247
Schenectady, New York:
  Cuts City Car Accidents 403
Schuykill Haven, Pennsylvania:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 456
Scranton, Pennsylvania:
  Loosening the Purse Strings 14

Seasongood Honored 68, 222

Seattle, Washington:
  Campaign for Intelligent Ballot 521
  Citizen School News 311
  Election Proposals Fate 570
  Group Activities 473
  Mayor Asks for Administrative Assistant 145
  Now Television 362
  Schools in Civic Education 574
  Toledo Extends Citizenship Training to Adults 259
  Voters Directories Appear 312

Seed, Director Field Services .. 222, 374

Sewers:
  Research Studies 62, 480
Shelby, North Carolina:
  City-county Cooperation 205
Sherbrooke, Quebec:
  Manager Plan Developments ... 248
Short Ballot:
  Conn. Governor Modifies Reform Plan 298
  Easier Amendment Urged for Ky. Constitution 297
  Ida. Reorganization Committee 242
  Invitation to the Masquerade .. 228
  New Model Primary Law 225
  Parties vs. Principles (Edit.) .. 70
  Reorganization Urged in Conn. .. 140
  Some Good Shortening (Edit.) .. 432
Sidney, Nebraska:
  Adopts Manager Plan 143
  Manager Plan Developments 39
Silver Spring, Maryland:
  Advised to Stay Under County 148
  Municipal Surveys in Md. 145
Smoke Abatement:
  Future of an Oversize City 324
  Group Activities 473
  Pittsburgh—Smokeless City 489
  Planning Group Activities 309
  Research Studies 214, 425
Snohomish, Washington:
  Council Advised by Postcard Ballots 201
Snow and Ice Control:
  Research Studies 579
Social Security:
  Election Proposals 570
  Old-age Insurance for Employees 459
  Ore. Constitution Measures 460
  Relations Between Governments 87
  Research Studies 62, 165
    214, 266, 369, 425, 479
  Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
  Wash. Counties Retirement Plan 302
Somerville, Massachusetts:
  Battle Continues In Mass. 252
  Worcester Plan E Group 361
South Carolina:
  Ga. Electoral Methods Survive .. 299
  Legislative Reorganization 190
  Manager Plan Developments ... 195
  Tradition Bows to Efficiency .. 497
  Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
South Dakota:
  City Planning Commissions 94
  Labor Departments Increase .. 246
Special Assessments:
  Research Studies 480
Special Districts:
  State-local Debt Peaks 104
Spokane, Washington:
  New Groups Expand 472
Springfield, Illinois:
  Manager Plan Developments .. 562
Springfield, Massachusetts:
  Library Study 477
Springfield, Vermont:
  Consolidation Efforts Made 245
Spur, Texas:
  City-county Relations 301
Stamford, Connecticut:
  Citizens Probe Operations 471
Stanislaus County, California:
  County Charter Developments .. 513
Stanly County, North Carolina:
  City-county Relations 43
Stark County, Ohio:
  Research Reports 422
State Government: (See also Federal-State-Local Relations, Interstate Cooperation, State-Local Re-

lations and names of individual states)
Administrative Theory, Practice 262
Census of Governments on Five-year Basis 508
City, State and Nation (Dept.) 36, 91, 140, 189, 242, 293 344, 400, 455, 507, 561
Civil Service Assembly Meets .. 352
Few New State Taxes in 1949 .. 52
Local Borrowing Approvals 154
Local Borrowing on Large Scale 256
Netherlands Provincial Councils 304
Old-age Insurance for Employees 459
Quinquennial Census of Governments 297
Principle and Practice 475
Recent Publications 160
Reorganization in 27 States .. 460
Research Studies ... 62, 214, 316, 528
Seek Fewer New Taxes in 1950 204
State Government Council Legislative Program 96
State-local Debt Peaks 104
State Taxes Set New Record .. 518
Twin Cities Conference 5
Universities Serve States 161
War Portends Fiscal Problems 413

State-Local Relations:
Behind the Scandal (Edit.) 223
Conn. Raises a Standard (Edit.) 170
Courts Outlaw State Aid 182
Discretion Urged for Welfare Boards 301
Efforts to Postpone Boston's Plan A 39
From Home Town and Back .. 554
Home Rule for Whole City .. 178
Human Freedom for Us, Too (Edit.) 487
Ia. Municipal Statutes Study ... 193
Leagues of Municipalities 145
Long Machine Foiled Again ... 125
Loosening the Purse Strings .. 14
Md. League Legislative Goals .. 93
Mass. Houses Divide on P. R. .. 200
Mich. Investigates State Aid .. 156
Miss. Urges Municipal Changes 457
Mo. Governor Shakes Up Kansas City Police Board 297
N. J. Commission Revises Plans 190
N. J. 14 Optional Charters 293
New Orleans Home Rule 400
New Type Civic Laboratory .. 501
N. Y. Studies Rural Problems .. 168
Onondaga Co. Drafts Manager Charter 464
Pittsburgh—Smokeless City 489
Reorganization Urged in Conn. .. 140
Research Studies 165, 214
St. Louis Payroll Tax Expires 413
School Consolidation Continues 45
S. C. Legislative Reorganization 190
Tradition Bows to Efficiency .. 497
Va. Counties Get Third Option 408
Wyo. Cities Seek More Revenue 53

Sterling, Colorado:
Adopts Manager Plan 294
Manager Plan Developments 91, 194

Sterling, Kansas:
Manager Plan Developments .. 194

Stockholm, Sweden:
P. R. Local Elections 515

Stoneham, Massachusetts:
Adopts Manager Plan 247
Manager Plan in the News 260

Stoughton, Massachusetts:
Manager Plan Developments .. 349

Streets and Highways:
County Road Association in Mich. 113
Election Proposals Fate 570
Intergovernmental Studies 476
N. M. Constitution Changes 94
N. Y. Studies Rural Problems .. 168
Ore. County Planning Commission 465
Progress in Anne Arundel Co., Md. 197
Research Studies 63 215, 316, 369, 480
Road District Consolidation 514
Toll Roads Approved 306
Wis. County Highways Have Cost Accounting 257

Strictly Personal 60, 164, 216, 261, 315 367, 420, 422, 526, 584

Subdivision Control:
Research Studies 528

Subversion: (See also Communism)
Loyalty Laws Invalidated 142
Voters Pass on State Proposals 563

Summit, New Jersey:
Private Groups Use Hare System 372

Surveys:
Baltimore Co. Business Survey .. 205
Citizens Probe City Operations .. 471
City-county Relations 43
Commission Reports on Fulton Co. 198
Conn. Raises a Standard (Edit.) 170
Conn. School Commission Survey 462
Future of an Oversize City 324
Miss. Urges Municipal Changes 457
Municipal Surveys in Md. 145
N. H. Secures Reorganization .. 344
N. Y. C. Efficiency Study 244
N. Y. C. Sets up Commission .. 92
Petroleum Co. Case Study 568
Playing to Get Touchdowns ... 278
Reorganization Studies in Cal. .. 347
Report on City Finance 210
Research Studies 579
Virginia Reorganizes Again ... 339
Way to Better State Government 211
With the Civic Groups 159

Sweden:
P. R. Local Elections 515
Sydney, Canada:
Manager Plan Developments .. 195
Syracuse, New York:
GRA Meets in Asbury Park .. 525
Onondaga Co. Drafts Manager Charter 464

T

Tallmadge, Ohio:
Suburb Resists Fragmentation 245
Tarrant County, Texas:
County Manager, Home Rule Plans 250
Tarrytown, New York:
Merger Defeated at Polls 351
Revised Charter for Merger 93
Taxation—Cigarette:
Stamp Tax Counterfeiter 359
Taxation—Collection and Delinquency:
City-county Relations 301
State Taxes Set New Record .. 518
Yonkers Sells Million Realty .. 203
Taxation—Excise:
Roanoke Excise Taxes Upheld .. 307
Taxation—Exemption:
N. M. Constitution Changes 94
Tax Rates of American Cities .. 17
Wyo. Cities Seek More Revenue 53
Taxation—Gasoline:
Few New State Taxes in 1949 .. 52
Mo. Gas Tax Defeated 307
Taxation—General: (See also Finance)
Calif. City-county Relations ... 257
Census of Governments on Five-year Basis 508
Courts Invalidate Local Tax .. 203
Election Proposals 570
Few New State Taxes in 1949 52
Inventory Assessment Practices 155
Ky. Half-year Revenues Up .. 202
Legislative Commission Seeks Taxpayers' Advice 155
Loosening The Purse Strings .. 14
N. J. Tax Commission Reports 357
N. Y. Studies Rural Problems 168
Relations Between Governments 87
Research Studies .. 63, 113, 215, 316
369, 425, 480, 528, 579
St. Louis Charter Defeated 403
San Francisco Voters Say No! 469
Seek Fewer New Taxes in 1950 204
Small Manager Cities Thrive .. 130
Taxation and Finance (Dept.)
52, 104, 154, 202, 255, 306
357, 413, 468, 518, 570
War Portends Fiscal Problems 413
Wash. Cities Adopt Policy 404
What Do the Citizens Think? .. 288
Wis. Women Study Finance 208
Taxation—Income:
Commuters Aid City Comeback 273
Dayton Voters Adopt Income Tax 308
Enact Tax and Fiscal Measures 306
Few New State Taxes in 1949 52
Loosening the Purse Strings .. 14
Philadelphia Raises Income Tax 53
St. Louis Charter to Provide Earnings Tax 256
St. Louis Considers Lay-off .. 358
St. Louis Payroll Tax Expires .. 413
State Taxes Set New Record .. 518
Toledo Income Tax Upheld 255
Taxation—In Lieu:
College Makes in Lieu Payments 202
In Lieu Payments for Cities ... 105
Taxation—Limitation:
Court Outlaws State Aid 182
Research Studies 579
Wyo. Cities Seek More Revenue 53
Taxation—Liquor:
Court Outlaws State Aid 182
Taxation—Personalty:
Calif. Initiative on Personalty Tax 415
Taxation—Poll:
Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
Taxation—Property:
The Durable City Manager ... 335
Phoenix Makes New Start 383
Tax Rates of American Cities 17
Taxation—Sales:
Few New State Taxes in 1949 52
Long Machine Foiled Again .. 125
N. Y. City Sales Tax Declines 358
Sales Taxes Spread in Miss. ... 414
State Taxes Set New Record .. 518
Teaneck, New Jersey:
Citizens Honor Manager 209
Tennessee:
Bureau Notes 315, 422
City-county Relations 301
Ohio Valley Anti-pollution 96
Tenn. Cities Get Permanent Registration 402
Universities Serve State Governments 161
Terms of Office:
Ariz. Vote on Constitution Changes 348
Terre Haute, Indiana:
Environs Fight Annexation ... 246
Terry County, Texas:
City-county Cooperation 205
Texas:
Approve Rural Fire Districts .. 147
County Manager, Home Rule Plans 250
Manager Plan Developments .. 350
Planning Group Activities 309
School Consolidation Continues .. 45
Small Manager Cities Thrive .. 130
246 Cities Decontrol Rents 244
Universities Serve States 161
Way to Better State Government 211
Thetford Mines, Quebec:
Financial Reporting Recognized 470

Tokyo, Japan:
Research Bureau Notes 477
Toledo, Ohio:
Citizens Probe Operations 471
Civics for the Adult 419
Extends Citizen Training 259
Income Tax Upheld 255
Loses P. R. on Fifth Vote 48
Planning Group Activities 309
Potpourri 363
Schools in Civic Education 574
Tolls:
Toll Roads Approved 306
Tom Green County, Texas:
City-county Consolidation 410
Tonkawa, Oklahoma:
Manager Plan Developments 510, 562
Topeka, Kansas:
Manager Plan Developments .. 562
Toronto, Ontario:
Bureau Notes 315
Manager Plan Developments .. 195
Recent Publications 473
Research Reports 422
Town and Township Government:
Citizen Publications 57
County and Township (Dept.) .. 42
98, 146, 196, 249, 300
353, 408, 463, 513, 567
Maine Has a New Export 121
Merit System for Town Clerks 93
N. Y. Towns to Meet 46
Recent Publications 473
Reorganization Urged in Conn. 140
Town Meeting 473
Wis. Changing Rural Zoning .. 44
Traffic:
Planning Group Activities 309
Research Studies 64, 214, 317, 425, 529
Traffic Code for Mich. Cities .. 40
Traffic Commissioner Replaces N. Y. Commission 351
Traffic Officers Institute 532
Traffic Safety:
Cincinnati and Dallas Train Drivers 459
Hartford Students City Council 258
Schenectady Cuts City Car Accidents 403
Training for Public Service:
Bureau Notes 367, 422
Cal. Councilmen Take Course .. 459
Cincinnati, Dallas Train Drivers 459
Cities Establish Interneship 405
Efficient Service Not Enough .. 136
Interneship Programs 410
Intern Program in Glendale .. 93
Kansas City Trains Supervisors 195
Maine Has a New Export 121
N. Y. S. Expands Training Plans 462
Public Administration Course .. 352
Public Administration Fellowships 153
Research Studies 369, 580
Stevens Institute Program 352
Universities Serve State, Local Governments 161
Upson Fellowships 212
Wis. Educates Local Officials .. 577
Transportation:
Future of an Oversize City 324
Home Rule for Whole City 178
New York Transit Revenues Drop 154
Research Studies 64, 317, 529
Travis County, Texas:
County Manager, Home Rule Plans 250
Tuckahoe, New York:
Adopts Manager Plan 294

U

Unemployment:
Milwaukee Co. Welfare Studied 569
Research Studies 425
Unemployment Insurance for City Employees 458
Union County, Illinois:
Road District Consolidation .. 514
Union County, New Jersey:
Enters Censorship Field 257
Units of Government:
Research Studies 529
Urban Redevelopment:
Planning Group Activities .. 309
Potpourri 576
Research Studies 64
Wash. Cities Adopt Policy .. 404
Utah:
Voters Pass on State Proposals 563
Western Governors Cooperate 565

V

Vermont:
Lake Champlain Interstate Commission 41
One House Legislature Proposed 299
States Cooperate on Delinquents 462
Veterans:
Election Proposals Fate 570
Few New State Taxes in 1949 52
N. Y. Bonus Below Estimate 255
Ore. Constitution Measures 460
Pa. Borrows Record Sum 202
Research Studies 64, 113
Wyo. Cities Seek Revenue 53
Victoria, British Columbia:
Adopts Manager Plan 37

Virginia:
  Approves School Consolidation 302
  Bill Exempts Radio and Video 204
  Commission to Study Urban Growth 351
  Counties Get Third Option ... 408
  Manager Plan Developments 195
  Ohio Valley Anti-pollution .. 96
  Reorganizes Again 339
  Rubbing Out the Coroners 494
  Toll Roads Approved 306
  246 Cities Decontrol Rents .. 244

W

War: (See also Defense)
  Awake at Last—A Bit Late 536
  This Is the Time (Edit.) 375
  War Portends Fiscal Problems 413
Ward vs. At Large Elections:
  Home Rule Questions in Courts 409
Warwick County, Virginia:
  City-county Merger Rejected 251
  Counties Seek Manager Plan 300
Washington:
  Cities Intergovernmental Policy 404
  Conferences Past and Coming 363
  Counties Join Retirement Plan 302
  Election Proposals Fate 570
  Few New State Taxes in 1949 52
  Parties Survive Cross Voting .. 237
  Progress in Counties (Edit.) 120
  Recent Publications 473
  Research Reports 422
  School Consolidation Continues 45
Washington County, Oregon:
  Has Planning Commission .. 465
Washington, D. C.: (See District of Columbia)
Washington, Missouri:
  Manager Plan Developments 295
Washtenau County, Wisconsin:
  Running a City the Hard Way .. 283
Waterford, Ireland:
  Manager Plan Developments 195
Water Pollution: (See Pollution)
Water Supply:
  City-county Relations 43
  Future of an Oversize City 324
  International Local Authorities Stress Education 459
  Research Studies 165, 216, 317, 425, 480
  Small Manager Cities Thrive .. 130
  Survey Delaware River Basin 46
Wellington, Kansas:
  Manager Plan Developments 194
Wells, Minnesota:
  Manager Plan Developments 39
Westchester County, New York:
  Interneship Program 410
West Virginia:
  Court Outlaws State Aid 182
  Election Proposals Fate 570
  Ohio Valley Anti-pollution ... 96
  Studies County Finance 409
Wheeling, West Virginia:
  Votes on Retention of P. R. 516
White Plains, New York:
  Manager Plan Developments 91
Wichita Falls, Texas:
  Planning Group Activities 309
Wicomico County, Maryland:
  County Planning and Zoning 147
  County Planning Continues .. 100
  Planning Commission 44
Wilmington, Massachusetts:
  Adopts Manager Plan 561
  Manager Plan Developments 248, 401
Wilton, Maine:
  Adopts Manager Plan 401
Winnipeg, Canada:
  Manager Plan Developments 195
Winter Park, Florida:
  Adopts Manager Plan 193
Wisconsin:
  Changing Rural Zoning Emphasis 44
  Citizenship Day May 21 159
  Civics for the Adult 419
  County Highways Cost Accounting 257
  County Treasurers Institute .. 205
  County-wide Assessment 113
  Educates Local Officials 577
  Manager Plan Developments 195
  Potpourri 576
  Rural Zoning Brings Tax Sources 106
  Strengthening Home Rule 172
  Traffic Officers Institute 532
  246 Cities Decontrol Rents .. 244
  Women Voters Hold Sessions 311
  Women Voters Study Finance 208
Wolfville, Canada:
  Manager Plan Developments 195
Worcester, Massachusetts:
  Battle Continues in Mass. 252
  Campaign for Intelligent Ballot 521
  Group Activities 473
  Manager Plan in the News .. 260
  Plan E Group Expands 361
  Plan E Off to Good Start 150
  Potpourri 576
  P. R. Continues in Mass. 355
  P. R. League Session 49
  What Civic Groups Are Doing 109
Wray, Colorado:
  Adopts Manager Plan 561
Wyoming:
  Cities Seek More Revenue .. 53

Y

Yonkers, New York:
  Court Says Employees Did Not Strike 297
  Sells Million of Realty 203
York, Nebraska:
  Manager Plan Developments 39
Youngstown, Ohio:
  A City Beats the Rackets 433
Youth: (See also Juvenile Delinquency)
  Program for Citizen Education 418

Z

Zombrota, Minnesota:
  Manager Plan Developments 39
Zoning:
  County Planning and Zoning 147
  County Planning Commission 44
  Future of an Oversize City 324
  Norfolk Revises Zoning Law 296
  Recent Publications 160
  Research Studies 216
  Wis. Changing Rural Zoning 44
  Wis. Rural Zoning Brings Tax Sources 106

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

ARY 1950 VOLUME XXXIX, NO. 1

PERIODICAL DEPT.
Public Library Kansas City, Mo.

What Two-Party System? .... *Editorial*

The Twin Cities Conference .... *John E. Bebout*

Grants in Aid: Good and Evil .... *John E. Burton*

Loosening the Purse Strings .... *Richard C. Spaulding*

Tax Rates of American Cities 1949
Bureau of Governmental Research, Detroit, and National Training School for Public Service

Federal Reorganization Leading 1950 Issue 36

Manager Proposed for King County, Wash. 42

Atomic Town Uses P. R. 47

Few New State Taxes in 1949 52

Sustaining Efforts for Good Government 55

Researchers Confer on Many Problems 59

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the Review by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor
ELSIE S. PARKER, Assistant Editor

Contributing Editors

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

State Correspondents

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
JAMES K. COLEMAN, *South Carolina*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
JAMES GIRAND, *Arizona*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN, *Maryland*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
HAROLD W. SANFORD, *New York*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
JAMES P. TAYLOR, *Vermont*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
HARVEY WALKER, *Ohio*
YORK Y. WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *President*
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J., *Vice President*
J. W. Clise, Seattle, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York, *Treasurer*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
John E. Bebout, *Assistant Secretary*
George H. Hallett, Jr., *Associate Secretary*
William Collins, *Finance Chairman*

Council

Richard S. Childs, New York, *Chairman*

William Anderson, Minneapolis
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
Frederick L. Bird, New York
Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati
William Collins, Yonkers, N. Y.
L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Mo.
James A. Cunningham, Chicago
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
C. A. Dykstra, Los Angeles
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
B. H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Clarence Francis, Bronxville, N. Y.
Arnold Frye, New York
Lloyd E. Graybiel, San Francisco
Harrison S. Hires, Berwyn, Pa.
Robert W. Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
John S. Linen, New York
Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis
Mrs. Thomas H. Mahony, Boston
D. K. Pfeffer, New York
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Walter M. Phillips, Philadelphia
Lawson Purdy, New York
Harry W. Schacter, Louisville, Ky.
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Henry L. Shattuck, Boston
George S. Van Schaick, New York
Richard Weil, Jr., New York
Jack White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

Publication Office: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
Editorial and Business Office: 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXIX, No. 1 **Total Number 395**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for January 1950

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS 2

EDITORIAL COMMENT 3

THE TWIN CITIES CONFERENCE .... *John E. Bebout* 5

GRANTS IN AID: GOOD AND EVIL .... *John E. Burton* 11

LOOSENING THE PURSE STRINGS .... *Richard C. Spaulding* 14

TAX RATES OF AMERICAN CITIES 1949
Bureau of Governmental Research, Detroit, and
National Training School for Public Service 17

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 36

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 42

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION .... *George H. Hallett, Jr., and Wm. Redin Woodward* 47

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 52

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 55

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 59

BOOKS IN REVIEW 65

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

Copyright January 1950 by
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

Charles Edison Reelected President

Over his protests that the presidency of the National Municipal League should be rotated more frequently and that he had inhibitions against four terms in office, President Charles Edison was unanimously reelected at the 1949 annual meeting of the members at 4:45 P.M., November 28, at the Hotel Lowry, St. Paul, in connection with the National Conference on Government.

President Edison presided, relinquishing the chair to Herbert Emmerich when the nominating committee's report was presented by Carl H. Pforzheimer, in the absence of Frederick L. Bird, chairman.

In addition to Mr. Edison, the following were elected: *Vice presidents*: George H. Gallup, director, American Institute of Public Opinion, and James W. Clise, president, Asbestos Supply Company, Seattle; *Members of the Council*: Thomas C. Desmond, member of New York Senate; Rev. Edward Dowling, S. J., *The Queen's Work,* St. Louis; Karl Detzer, roving editor, *Reader's Digest;* J. W. Esterline, chairman of the board, Esterline Angus Company; George S. Van Schaick, lawyer, New York City; Richard Weil, Jr., president, Macy's New York; A. C. (Jack) White, mayor of San Antonio; Wilson W. Wyatt, former mayor of Louisville; *Honorary vice presidents*: Philip H. Cornick, Institute of Public Administration, and Herbert Emmerich, director, Public Administration Clearing House.

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council, who has been an unpaid member of the staff since October 1947, reported briefly on his writing, research and speaking activities during the year.

A report on the year was presented by Alfred Willoughby, secretary. Copies of the Secretary's Report for 1949 are available on request.

William Collins, chairman of the Finance Committee, reported continued progress of the program to broaden the basis of financial support.

Annual Meeting of the Council

The Council met in dinner session the evening of November 28 at the Hotel Lowry, St. Paul, in connection with the National Conference on Government.

Present were: President Charles Edison, presiding; William Anderson, Albert D. Cash, Richard S. Childs, James W. Clise, William Collins, L. P. Cookingham, Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., Herbert Emmerich, B. H. Faulkner, Arnold Frye, Lloyd Hale, Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, John S. Linen, Ed. P. Phillips and Carl H. Pforzheimer. Also present were Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary, John E. Bebout, assistant secretary, and Nelson Bengston, consultant.

The Council reappointed for one-year terms the following: Chairman of the Council, Richard S. Childs; treasurer, Carl H. Pforzheimer; secretary, Alfred Willoughby. The work of President Edison and others among the officers and Council members to interest businesses in continuing support of the League was described in some detail by William Collins, finance chairman.

The Council approved the request of Miss Jean James, of *The Minneapolis Tribune,* that the League cooperate in choosing an "all-American team" of American cities for 1949, with the proviso that the choices be on the basis of citizen effort and accomplishment and that the action be unofficial.

(Continued on page 68)

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo

Editorial Comment

What Two-Party System?

WHENEVER a city contemplates going from partisan to nonpartisan elections, pious "platitudes in stained glass attitudes" are encountered expressing devotion to "the good old American two-party system"; in other words, the two groups who impart the label "Republican" and "Democratic" to candidates should, it seems, have between them a binopoly of hopeful nominations and should continue to be able to swing to their selectees the dead weight of the uncritical habitual party vote!

How frail their real hold is on this vote is frequently exhibited when party leaders as such presume thereon and try to influence referenda. It is exhibited again when nonpartisan elections are adopted in municipalities; except in very large cities, like Cincinnati or Boston, voters abruptly cease to inquire for the party line and in a roundup of 500 such local elections last year[1] the National Municipal League found only two where the Democratic or Republican parties had thereafter been a factor. Nonpartisan ballots are in effect in 57 per cent of municipal elections now;[2] add partisan elections in the 86 cities in southern one-party regions where the real election is in the Democratic primary and the percentage becomes 61.

That is the situation on the municipal level—the two-party system has gone away!

In larger areas—congressional districts and statewide units—organized standing parties are inevitable because those are "unwieldy districts" and there the two-party system is half mythical. New York's delegation to the House of Representatives (10 per cent of the House) fluctuates from time to time but of its 43 districts, 1930 to 1948 inclusive, 20 stayed true to one party through ten successive elections and seven more fell from regularity only once. Among the states, sixteen (one-third), with 30.4 per cent of the population, have stayed with one party through twenty years of senatorial elections and ten more have made only a single exception. We may assume that in those states other statewide elections, for governor and minor state offices, are similarly under single-party dominance and that, within each state, half the legislative districts and counties run parallel with congressional districts in being under *one*-party systems. So in half the country the admirers of the two-party system must in logic switch their argument and find ways to extol the virtues of a mysterious system whereby nominations almost equivalent to election are awarded by *one* party!

Under a two-party binopoly the need of regulating the internals of the party mechanisms of nomination is plain enough but, in the half of the population where monopoly prevails in such matters, the need becomes imperative for just plain freedom! The battles that are thus transferred from a final perfunctory duel between the parties back to the primary elections within the dominant party must be effectively regulated and policed to ensure an honest count, identifiable responsible sponsorships, the fairest possible chance for insurgents and a short ballot for election of party officers in a simple party structure.

---

[1] *Cf.* "500 'Non-political' Elections," the REVIEW, June 1949.

[2] *Municipal Year Book 1948,* page 45, *re* 2,033 cities over 5,000 population.

None of the existing 47 state primary election procedures includes all the desirable factors, and the scanty evidence from the field during the twenty years since the last comprehensive roundup supports the need for the re-examination of direct primaries.

R. S. C.

Minority Dictatorship

TAMMANY HALL, keystone of the dominant political machine in Manhattan, clearly illustrates the evils of permitting party leaders to draft party rules. At the primary the enrolled party members of each voting precinct elect not one but ten to twenty county committeemen — a total of close to 20,000 for Manhattan, or more than 1,000 for each of the sixteen assembly districts.

That duly elected 1,000 are notified (if at all) and gather (to a fractional extent) around a motor truck on the street in front of district headquarters. They are treated to some mumbo-jumbo, a quorum is declared present, some stalwarts yell "aye" and the district leader is declared re-elected. The district leaders constitute the executive committee which can split districts to the disadvantage of rebels, change rules, reject unwelcome newly elected members and pick nominees.

This sort of minority dictatorship may not be quite as dangerous, terrifying or destructive of personal dignity as the Communist brand, but its potentialities help to give point to the proposed model primary law discussed at the National Conference on Government held in November in St. Paul.

The Art of Compromise

SIX German students attending the National Conference on Government were impressed by two things:

1. The fact that public officials, noted university professors and ordinary citizens met without distinction of rank and wrangled amicably without anybody losing face.

2. The demonstration of an art of compromise unknown to the Germans. A spokesman explained that the Germans know only the kind of compromise that besmirches a man's or a woman's honor. They are unpracticed in the give and take by which Americans who begin with disagreement habitually arrive at agreement, not by submission of one to another, but by achievement of a new and frequently better policy.

May Americans never lose these essential democratic virtues!

The Twin Cities Conference

'United Action for Good Government' urged, blueprinted by 200 speakers and discussants in 24 crowded sessions.

By JOHN E. BEBOUT*

IF HISTORY were always written by those who make it, the 1949 National Conference on Government in St. Paul, November 28-30, could properly be labelled the best of the series, which started with the National Municipal League's first conference in Minneapolis in November 1894.

"Now that I am home and can view the St. Paul conference with some detachment, I cannot help but come to the conclusion that it was the best ever," writes a local civic secretary.

"I can sincerely say that I learned more in those three days than in (to be conservative) several weeks of lectures at the university," says a graduate student.

"As a city manager I gained a great deal from the meeting from a technical and, considering the opportunity of meeting with civic leaders and business men, from a social viewpoint," says a city manager.

"One of the most successful meetings I have had the pleasure of attending," writes a secretary of a national civic organization.

"Your conference in St. Paul was a bang-up one. I enjoyed every minute and I am sure that others were getting as much inspiration and stimulation from it," a leading political scientist wrote.

"It was the most highly successful conference I have ever attended. I gained so much from the speeches—all of which seemed to be characterized by their specific, concrete content—no time wasted on abstractions. But I also gained as much from the informal conversations with the many people who were really doing things in their communities. The caliber of the personnel of the conference was high indeed and therein lay a large part of its value," wrote a civic leader prominent in the League of Women Voters.

"I don't know of another annual gathering which serves such a fine purpose as yours because it brings together not simply the 'hired hands' but laymen, including the women, who are really making personal sacrifices in their zeal for better local government," from a civic secretary.

These are a few of the statements that explain why League old-timers who have been attending conferences for more than half of the League's life say they cannot remember a better one.

A major share of the credit is due the Local Committee on Arrangements, under the chairmanship of John W. McConneloug and the guidance of Carl P. Herbert, director of the St. Paul Bureau of Municipal Research.

The St. Paul *Dispatch,* in an editorial headed, "A Chance to Learn," described the conference as "a sort of temporary university on city and other local government" with "professors" from among the most practical experts. As the editorial said, these people came "to exchange knowledge and information," but the setting and local participation provided by the people of the Twin Cities and the state of Minnesota helped the "university" to come alive.

---

*Mr. Bebout is assistant secretary of the National Municipal League.

The efficiency of the local convention bureau and of the staff of the Hotel Lowry enabled the conference to go on with a minimum of friction and waste motion.

At least fifteen reporters covered the conference for local and out of state papers, including two chains. The local newspaper and radio treatment of the conference was unusually thorough so that thousands of readers and listeners were able to get substantial parts of the League's short course in practical civics in their own homes.

One of the newspaper men was Volkmar R. Kahlert, a reporter for domestic politics on the *Suddeutsche Zeitung* of Munich. He interviewed League President Charles Edison and Council Chairman Richard S. Childs and sent back interpretive reports on the conference. Mr. Kahlert was one of five Germans who attended the conference as part of a year's study of American institutions. Stationed at the University of Michigan, they came under the leadership of Professor Wilbert L. Hindman, coordinator at the University of Michigan of the German visitors program sponsored by the State Department in six American universities. About 100 young German men and women are in the program this year.

As far as can be determined from registrations and records of attendance, approximately 900 people attended one or more conference sessions. Six hundred and eighteen registered from 30 states and the District of Columbia. Four hundred forty-six were from Minnesota and 172 from outside the state. One hundred and seven were League members at the time of registration. A number have joined since.

Registration Analyzed

According to available information registration breaks down as follows:

There were about 120 public officials, including nine mayors, fifteen city managers from eight states, 63 other local officials from eleven states and twenty state officials. There were five college presidents, at least 60 political scientists from some 26 states and more than 50 students.

Among civic organizations the League of Women Voters, with 55 members registered from at least eight states, was the best represented. Sixty-five people identified themselves as representatives of other local, state and national civic organizations, including taxpayers' associations, chambers of commerce, citizens' leagues, etc.

There were representatives of organized labor and a substantial number of business and professional men, including those representing civic organizations and some identified as public officials.

Two hundred and twelve of the registrants gave no affiliations but a substantial proportion of them would classify as civic leaders and business men.

Three times as many men registered as women. Only 26 of the 172 registrants from outside the state were women. However, more than one-third of the civic as distinguished from the official and professional personnel of the conference were women.

The whole conference, like its predecessors, was an instructive exercise in civic cooperation. Five national organizations—the Proportional Representation League, National Association of Civic Secretaries, Governmental Research Association, American Society for Public Administration and Association of Municipal Public Relations Officers—were listed on the program as cooperating organizations. Specific sessions were put on in cooperation with the Building Owners and Managers Associations and the Real Estate Boards of the Twin Cities, the Twin Cities Good Government Groups and the Minnesota Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration. The Association of Municipal Public Relations Officers joined in a morning session on "The Political Challenge of Municipal Public Relations."

The Civic Education Project of the Educational Research Corporation, which cooperated in organizing a group session at the Boston conference last year, sent one of its staff members, Jairus J. Deisenroth, to St. Paul to conduct a session on "Education for All-Round Citizenship" Tuesday morning.

The session on "P. R.—The Key to Democracy" was also the annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League and is reported in the P. R. department of this issue. The National Association of Civic Secretaries held two well attended supplementary sessions.

The Minnesota Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration was joint sponsor of the final luncheon. Roscoe C. Martin, chairman of the Department of Political Science, Syracuse University, and president of the American Society for Public Administration, delivered the principal address on "Responsibility," a graceful and witty analysis of the various meanings of the word responsibility in public affairs, with particular stress on the responsibility of officialdom to the public and of the citizen for his government.

Visit to University

An interesting incident of the conference to visiting political scientists was a bus trip to the Minneapolis campus of the University of Minnesota and reception by the Political Science Department, arranged by Professor William Anderson.

The cooperative effort that made the conference actually began late in 1948 with suggestions volunteered and solicited from scores of civic leaders, governmental researchers and political scientists. On the program were approximately a hundred principal speakers and more than a hundred especially invited discussion participants, whose appearance in most cases involved the cooperation of a civic organization, public agency or educational institution. The League has never paid travel or other expenses for any speaker at its conferences. This means that the expenses of the more than 200 people on the program were all paid either by the individuals themselves or by institutions or organizations with which they are connected. Very few people invited to appear on a League program decline the invitation because of expense.

There were 24 sessions on the program, including the annual membership meeting of the National Municipal League which is reported in The League's Business. All of them in one way or another related to and developed the conference theme, "United Action for Good Government."

Responsibility Stressed

Dr. Martin's closing address on "Responsibility" was in fact a summary talk on the moral basis for the all out collaboration among citizens and officials at all levels of government that earlier conference sessions had found necessary. The theme was eloquently expressed by Governor Luther W. Youngdahl in welcoming the conference at the opening luncheon. It was further developed in addresses on the stake of labor and industry in good government, by Jack Kroll, director, Political Action Committee, CIO, and Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond civic leader and president of Phillips Machinery Company. Mr. Kroll's address was printed in the December NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. Mr. Phillips used the story of Richmond's campaign for a new charter and more citizen participation in local elections to show how business and industrial leaders can meet their local civic responsibilities. The Richmond story, including dramatic accounts of the way in which Mr. Phillips and other business leaders were first enrolled in the fight, has been reported in past numbers of the REVIEW.[1]

The first evening session of the conference, presided over by Bayard H. Faulkner, member of the League Council and chairman of the New Jersey Commission on Municipal Government, continued the same theme. S. A. Galatas, Kansas City A.F. of L. leader, speaking from labor's experience with both good and bad government in Kansas City, explained why laboring men and women and their families have a greater stake than anyone else in the kind of good government that Kansas City has enjoyed since the ousting of the Pendergast machine. The same evening City Manager L. P. Cookingham explained how the present government of Kansas City is endeavoring to keep its operation in tune with the needs and desires of the people and to develop the fullest possible collaboration between citizens and officials. This subject, which was also discussed by Hayes A. Richardson, Kansas City's director of welfare, in the Sunday night meeting of the National Association of Civic Secretaries and in morning group sessions on municipal public relations and education for all-round citizenship, has already received considerable attention in the REVIEW.[2]

The importance of municipal public relations and of civic education were stressed not only in the sessions specifically built around them but by speakers in many other parts of the program. This was so obvious as to indicate a decided trend of official and civic interest.

---

[1] See "Farewell to the Politicians," by Hugh R. Thompson, Jr., the REVIEW, October 1948; "Drama Gets Out the Vote," by Charles Henry Hamilton, March 1949.

[2] See "The Children Get a Chance," by Hayes A. Richardson, the REVIEW, June 1946; "Inside Story of Kansas City," by L. P. Cookingham, December 1948; and "Everything's Changed Now," by Karl Detzer, July 1949.

In like manner there was much emphasis on the necessity for more effective home rule by local governments blessed with the necessary resources, competence and honesty to keep as much of the business of modern government as possible in the home town.

Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati presided over a general session the first afternoon on "What Our Town Needs," in which Mayor William F. Devin of Seattle talked on "Home Rule"; H. Eliot Kaplan, deputy state comptroller of New York and former executive secretary of the National Civil Service League, on "A Genuine Merit System"; and Dayton D. McKean, head of the Department of Government, Dartmouth College, on the need for "Some Honest Politicians." The speeches by Mayor Devin and Professor McKean were printed in the December REVIEW.

How to get greater home rule was the subject of a Tuesday morning group session under the chairmanship of Professor Arthur W. Bromage of the University of Michigan. One of the papers in that session, "Loosening the Purse Strings," by Richard C. Spaulding of the Pennsylvania Economy League, appears in this issue.

How to make the areas of local government more nearly adequate to the needs of expanding urban communities was the subject of a session on "Fitting Government to the Area" led by Professor William Anderson of the University of Minnesota.

Three group sessions Wednesday morning — "Successful Civic Campaigning," presided over by L. E. Marlowe, former president of the Richmond Citizens Association; "The Efficient City," led by John S. Linen, member of the League Council and vice president of the Chase National Bank; and "Management of the Smaller Community," conducted by City Manager Warren C. Hyde of Albert Lea, Minnesota—covered various aspects of how to get and keep soundly organized local governments and to conduct them efficiently and responsibly.

A wealth of case histories of successful management of communities of about 5,000 population or less was put on the record in the last of these sessions. The reports will be used by the League in providing information and literature to people interested in the manager plan for small places.

State Problems

Since state governments, state constitutions and state laws are not only important in themselves but also have a great deal to do with the nature and effectiveness of local governments, several sessions were devoted to state problems.

The Tuesday afternoon session under the chairmanship of Herbert Emmerich, director of Public Administration Clearing House, considered the "tough problems" of the misuse of the initiative exemplified in California in 1948, state reorganization via Little Hoover Commissions and the revision of old constitutions. Alfred F. Smith, director of the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, Frank Bane, director of the Council of State Governments, and Spencer Miller, Jr., New Jersey highway commissioner, were the speakers.

How to get constitutional revision was also the subject of a hard hitting talk by Dr. Franc L. McCluer, president of Lindenwood College and member of the 1943-4 Missouri Constitutional Convention. The stumbling blocks in the way of revision in different states and possible ways of overcoming them were threshed out in a Wednesday morning group session under the chairmanship of Dr. McCluer.

Current trends in state government was the subject of another group session Tuesday morning under the chairmanship of W. Brooke Graves of the Library of Congress and chairman of the League's Committee on State Government. State reorganization and management were discussed by Frank Bane and John A. Perkins, former budget director of Michigan, and New Jersey's new court system by Spencer Miller, Jr. Other speakers were Professor Richard C. Spencer of Coe College on "Nebraska's Streamlined Legislature After 15 Years" and Professor Martin L. Faust of the University of Missouri on "Carrying Out the New Missouri Constitution."

The need for keeping central government assistance—federal and state—within bounds was the subject of a Tuesday luncheon speech by John E. Burton, budget director of New York State, the substance of which is printed in this issue.

Group sessions on a proposed "Model Direct Primary Law" and "Model State Medical Examiner Law" are reported briefly in League's Business in this issue.

A Monday morning session on "University Services to State and Local Governments," conducted by Roscoe C. Martin, attracted men from a large number of universities that are conducting or planning extensive programs of research, consultation and training for state and local governments. This session showed a trend toward greater activity, particularly by state universities, in supplying public agencies with the technical know-how and training needed for modern government.

President's Address

President Charles Edison's annual address at the dinner Tuesday night was broadcast over CBS station WCCO, and was printed in the December Review. It pointed to serious weaknesses in state and local government that undermine local responsibility. Asserting that "the real peril of our times is neglect of local affairs," he analyzed the reasons for the failure to strengthen "our system to keep pace with new and increasing burdens" and charged men and women of ability and achievement with special responsibility "to combat the peril that lies in our backyards."

The Review will continue to run important and timely conference speeches. It will also carry more reports on some of the discussions in group sessions.

Grants in Aid: Good and Evil

State budget director argues for re-thinking of tax arrangements to clarify government responsibilities.

By JOHN E. BURTON*

FEDERAL and state grants-in-aid play an exceedingly important role in state and local finance. They support a great variety of state and local activities. They link federal, state and local administrations in joint services to the people more intimately than does any other administrative device. But the advantages that have been achieved through governmental grants are no excuse for the many evils that exist. These evils have an impact on our system of government that far transcends the importance of any particular service made possible by a grant.

Grants result in overextensions of central controls and in undesirable meddling with local initiative and administration. There is a tendency for the proponents of grants-in-aid programs to rush to a central government for quick and dictated results. At the federal level they depreciate the capabilities of the states, and at the state level they depreciate the capabilities of the localities.

I am interested in seeing our states and their municipalities increase and strengthen their administrative responsibilities and have the fiscal strength with which to do it. I am not interested in seeing the federal government increase its administrative responsibility at the expense of our states and municipalities.

Grants-in-aid programs should be more closely integrated, more equitable and more carefully harmonized with the spirit of our system of government. Federal grants-in-aid have been highly serviceable but are characterized by these serious shortcomings:

1. They have developed on a piecemeal basis and today, instead of an integrated system, we have a hodge-podge of uncoordinated programs. For example, in New York we have 36 different programs supported by federal grants. In public health alone, we must fit ten different federal programs into our own state public health work.

2. Grants either place too much reliance on the automatic functioning of formulae, although these formulae in reality can never anticipate all circumstances and often produce inequitable and odd results, or else they vest too much discretionary power in federal officials in the apportionment of funds. Too quickly administrators imbued with ideas of centralization translate discretion into dictation.

3. The present federal aid program and the programs being contemplated by Congress tend to be wasteful of

---

*Mr. Burton has been New York State's budget director since 1943. Previously he was executive secretary of the Institute for Economic Research, director of research of the Mortgage Commission of the State of New York, and research secretary of the Committee on Taxation of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership. From 1938 to 1942 he directed his own research group.

public money. Expenditure controls and economical operation are swept aside in the constant pressure brought by administrators to get appropriations entirely spent so that Congress will not cut future allowances.

4. Federal grants impose rigidities and cause lack of balance in state and municipal budgets. Local determination is weakened to the extent that restricted local resources must be diverted from local programs and concentrated upon federally determined programs.

5. It is almost impossible to avoid the human weakness of taking political advantage of an unrestrained central aid program. The administration that embarks on granting unrestrained assistance will always be tempted with, "Pile up the aids and they will never vote us out of office." No one shoots at Santa Claus.

6. Grants from a central government can easily result in a weakening of our whole governmental structure. Federal officials down the line will tell state officials down the line how to do their jobs. If grants are used wisely, this weakening tendency is counter-balanced by desirable central support of minimum levels of important governmental services. If not wisely used, this tendency alone wipes out all the advantages that might otherwise derive from the use of grants-in-aid.

If federal officials are interested in preserving the strength, interest and responsibility of states and municipalities, they will find throughout the whole country state and municipal officials who will respond to a sincere effort to salvage the good of central assistance and destroy the bad. I would like to propose specific steps in these directions:

1. Admit and support the good of central assistance to lesser governmental units.

2. Consolidate and simplify the existing federal grant programs. Avoid special grants for venereal disease, T.B., elementary and secondary education, heart disease, cancer, school lunches and so forth for many items. Consolidate for general purposes and establish broad, general conditions of state compliance that would obviate the intimate and specific supervision or inspection of state programs wherein exists the excuse for central, federal direction of state affairs.

A Review Agency

3. Establish a permanent federal-state agency to review and arbitrate the question of general state compliance. Lift the whole question of state operations into the open where obscure federal agency decisions cannot coerce state administrations. Give state administrations an adequate voice in the administration of cooperative federal-state programs.

4. Equalize the whole program of federal grants. Redirect existing appropriations toward greater support of minimum, essential government services in states of least fiscal capacity and greatest need, and away from the richer states.

5. Define and find adequate tests of need, fiscal capacity and individual states' efforts to utilize their fiscal capacity.

6. Make federal appropriations

serve as ceilings to accomplish stated purposes rather than mandates to spend.

These steps would result in: (a) A reduction in the aggregate of federal grants, with a redirection of federal grants among the states; and (b) the possibility of a corresponding withdrawal by the federal government from tax fields well suited to state administration. Taxes so surrendered would benefit more heavily the states losing federal grants-in-aid but would return to them administrative and fiscal determinations now being usurped by the federal government.

This whole program, tending toward giving taxing ability to the richer states and simpler programs of grants-in-aid to the poorer states, would result in more efficient administration of all governmental operations and a much larger degree of self-determination for all states.

New York's Reorganization

Within the past five years New York State has completely reorganized its state-local fiscal arrangements. From our experience we do not despair of the federal situation. We are convinced that the evils of grants-in-aid can be controlled. Our reorganization was composed of three parts:

1. The state has assumed the administration and financing of services that do not require local participation for effective government.

2. State aids were strengthened to provide desirable minimum welfare, health and educational services under local administration. State shared taxes were abolished.

3. New tax sources were made available to the localities to make them more able to meet their fiscal responsibilities.

Throughout this reorganization the state exerted care to protect local initiative and responsibility.

States are becoming better prepared to shoulder their own responsibilities. There are state governors and officials working diligently to rebuild the strength of the state and its localities. They want our states and municipalities to contribute their share to the strength of an entire nation. At the same time the forces toward further federal centralization can weaken this trend and ultimately destroy our system of government.

All government in the world is faced with heavy and increasing responsibilities — both administrative and fiscal. Our federal government faces heavy defense and international burdens. Those functions that can be best administered locally, close to the people, must to the fullest extent be financed at the state or local level. Each level of government must carry a full load of administrative and fiscal responsibility. To the extent that administrative responsibility is inordinately separated from fiscal responsibility—we are to that extent weakening our system of government.

Loosening the Purse Strings

Pennsylvania has given its local governments broadest powers to levy taxes, adding some limits after trial.

By **RICHARD C. SPAULDING***

IN THE legislative halls of Pennsylvania, the cry that a certain bill violates the principle of home rule indicates that the bill awaits an uneasy fate.

Actually, until recent years, the phrase "home rule" in Pennsylvania had an entirely different meaning from what we understand it to be. It was—and still is—a phrase which covers a multitude of governmental sins—the local election of assessors and tax collectors, the mandatory commission form of government in third class cities, a long ballot in county elections and the existence of 1,500 rural townships.

In 1947 and 1949, however, the legislature passed two acts which gave real meaning to home rule. This year it granted to the city of Philadelphia the right to frame its own charter—the first city in the state to benefit from a 1922 constitutional amendment. In 1947 it passed an even more far-reaching act which has been variously known as the "home rule tax act" by its supporters and the "tax anything act" by its detractors.

Act 481 of 1947 loosened the purse strings of Pennsylvania's local governments. It followed in the footsteps of the Sterling Act which since 1932 has permitted Philadelphia to tax any source of revenue not taxed by the state. Act 481 extended this privilege to the other cities, boroughs, first class townships and school districts, excepting the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh school districts which have their own legislation.

This represented a real departure for legislation covering a whole state. While in 1947 New York also passed legislation permitting local government broader taxing powers, it limited the taxes to those on meals, admissions, coin devices, motor vehicles, utilities, liquor, hotels, gross receipts of business and retail sales.

Although Pennsylvania's Act 481 was modified this year, it remains the broadest grant of taxing power conferred by any state on local units. As of May 16, 1949, just before the act was amended, a total of 976 taxes had been levied by 755 political subdivisions. These included:

Type of Tax	*Number*
Per Capita	252
Severance and related privileges	187
Amusement	173
Income	162
Mechanical devices	89
Mercantile	30
Deed transfer	23
Other	60
Total	976

---

*A product of the National Training School for Public Service at Wayne University, Mr. Spaulding is assistant to the director of the Southeastern Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League at Philadelphia. Previously he served with the Economy League's State Division at Harrisburg.

No sales taxes have been levied though the authority is clearly present. Local units may not levy a tax on any source already taxed by the state. State taxes include those on corporate net income, capital stock, cigarettes, gasoline, alcoholic and malt beverages and soft drinks. Also, political subdivisions may not levy a tax on the gross receipts of a person or company whose rates and services are fixed and regulated by the Pennsylvania Public Utility Commission.

Abuses Corrected

As the number of taxes levied under Act 481 increased, some difficulties and abuses arose which were partly the fault of the act and partly the result of local decisions. There was a tendency in the smaller subdivisions to levy taxes which would be paid by corporations rather than by individuals. Corporations, of course, don't vote. Severance taxes on coal, limestone, oil and natural gas were common. In some cases the same ton of coal was taxed three or four times—as it was extracted, washed, processed, hauled, loaded or dumped. These taxes amounted to as much as 35 cents a ton in some cases.

In 1949, therefore, the legislature amended the act to prohibit the taxation of manufactured goods, farm products, natural resources and privileges related to these three items.

Municipalities may tax the income of non-residents who work in the community but lose that right when the community of the non-resident levies an income tax at the same rate. This differs from the Sterling Act which gives Philadelphia priority over the income of non-residents who work in the city. The result is that when a central city levies an income tax non-residents go back to their home communities and ask that a tax similar to that levied in their place of work be levied so as to keep the money at home.

In Lackawanna County, for instance, Scranton levies an income tax of one per cent and the Scranton city school district an income tax of ½ of one per cent. Residents who live in Carbondale and Scranton, in fourteen of seventeen boroughs, and in six of twenty-one townships of Lackawanna County pay some kind of income tax to their home community. Surrounding communities thus take from the central cities the major means which they have of taxing non-residents who benefit from the services of the city.

While the legislature considered a complete prohibition of the taxation of income of non-residents by political subdivisions, the 1949 amendment prohibits only school districts from doing so.

In some cases unusually high rates were set for specific taxes. One small school district levied a per capita tax of $20. Another school district levied a mercantile tax of four mills on retailers whereas the usual rate has not been over two mills. Such instances prompted the legislature to set maximum rates on the more productive taxes in use. These maximum rates are now ten dollars on per capita taxes, one and one half mills on the gross receipts of retailers, one mill on the gross receipts of wholesalers, one per cent on income, two per cent on retail sales, one per cent on the transfer of title of real property and 10 per cent on amusement taxes. Any other taxes which have not been specifically forbidden may still be levied at a reasonable rate.

Although these amendments restrict to some extent the original scope of Act 481, a wide range of taxes is still available to local units. Local officials who to some extent found their backs to the wall in the raising of revenues before passage of the act have whole-heartedly accepted it in preference to state aid.

It is no wonder. For the first time in many a year the state legislature has said to the municipalities, "We think that you know what you need better than we do. If you need more money you may go out and raise it yourselves." It was an evidence of the trust which the legislature and the governor felt in the ability of local officials to raise their own revenues and spend them wisely. In actual operation, the main abuses that occurred were only in the smaller school districts.

How may the money raised under Act 481 be spent? The only stipulation is that it be spent for "general revenue purposes." There are no strings attached. There is no formula which leaves the big cities paying the freight when state aid is distributed. There are no regional inspectors from Harrisburg or Washington to satisfy. The money is raised at home and spent at home. The people can decide at the polls whether they think the money has been spent wisely. The granting of home rule to a city through the power to frame its own charter can be an empty gesture if city officials are so restricted in raising revenues that they must seek more and more state and federal aid.

There are, of course, other alternatives which are open to our cities. They can see that the money already being spent is used efficiently. As a member of an organization which devotes almost full time to answering questions of state and local officials, I know that many Pennsylvania cities are doing just that. Or the cities can increase the property tax rate if they are not up against maximum millage rates or maximum voter resistance. Most officials believe they are up against one or the other.

Municipal services could be curtailed. This generally represents a political impossibility, however, especially during good times. Or municipal responsibilities — tuberculosis hospitals, museums and municipally-owned historic sites—could be transferred to the state.

Finally, municipalities may seek more state and federal aid. Almost without exception, the strings tied to state and federal aid mean just so much less local responsibility and autonomy—that is, less home rule.

Act 481 represents a challenge to local officials and to those who are concerned with the welfare of the cities. Are those local officials who *do* know the needs of our cities willing to raise the taxes and take direct responsibility for their expenditures? Are those people concerned with the welfare of the cities willing to take a chance on their local officials' judgment? Pennsylvanians have answered both questions in the affirmative.

Tax Rates of American Cities

Both assessed valuations and property tax rates have increased materially during postwar period—1945-49.

By Bureau of Governmental Research (Detroit) and the National Training School for Public Service*

A RISE in both total assessed valuation and tax rates summarizes the development of the property tax in the postwar period. A study of 248 cities reporting each year since 1945 indicates that assessed valuations have increased 26.5 per cent, while adjusted tax rates have risen 8.1 per cent. During the same period unadjusted tax rates also increased 13.2 per cent.

In each of the five years assessments rose over the previous year with the greatest increase occurring in 1947 when assessments were 12.7 per cent higher than in 1946. Adjusted tax rates showed a similar but less marked increase in the same period of time. The greatest increase in this "effective" tax rate occurred in 1948 (3.8 per cent) and the smallest this year (.06 per cent). Unadjusted rates also increased in most of the years with a decrease of 1.6 per cent occurring in 1947—the year in which assessments increased eight and three-quarter billion dollars (see Table I).

During the postwar period local assessing officials have been subjected to opposing pressures. On the one hand they are faced with the pressure of local units for increased assessments to provide more revenue. On the other hand there is an increasing feeling on the part of homeowners that higher property taxes should be resisted. While they are faced with inflated property values, officials are hesitant to raise assessments to such inflated levels. With the comparatively moderate increase in property values over the five year period, it would appear that assessments in the reporting cities have not been geared to inflationary values but have been held at a more conservative level.

The greatest change in assessed valuations over those of five years ago is found in the Group VI cities (65 per cent reporting). In 1945 their assessed value was $4,608,000,000, while in 1949 it was $6,296,000,000—up 36.6 per cent. Group II cities have increased their valuation the least of the six groups —a moderate 17.8 per cent. The other population groups all show increases since 1945 ranging from 24.8 per cent in Group IV to 33.5 per cent in Group V (see Table II). It is difficult to explain the rise in assessments from the data available in the scope of this survey. Addition of new property, however—both industrial and residential—to the tax rolls, increase in urban population, annexation of fringe areas by cities, and reappraisal programs have added their share to the tax rolls.

---

*The following Volker Fellows of the National Training School for Public Service compiled and tabulated the data as part of their field training with the Bureau of Governmental Research, Detroit, under the supervision of the Bureau staff: Wilmot L. Averill, Ohio Wesleyan University; David S. Biddle, Harvard University; Ernst A. Gottmann, University of Illinois; Mitchell J. Hunt, University of Vermont; Lavern W. Kron, Hiram College; Gideon A. LaCroix, Middlebury College; Aris-Arden Mallas, Jr., Bowling Green State University; Rex F. May, Colgate University; E. A. Mosher, University of Wisconsin; John W. Walls, Indiana University.

Tax Rates

Unadjusted rates and adjusted rates per thousand dollar valuation in 1949 show increases over the previous year, though the increase in the adjusted rate is extremely small. This is to be expected—rates would not be increased greatly because of the rise in the rate last year and the increase in assessments during both 1948 and 1949. Local units were able to take advantage of these two factors in 1949.

The 248 cities reporting in the three years 1947 through 1949 show an average increase in the unadjusted rate of $3.63 while the adjusted rate has increased $1.27 (see Table III).

Each group of cities had an increase in unadjusted tax rates. The largest rise occurred in Group VI cities ($4.77) and the smallest in Group II ($2.47). The adjusted rates followed a similar trend, though less marked. Four of the six groups reported increases ranging from $.31 in Group IV to $2.63 in Group I. The two remaining groups (II and III) showed decreases of $.63 and $1.73 respectively. The adjusted rates show only a slight change since there was generally a wider gap this year between assessed and true value than in 1947. This condition further indicates that cities have been wary about adjusting their assessment structure to inflated values. Adjusting tax rates to a 100 per cent basis by the use of the ratio of assessed to true value results in a rough and inaccurate measure for comparative purposes. It does, however, present a truer picture of the tax structure than does the unadjusted rate.

School and General City Rates

Property tax rates for schools again show a slight increase over previous years. Of the 261 cities reporting separate rates for schools and general municipal purposes for the past two years, 44 per cent reported increases for city purposes, while 52 per cent reported increases for school purposes. Approximately 38.5 per cent of the total local rate goes for the support of public education. This compares with 36 per cent in 1948 and 35 per cent in 1947. The percentage is currently lowest (25 per cent) in Group II cities and highest (42 per cent) in Group VI cities.

In comparison with the 38.5 per cent of the total rate allocated for schools, 39.6 per cent of the total local rate financed general municipal services. The percentages for municipal purposes range from 37 per cent in the 110 reporting cities of Group VI to 60 per cent for Group II (seven cities reporting).

Tax Exemptions

It is the policy of most cities to exempt several types of property from taxation. Often this action is required by state law. Exempt property, generally, is that owned by government, religious groups and charitable and non-profit institutions, as well as certain privileges granted industries and homesteads.

The percentage of tax exempt

TABLE I

ANNUAL CHANGE IN ASSESSED VALUATION, UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED TAX RATES FOR 248 AMERICAN CITIES, 1945-1949

(Indicating Per Cent Increase Over Preceding Year)

	1945	*1946*	*1947*	*1948*	*1949*	*Per Cent of Increase 1945-1949*
Total Assessed Valuation (In millions of dollars) (See Table II)	$67,928	$69,127 (1.8%)	$77,895 (12.7%)	$81,794 (5.0%)	$85,945 (5.1%)	26.5%
Average Unadjusted Tax Rates (See Table III)	$38.47	$40.59 (5.5%)	$39.92 (—1.6%)	$42.35 (6.1%)	$43.55 (2.8%)	13.2%
Average Adjusted Tax Rates (See Table III)	$27.51	$28.05 (2.0%)	$28.48 (1.5%)	$29.57 (3.8%)	$29.75 (.06%)	8.1%

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF TOTAL ANNUAL ASSESSED VALUATION FOR 248 AMERICAN CITIES, 1945-1949

*Population Group**	*Number and Percentage of Cities Included*	*Total Assessment Value (In Millions of Dollars)*				
		1945	*1946*	*1947*	*1948*	*1949*
I	5 (100%)	$28,251	$28,480	$33,502	$34,582	$36,032
II	9 (100%)	10,807	10,986	11,769	12,126	12,730
III	23 (100%)	9,644	9,983	10,127	11,372	12,111
IV	47 (84%)	8,462	8,611	9,458	10,005	10,560
V	70 (67%)	6,156	6,346	7,458	7,838	8,216
VI	94 (65%)	4,608	4,721	5,581	5,871	6,296
TOTAL	248 (72%)	$67,928	$69,127	$77,895	$81,794	$85,945

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF AVERAGE UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED TAX RATES FOR 248 AMERICAN CITIES, 1947-1949

*Population Group**	*Average Unadjusted Rates per $1000 Assessed Valuation*			*Average Adjusted Rates per $1000 Assessed Valuation*		
	1947	*1948*	*1949*	*1947*	*1948*	*1949*
I	$34.35	$36.69	$38.00	$29.20	$30.70	$31.83
II	36.68	38.48	39.15	32.10	33.16	31.47
III	47.39	48.65	51.69	27.23	26.66	25.50
IV	42.19	45.46	45.67	30.40	30.43	30.71
V	40.21	42.62	43.78	27.89	30.10	30.22
VI	37.35	39.72	42.12	27.85	29.11	29.69
TOTAL	39.92	42.35	43.55	28.48	29.57	29.75

*Population groups defined by United States Bureau of Census as indicated in tabulation following article. Group VI is defined by the Bureau of Census to include cities between 25,000 and 50,000 population, but in this study cities under 30,000 are not included.

property reported for 134 cities in 1949 averaged 19.6 per cent. This compared with last year's average of 19.2 per cent.

The cities of Group II (500,000 to 1,000,000 population) exempted the highest percentage of property. Eight cities reported an average of 24.7 per cent, a slight decrease from the 1948 average reported for this group. Next highest was Group IV with 23.9 per cent, followed by Group III with 21.0 per cent, Group VI with 19.2 per cent, Group V with 16.0 per cent, and Group I with an average of 14.5 per cent of its property exempt from the property tax.

Reports from the cities of Group III indicated the greatest percentage increase in exempted property. In 1948 this group reported 18.9 per cent and this year the average was 21.0 per cent. Group II was the only group showing a decrease.

Most of the cities reporting exempt property merely gave estimates. Nevertheless the figures are indicative of a serious problem facing local governmental units. The whittling away of the tax base means that non-exempt property must bear the cost of governmental services not only for itself but also for those classes of property that receive "preferential" treatment. With an average of 19.6 per cent of the tax base exempt, cities would be wise to make comprehensive studies of the type and use of such specially privileged property.

Tax Collections

Collection percentages reported by 265 cities show a slight decline from 1948 to 1949. This year's reports indicate an average of 96.12 per cent, while last year's average was 96.26 per cent.

The highest percentage of collections was reported from Group I. Collections in this group averaged 96.56 per cent. Group VI, with 108 cities reporting, showed an average of 96.48 per cent. Group IV with 95.61 per cent presented the lowest percentage of collections.

Tabulation Explained

The following comments should be considered in examining the tabulation and summary tables.

In previous studies the assessed valuation has been tabulated on a per capita basis using 1940 census data. Because of the increase in the population of urban areas, per capita assessed valuation statistics present an unrealistic picture that is easily misinterpreted. For this reason the total assessed valuation of the 248 cities reporting in the five year period is used to indicate the trends and changes in assessed value.

The figure reported as the assessed value is the total amount of assessment rolls certified for city taxes and includes both realty and personalty.

The tax rates reported are all based on $1,000 of assessed valuation. Many cities reported rates levied by special taxing units such as park, library, relief, sanitary and water supply districts. These rates have been included in the rates reported under the four general headings with footnotes to give the necessary breakdown and explanation. In this way the total tax borne by property in a given city is reflected.

The estimated ratio of assessed

value to true value includes both the city and county ratios. Generally, the city and county ratios are identical because either one unit or the other does the assessing. In cases where the city and county ratios differ, the percentage reported is the weighted average of the two.

The figure listed as the adjusted tax rate shows what the tax rate would be if the ratio of assessed to true value were 100 per cent. The adjusted figure is derived by multiplying each component part of the total unadjusted rate by the reported city and/or county ratio and adding the products.

The reader is cautioned against multiplying the assessed value by the total tax rate to derive the total tax levy because of the varied ratios of assessment, the varied tax rates applying to real and personal property, and the fact that special district taxes may affect only part of a city.

Care should be exercised in using the tax rates reported in this study as a basis for comparing one city with another. Tax rates by themselves do not indicate a quantitative or qualitative measure of municipal services. It should also be taken into consideration that in recent years many cities have secured other substantial sources of revenue such as income and sales taxes, state aid, etc.

Acknowledgment

This is the 28th annual tabulation of tax rates of cities over 30,000 population. It has been made possible by the continued cooperation of city and county officials, bureaus of municipal research, chambers of commerce and other organizations in the cities to which questionnaires were sent. Every attempt has been made to prevent omissions and eliminate errors. It is hoped that any discovered, and such other comments as may be thought helpful, will be sent to the Bureau of Governmental Research, Detroit, Michigan.

(See following pages for tabulation by cities.)

TAX RATES OF AMERICAN CITIES FOR 1949

Compiled by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research from Data Furnished by City Officials and Members of the Governmental Research Association

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group I											
	Population 1,000,000 or over											
1	New York, N. Y.[1]	7,454,995	18,112,231,179	—	28.90	—	—	—	28.90	100	28.90	1
2	Chicago, Ill.[2]	3,396,808	8,045,484,354	22	16.42	12.06	3.18	N	31.66	100	31.66	2
3	Philadelphia, Pa.[3]	1,931,334	3,465,640,660	18	17.00	11.75	N	N	28.75	100	28.75	3
4	Detroit, Mich.[4]	1,623,452	3,979,780,680	33	21.00	12.09	5.89	N	38.98	100	38.98	4
5	Los Angeles, Calif.[5]	1,504,277	2,428,594,985	19	16.33	24.07	21.31	N	61.71	50	30.86	5
	Group II											
	Population 500,000 to 1,000,000											
6	Cleveland, Ohio	878,336	1,649,010,391	25	17.50	11.00	4.20	N	32.70	70	22.89	6
7	Baltimore, Md.[6]	859,100	2,210,953,989	36	27.80	—	N	1.12	28.92	100	28.92	7
8	St. Louis, Mo.[7]	816,048	1,249,530,071	12	17.70	8.90	N	.60	27.20	100	27.20	8
9	Boston, Mass.[h]	770,816	1,601,431,500	9	40.11	11.19	2.37	3.13	56.80	100	56.80	9
10	Pittsburgh, Pa.[8]	671,659	981,082,764	N	19.90	11.75	11.38	N	43.03	54	23.23	10
11	Washington, D. C.	663,091	1,938,836,408	16	20.00	—	N	N	20.00	100	20.00	11
12	San Francisco, Calif.[9]	634,536	1,050,830,316	22	43.60	13.00	—	N	56.60	50	28.30	12
13	Milwaukee, Wis.[10]	587,472	1,072,681,681	22	17.70	13.08	12.08	.27	43.13	74	31.92	13
14	Buffalo, N. Y.[11]	575,901	975,884,660	N	25.14	6.24	12.57	—	43.95	100	43.95	14

See also general notes at end of tabulation.

N = None.

— = —Figures or breakdown not available.

* = Estimated figures.

† = These cities reported different assessment ratios for the city and county, or for land and buildings. The figure shown is the weighted average (to the nearest integer) of the several ratios.

[1] **New York City.** The equalization rates for the City of New York as per the report of the New York State Tax Commission for 1949-50 are as follows: Manhattan, 100%; Bronx, 96%; Brooklyn, 98%; Queens, 93%; Richmond, 96%.

[2] **Chicago.** City rate includes $2.86 park district; $2.76 sanitary district; and $.34 forest preserve.

[3] **Philadelphia.** City and county are consolidated. Rate for intangible personalty is $4.00 per $1000. A 1949 study made by the Philadelphia City Planning Commission indicated that assessed values were about 42% of actual sales value. (See *American City*, November, 1949.) See footnote m.

[4] **Detroit.** City rate includes $.66 library rate. The ratio of assessed value to true value is quoted at 100% in accordance with statutory provisions. A recent study conducted by the Board of Assessors revealed an average **assessment ratio of 42.5%** on **1948 sales of residential buildings.**

[5] **Los Angeles.** County rate includes flood control rate of $1.91 on land and improvements only; also metropolitan water district $3.40. See footnote d.

[6] **Baltimore.** Personalty assessment includes: tangible personal property, $271,022,120, taxed at a rate of $27.80 per $1000; $66,400,000 shares of banks and trust companies taxed at a fixed rate of 1%; $394,000,000 savings banks deposits taxed at a fixed rate of $1.88 per $1000; $79,912,770 railroad securities taxed at a fixed rate of $3.00 per $1000. Schools, included in city rate, account for 23% of funds raised by levy. There is no county government in Baltimore.

[7] **St. Louis.** St. Louis is a city and a county within itself. City rate includes county rate. Also included in the city rate are: $1.00 for library, art museum and zoo; $4.00 for interest and public debt.

[8] **Pittsburgh.** City rate represents weighted average of $28 on land and $14 on improvements. See footnote m.

[9] **San Francisco.** Assessed valuation does not include solvent credits of $458,128,977. City and county governments are combined.

[10] **Milwaukee.** City rate includes $.40 for metropolitan sewerage area.

[11] **Buffalo.** City rate includes $.92, Buffalo sewer authority rate. See footnote k.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group III											
	Population 250,000 to 500,000											
15	New Orleans, La.	494,537	619,249,761	32	18.28	8.00	N	11.25	37.53	—	—	15
16	Minneapolis, Minn.[12]	492,370	292,685,905	28	78.59	25.73	24.23	6.45	135.00	34	45.90	16
17	Cincinnati, Ohio[18]	455,610	1,050,700,000	23	11.70	11.01	3.39	N	26.10	50	13.05	17
18	Newark, N. J.[j]	429,760	729,977,999	28	44.90	16.90	7.80	N	69.60	60	41.76	18
19	Kansas City, Mo.[14]	399,178	607,223,480	29	14.80	13.00	7.30	.60	35.70	40	14.28	19
20	Indianapolis, Ind.	386,972	603,926,540	—	20.30	14.60	8.50	1.50	44.90	40	17.96	20
21	Houston, Texas[15]	384,514	690,327,910	35	19.75	12.70	43.33	7.20	82.98	21†	17.50	21
22	Seattle, Wash.[16]	368,302	396,534,782	30	19.50	13.50	14.60	2.10	49.70	45	22.37	22
23	Rochester, N. Y.	324,975	565,602,449	N	19.56	10.52	13.34	.06	43.48	100	43.48	23
24	Denver, Colo.[17]	322,412	528,694,330	40	22.10	25.00	—	4.00	51.10	80	40.88	24
25	Louisville, Ky.	319,077	425,172,450	22	15.00	13.80	5.00	5.50	39.30	60	23.58	25
26	Columbus, Ohio[18]	306,087	560,000,000*	—	6.00	11.00	3.00	N	20.00	50	10.00	26
27	Portland, Ore.[19]	305,394	506,769,078	24	18.10	19.90	13.00	N	51.00	60	30.60	27
28	Atlanta, Ga.[20]	302,288	513,032,918	46	16.00	—	23.50	5.00	44.50	49†	21.57	28
29	Oakland, Calif.[21]	302,163	372,559,535	16	26.40	24.89	22.81	N	74.10	50	37.05	29
30	Jersey City, N. J.[j]	301,173	475,501,939	12	29.99	22.41	18.48	N	70.88	83	58.07	30
31	Dallas, Texas	294,734	621,334,290	36	18.50	12.00	8.80	7.20	46.50	31†	14.31	31
32	Memphis, Tenn.[22]	292,942	392,429,794	6	11.50	6.50	—	—	—	50	—	32
33	St. Paul, Minn.[23]	287,736	165,257,601	29	48.02	24.70	32.53	6.45	111.70	15	16.75	33
34	Toledo, Ohio	282,349	537,952,809	22	3.45	10.58	2.97	N	17.00	70	11.90	34
35	Birmingham, Ala.[a]	267,583	286,115,647	23	11.50	6.50	11.50	6.50	36.00	40	14.40	35
36	San Antonio, Texas[24]	253,854	387,348,930	27	19.10	10.70	8.80	7.20	45.80	39†	18.10	36
37	Providence, R. I.[25]	253,504	782,705,448	43	28.00	—	—	N	28.00	75	21.00	37

[12] **Minneapolis.** School rate does not include debt service. City rate includes $.50 airport and $1.00 housing.

[13] **Cincinnati.** County rate includes $1.13 levy for parks and T.B. hospital.

[14] **Kansas City.** There is an additional special city levy of $2.50 per $1000 valuation on land only for the maintenance of parks and a special tax of $.10 per front foot on all land abutting boulevards.

[15] **Houston.** City rate includes $.25 library rate. County rate includes: $14.10 flood control district; $18.60 navigation district; and $.10 school equalization.

[16] **Seattle.** County rate includes $3.10 port of Seattle rate. See footnote q.

[17] **Denver.** City rate includes county rate because of city-county governmental organization.

[18] **Columbus.** City rate includes $.10 unallocated.

[19] **Portland.** County rate includes $.70 port of Portland rate. The estimated ratio is that established for equalization purposes. The State Tax Commission's computation of the ratio was 35%.

[20] **Atlanta.** City rate includes schools and debt service. See footnote c.

[21] **Oakland.** County rate includes water and sewage districts $3.30, and park, mosquito abatement and flood control $.71. Rates given are for District #1; total rate for district #2 is $73.90.

[22] **Memphis.** 1948 assessment reported. City rate includes $1.10 city parks and $.30 library.

[23] **St. Paul.** City rate includes $.91 housing and redevelopment. County rate includes $.51 airport district.

[24] **San Antonio.** The school rate does not include rates of several independent school districts within the city limits. The county rate includes $.80 rate for junior college district. See footnote o.

[25] **Providence.** Assessed valuation includes $199,398,583 of intangible personal property taxed at $4.00 per $1000. See footnote n.

Library Kansas City, Mo.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group IV											
	Population 100,000 to 250,000											
38	Akron, Ohio	244,791	410,000,000	25	12.68	13.97	3.59	N	30.24	40	12.10	38
39	Omaha, Neb.[26]	233,844	311,930,190	37	13.90	19.00	4.68	7.56	45.14	50	22.57	39
40	Dayton, Ohio	210,718	437,421,350	33	8.50	13.30	3.20	N	25.00	65	16.25	40
41	Syracuse, N. Y.[27]	205,967	352,530,692	N	29.67	—	14.61	—	44.28	97	42.96	41
42	Oklahoma City, Okla.[1]	204,424	172,408,366	20	15.92	28.79	12.55	N	57.26	30	17.18	42
43	San Diego, Calif.[28]	203,341	259,483,505	14	19.50	21.50	22.60	N	63.60	50	31.80	43
44	Worcester, Mass.[h]	193,694	311,025,081	7	41.00	—	—	—	41.00	75	30.75	44
45	Richmond, Va.[29]	193,042	412,133,916	15	22.00	—	N	N	22.00	70	15.40	45
46	Honolulu, T. H.[30]	179,358	226,025,368	N	—	—	—	—	35.76	33	11.92	46
47	Fort Worth, Texas[31]	177,662	315,213,790	31	16.70	11.00	12.20	4.20	44.10	81†	35.90	47
48	Jacksonville, Fla.[32]	173,065	173,358,900	23	15.00	17.97	11.26	N	44.23	100	44.23	48
49	Miami, Fla.[33]	172,172	466,818,610	18	24.01	14.60	11.80	N	50.41	100	50.41	49
50	Youngstown, Ohio[34]	167,720	313,852,370	18	6.90	10.90	3.20	N	21.00	80	16.80	50
51	Nashville, Tenn.[35]	167,402	230,685,601	34	23.00	—	—	—	—	70	—	51
52	Hartford, Conn.	166,267	432,969,964	26	37.00	—	—	—	37.00	100	37.00	52
53	Grand Rapids, Mich.[36]	164,292	287,215,025	28	10.02	10.50	5.50	N	26.02	75	19.52	53
54	Long Beach, Calif.[37]	164,271	362,521,705	19	9.99	23.52	22.80	N	56.31	50	28.16	54
55	New Haven, Conn.[38]	160,605	331,392,715	26	20.05	11.34	.61	N	32.00	75	24.00	55
56	Des Moines, Iowa[39]	159,819	252,112,638	49	24.73	38.36	17.26	1.95	82.30	95	78.18	56
57	Flint, Mich.[40]	151,543	302,583,660	23	11.10	9.75	5.80	N	26.65	95	25.33	57
58	Salt Lake City, Utah[41]	149,934	187,907,836	37	18.75	26.22	9.80	N	54.77	—	—	58
59	Springfield, Mass.[h]	149,554	281,477,400	10	24.95	15.85	1.64	.06	42.50	100	42.50	59
60	Bridgeport, Conn.[42]	147,121	337,587,955.	37	23.28	8.34	.18	N	31.80	100	31.80	60

[26] **Omaha.** City rate includes $1.00 municipal university and $.50 metropolitan utilities district.

[27] **Syracuse.** City rate includes school rate. See footnote k.

[28] **San Diego.** Assessed value excludes solvent credits of $26,394,770 and exemptions of $17,952,900. County rate includes water authority $1.00. See footnote d.

[29] **Richmond.** City rate includes school rate. See footnote p.

[30] **Honolulu.** Rates are consolidated for city and county purposes including schools.

[31] **Fort Worth.** County rate includes $3.20 water control rate. See footnote o.

[32] **Jacksonville.** County rate includes $.30 airbase authority and $.20 navigation districts. See footnote b.

[33] **Miami.** City and school rates vary according to districts; figures shown are averages. County rate includes drainage and flood control $.80. See footnote b.

[34] **Youngstown.** City rate includes $1.14 sanitary district and $.10 township.

[35] **Nashville.** City rate includes school rate. Assessed value and per cent personalty includes $31,074,750 merchants ad valorem assessment.

[36] **Grand Rapids.** County rate includes $1.00 airport levy.

[37] **Long Beach.** County rate includes $3.40 metropolitan water district; $1.91 flood control; $1.49 sanitation district #3. See footnote d.

[38] **New Haven.** Tax rate for Ward 32 is $15.95.

[39] **Des Moines.** Total assessed value includes money and credits, $90,453,814, taxed at $5.00 per $1,000 and buildings and loans, $3,578,410, taxed at $1.00 per $1,000. Rate for city purposes includes special garbage levy of $.74 per $1,000, special light levy of $.49 per $1,000, and special road levy of $1.35 per $1,000. The state levy is for soldiers' bonus. See footnote f.

[40] **Flint.** City rate includes $1.10 debt service. School rate includes $.55 debt service.

[41] **Salt Lake City.** County rate includes mosquito abatement $.30 and metropolitan water district $1.00.

[42] **Bridgeport.** City rate includes welfare rate of $2.13 and debt service (including school) of $3.06.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
61	Norfolk, Va.[43]	144,332	229,855,588	16	27.00	—	N	N	27.00	100	27.00	61
62	Yonkers, N. Y.[44]	142,598	308,512,690	N	17.31	11.65	7.50	.14	36.60	100	36.60	62
63	Tulsa, Okla.[l]	142,157	159,264,609	24	16.33	21.94	10.77	N	49.04	40	19.62	63
64	Scranton, Pa.[45]	140,404	96,774,003	N	13.26	22.50	14.00	N	49.76	44	21.89	64
65	Paterson, N. J.[j]	139,656	182,192,858	16	21.04	20.74	8.85	N	50.63	68	34.41	65
66	Albany, N. Y.[46]	130,577	261,313,158	N	30.20	—	11.72	.08	42.00	100	42.00	66
67	Chattanooga, Tenn.[47]	128,163	137,209,857	—	25.00	—	—	—	—	55	—	67
68	Trenton, N. J.[j]	124,697	168,148,771	18	23.00	23.60	11.40	N	58.00	75	43.50	68
69	Spokane, Wash.[q]	122,001	119,112,885	28	18.50	22.30	10.37	2.23	53.40	50	26.70	69
70	Kansas City, Kans.	121,458	91,675,136	37	25.25	25.04	12.50	1.74	64.53	35	22.58	70
71	Fort Wayne, Ind.[48]	118,410	230,000,000*	36*	13.00	13.10	8.60	1.50	36.20	55	19.91	71
72	Camden, N. J.[j]	117,536	142,745,158	16	22.55	19.48	14.37	N	56.40	—	—	72
73	Erie, Pa.[49]	116,955	137,562,430	N	15.00	18.50	10.00	N	43.50	92†	40.00	73
74	Fall River, Mass.	115,428	122,771,600	14	—	—	—	—	48.60	100	48.60	74
75	Wichita, Kans.[50]	114,966	184,840,098	26	15.21	24.22	14.83	1.74	56.00	40	22.40	75
76	Wilmington, Del.	112,504	178,780,700	N	12.99	8.61	6.00	N	27.60	60	16.65	76
77	Gary, Ind.	111,719	151,736,000	—	21.34	26.32	12.24	1.50	61.40	40	24.56	77
78	Knoxville, Tenn.	111,580	182,772,121	27	18.41	7.99	21.00	.80	48.20	58†	28.06	78
79	Cambridge, Mass.	110,879	203,718,800	8	27.50	7.84	1.09	3.37	39.80	100	39.80	79
80	Reading, Pa.[51]	110,568	141,365,625	N	12.00	18.00	6.50	N	36.50	51†	18.62	80
81	New Bedford, Mass.	110,341	114,905,550	14	44.75	—	3.41	.24	48.40	61†	29.41	81
82	Elizabeth, N. J.[j]	109,921	139,692,446	11	29.53	22.00	6.37	N	57.90	100	57.90	82
83	Tacoma, Wash.[52]	109,408	81,210,093	N	20.27	21.80	16.00	2.13	60.20	30	18.06	83
84	Canton, Ohio[53]	108,401	201,529,350	25	4.40	13.00	2.20	N	19.60	80	15.68	84
85	Tampa, Fla.[54]	108,391	138,149,013	24	23.20	15.75	16.22	N	55.17	70	38.62	85
86	Sacramento, Calif.[55]	105,958	173,309,130	23	20.40	22.50	19.40	N	62.30	53†	33.19	86
87	Peoria, Ill.[56]	105,087	357,432,080	30	8.85	8.85	1.20	N	18.90	100	18.90	87

[43] **Norfolk.** Personalty includes machinery assessment of $3,200,000. Total rate does not include $10 per $1,000 machinery tax. City rate includes school rate. See footnote p.

[44] **Yonkers.** City rate includes $7.06 debt service (other than water and schools). Assessed value includes $17,254,250 special franchise. See footnote k.

[45] **Scranton.** City rate represents a weighted average of $18.82 on land and $9.41 on improvements. County rate includes $5.50 institutional poor levy. See footnote m.

[46] **Albany.** City rate includes school rate. See footnote k.

[47] **Chattanooga.** Assessed valuation is for 1948.

[48] **Fort Wayne.** County rate includes $2.80 for poor relief. See footnote e.

[49] **Erie.** See footnote m.

[50] **Wichita.** School rate includes $3.21 rate for municipal university.

[51] **Reading.** $4.00 intangible personal property tax is not included in the county rate. County also levies occupation tax of $6.50. Schools levy per capita tax of $5.00 per person. See footnote m.

[52] **Tacoma.** The county rate includes port of Tacoma rate of $3.25 and park district rate of $2.75. See footnote q.

[53] **Canton.** City rate includes $.10 township rate.

[54] **Tampa.** County rate includes inland navigation district $.15 and port authority $.47. See footnote b.

[55] **Sacramento.** County rate includes flood control $.40; mosquito abatement district $.30; and port district $.40. See footnote d.

[56] **Peoria.** City rate includes $.70 town, $.45 sanitary district, $1.23 pleasure drive and park district rates.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
88	Somerville, Mass.	102,177	131,136,700	5	—	—	—	—	49.90	—	—	88
89	Lowell, Mass.[57]	101,389	106,327,650	10	39.04	15.04	1.72	—	55.80	100	55.80	89
90	South Bend, Ind.	101,268	178,051,030	42	16.55	14.48	8.87	1.50	41.40	33	13.80	90
91	Duluth, Minn.	101,065	49,062,000	24	47.12	58.46	34.40	6.45	146.43	50	73.22	91
92	Charlotte, N. C.	100,899	189,218,175	37	15.20	4.50	9.70	N	29.40	67	19.70	92
93	Utica, N. Y.[58]	100,518	151,358,249	N	22.44	10.54	12.52	—	45.50	100	45.50	93
	Group V **Population 50,000 to 100,000**											
94	Waterbury, Conn.	99,314	244,131,069	31	19.69	10.02	.47	.07	30.25	63	19.06	94
95	Shreveport, La.	98,167	Not reported									95
96	Lynn, Mass.	98,123	136,536,440	11	—	—	—	—	48.40	—	—	96
97	Evansville, Ind.[59]	97,062	151,033,140	37	15.20	14.90	13.00	1.50	44.60	70	31.22	97
98	Allentown, Pa.[60]	96,904	114,139,567	N	15.00	18.00	7.00	N	40.00	56†	22.60	98
99	El Paso, Texas	96,810	137,959,160	28	17.50	13.50	10.20	4.20	45.40	35†	16.00	99
100	Savannah, Ga.	95,996	Not reported									100
101	Little Rock, Ark.	88,039	57,334,933	25	14.20	18.00	8.30	N	40.50	20	8.10	101
102	Austin, Texas	87,930	142,502,165	20	16.00	11.50	8.50	4.20	40.20	43†	17.46	102
103	Schenectady, N. Y.	87,549	161,932,364	N	19.36	15.01	11.95	—	46.32	86	39.84	103
104	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.[61]	86,236	81,911,074	8	17.00	19.00	11.70	N	47.70	100	47.70	104
105	Berkeley, Calif.[62]	85,547	127,939,570	11	17.20	24.49	22.81	N	64.50	49†	31.68	105
106	Rockford, Ill.[63]	84,637	305,114,626	26	7.39	7.93	1.08	N	16.40	100	16.40	106
107	Lawrence, Mass.[h]	84,323	88,810,600	10	—	—	—	—	45.40	—	—	107
108	Harrisburg, Pa.[m]	83,893	98,984,930	N	14.00	16.00	8.00	N	38.00	58†	22.00	108
109	Saginaw, Mich.	82,794	132,847,990	23	12.45	7.78	5.06	N	25.29	70	17.70	109
110	Glendale, Calif.[64]	82,582	121,474,530	14	10.00	25.65	17.91	N	53.56	50	26.78	110
111	Sioux City, Iowa[65]	82,364	85,930,898	30	20.20	28.15	14.06	N	62.41	60	37.45	111
112	Lincoln, Neb.[66]	81,894	124,437,196	30	12.42	23.02	4.22	7.35	47.01	77†	36.30	112
113	Pasadena, Calif.[67]	81,864	205,950,115	11	11.10	24.40	19.29	N	54.79	55†	30.17	113
114	Altoona, Pa.[68]	80,214	73,092,100	N	12.00	18.00	9.75	N	39.75	59†	23.40	114
115	Winston-Salem, N. C.	79,815	169,416,082	58	19.50	3.50	5.00	N	28.00	80	24.40	115

---

[57] **Lowell.** County rate includes state rate. See footnote h.

[58] **Utica.** City rate includes $6.72 for debt. School rate includes $1.03 for school debt. See footnote k.

[59] **Evansville.** County rate includes $4.70 unclassified.

[60] **Allentown.** See footnote m.

[61] **Wilkes-Barre.** County rate includes $3.00 institutional levy.

[62] **Berkeley.** County rate includes sewer and water rate $3.30; regional parks $.50; and mosquito abatement $.16. See footnote d.

[63] **Rockford.** City rate includes $1.27 town; $.90 sanitary district; $.57 airport authority, and $.43 park district rates.

[64] **Glendale.** Assessed value excludes exemptions, $5,195,650. County rate includes flood control $1.91. See footnote d.

[65] **Sioux City.** See footnote f.

[66] **Lincoln.** City rate includes $2.80 sanitary district.

[67] **Pasadena.** County rate includes flood control $1.91 and sanitation district $1.38. See footnote d.

[68] **Altoona.** The Pennsylvania State Tax Equalization Board ratios of assessed to true value were used in the computations. See footnote m.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
116	Bayonne, N. J.[j]	79,198	133,381,450	19	40.01	14.08	18.41	N	72.50	100	72.50	116
117	Huntington, W. Va.[69]	78,836	161,278,850	39	3.68	10.03	3.63	.07	17.41	45	7.83	117
118	Lansing, Mich.[70]	78,753	154,953,400	32	15.20	11.72	6.52	N	33.44	80	26.75	118
119	Mobile, Ala.[a]	78,720	88,207,951	32	7.50	9.00	12.50	6.50	35.50	60	21.30	119
120	Binghamton, N. Y.[71]	78,309	117,429,372	N	27.18	10.63	5.83	—	43.64	92	40.15	120
121	Montgomery, Ala.[a]	78,084	55,113,666	—	12.50	7.00	7.50	6.50	33.50	33	11.17	121
122	Niagara Falls, N. Y.[k]	78,029	162,420,200	N	20.98	16.93	8.87	—	46.78	100	46.78	122
123	Manchester, N. H.	77,685	111,306,153	28	36.65	—	3.85	.10	40.60	100	40.60	123
124	Quincy, Mass.[h]	75,810	Not reported									124
125	Pawtucket, R. I.[n]	75,797	———	—	21.00	—	—	—	21.00	—	—	125
126	St. Joseph, Mo.	75,711	64,067,820	28	18.50	15.60	8.80	.60	43.50	63†	26.43	126
127	East St. Louis, Ill.[72]	75,609	161,881,398	24	11.90	13.54	1.96	N	27.40	100	27.40	127
128	Springfield, Ill.[73]	75,503	212,429,854	16	8.79	10.30	1.94	N	21.03	100	21.03	128
129	Portland, Me.[74]	73,643	94,989,400	31	34.16	14.64	1.39	5.41	55.60	—	—	129
130	Charleston, S. C.	71,275	21,706,391	38	62.00	40.50	26.50	N	129.00	20	25.80	130
131	Springfield, Ohio[75]	70,662	127,389,890	28	5.50	13.60	3.60	N	22.70	100	22.70	131
132	Troy, N. Y.[k]	70,304	71,439,198	N	28.75	14.61	20.56	—	63.92	89	56.89	132
133	Hammond, Ind.[76]	70,184	112,746,950	21	16.39	30.51	13.40	1.50	61.80	28	17.30	133
134	Newton, Mass.[h]	69,873	196,653,250	10	36.00	—	—	—	36.00	70	25.20	134
135	Roanoke, Va.[77]	69,287	111,103,912	21	—	—	N	N	25.00	60	15.00	135
136	Lakewood, Ohio	69,160	110,148,192	9	9.70	15.90	4.20	N	29.80	75	22.35	136
137	East Orange, N. J.[j]	68,945	112,385,272	9	20.51	19.32	9.47	N	49.30	100	49.30	137
138	New Britain, Conn.	68,685	127,235,020	22	—	—	—	—	37.00	100	37.00	138
139	San Jose, Calif.[78]	68,457	108,772,030	23	15.59	25.29	18.60	N	59.48	40	23.79	139
140	Charleston, W. Va.[79]	67,914	157,280,115	58	5.10	10.40	5.65	.07	21.22	30	6.37	140
141	Topeka, Kans.[80]	67,883	79,294,302	18	19.17	18.90	6.55	1.18	45.80	40	18.32	141
142	Madison, Wis.[81]	67,447	———	—	10.19	15.44	7.10	.27	33.00	71	23.43	142

[69] **Huntington.** Three classes of property; the city rate is the average rate of these three classes.

[70] **Lansing.** City rate subject to 3% discount. School rate includes extra millage for building and site. School and county rates are for 1948.

[71] **Binghamton.** City rate includes $.60 for city hospital and $.90 for public library. See footnote k.

[72] **East St. Louis.** City rate includes $1.13 town, $2.60 levee and sanitary district, $1.87 park and $.45 health rates.

[73] **Springfield.** City rate includes $1.28 town, $.49 sanitary district, $.58 airport and $.58 park rates.

[74] **Portland.** City rate includes $2.66 for capital improvements and $3.59 for debt service.

[75] **Springfield.** City rate includes $.03 township rate.

[76] **Hammond.** County rate includes a $3.10 unclassified rate. See footnote e.

[77] **Roanoke.** The personalty assessment for 1949 is incomplete; probably 10% will be added. See footnote p.

[78] **San Jose.** Total assessment excludes exemptions of $5,379,950. City and school rates apply to the largest portion of city. Water district rate of $10 on land only is not included. See footnote d.

[79] **Charleston.** Has three classes of property. Tax rates shown above are weighted rates; the total rates are, Class 1, $7.80; Class 2, $15.60; and Class 4, $31.20.

[80] **Topeka.** Personalty assessment does not include $27,001,679 intangibles taxed at $5.00 per $1,000. City rate includes $2.60 municipal university and $.87 city library.

[81] **Madison.** City rate includes $.90 library and $.25 metropolitan sewer district. Ratio as determined by state supervisor of assessments.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
143	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.[82]	67,362	147,260,215	N	15.38	18.72	8.90	—	43.00	100	43.00	143
144	Racine, Wis.	67,195	125,311,410	21	7.94	16.36	6.71	.30	31.31	60	18.79	144
145	Johnstown, Pa.[83]	66,668	—	N	15.00	19.00	8.00	N	42.00	100	42.00	145
146	Pontiac, Mich.	66,626	140,965,315	33	13.10	11.63	5.80	N	30.53	—	—	146
147	Davenport, Ia.[f]	66,039	Not reported									147
148	Oak Park, Ill.[84]	66,015	163,053,573	10	12.54	16.62	3.18	N	32.34	78	25.23	148
149	Augusta, Ga.[c]	65,919	61,188,604	36	32.00	23.00	10.00	5.00	70.00	60†	41.97	149
150	Phoenix, Ariz.	65,414	209,955,000	18	11.40	42.40	8.00	6.50	68.30	62†	42.12	150
151	Evanston, Ill.[85]	65,389	203,232,153	12	11.44	14.45	3.18	N	29.07	100	29.07	151
152	Cicero, Ill.[86]	64,712	—	—	11.38	13.78	3.84	N	29.00	100	29.00	152
153	Atlantic City, N. J.[j]	64,094	94,634,091	8	42.10	18.20	15.70	N	76.00	100	76.00	153
154	Dearborn, Mich.	63,584	355,809,730	46	13.21	14.01	6.48	N	33.70	100	33.70	154
155	Medford, Mass.[h]	63,083	—	—	—	—	—	—	52.80	100	52.80	155
156	Terre Haute, Ind.[e]	62,693	68,369,550	40	19.40	21.17	12.33	1.50	54.40	34	18.50	156
157	Columbia, S. C.	62,396	Not reported									157
158	Brockton, Mass.[h]	62,343	78,089,700	11	31.70	17.85	4.25	N	53.80	80	43.04	158
159	Cedar Rapids, Iowa[87]	62,120	78,621,982	29	19.27	32.22	6.33	N	57.82	60	34.69	159
160	Jackson, Miss.	62,107	Not reported									160
161	Covington, Ky.	62,018	62,396,270	9	17.20	15.20	—	—	—	70	—	161
162	Passaic, N. J.[j]	61,394	94,334,500	22	26.90	21.53	8.77	N	57.20	100	57.20	162
163	Lancaster, Pa.[m]	61,345	98,349,950	N	7.50	14.00	5.00	N	26.50	54†	14.37	163
164	Springfield, Mo.[88]	61,238	46,793,483	11	16.60	25.50	8.20	.60	50.90	43	21.89	164
165	Wheeling, W. Va.	61,099	150,477,975	52	4.24	—	—	—	—	65	—	165
166	Galveston, Texas[o]	60,862	Not reported									166
167	St. Petersburg, Fla.[89]	60,812	—	—	22.60	—	—	N	—	—	—	167
168	Fresno, Calif.[90]	60,685	96,343,775	18	18.80	25.50	15.20	N	59.50	50	29.75	168
169	Durham, N. C.	60,195	135,497,181	42	13.20	3.30	5.00	N	21.50	50	10.75	169
170	Greensboro, N. C.[91]	59,319	143,073,667	35	16.70	3.90	9.80	N	30.40	85	25.84	170
171	Decatur, Ill.[92]	59,305	148,005,711	20	8.96	15.07	.97	N	25.00	100	25.00	171

[82] **Mt. Vernon.** City rate includes $1.39 public library rate. See footnote k.

[83] **Johnstown.** City rate includes $.50 library rate. See footnote m.

[84] **Oak Park.** City rate includes: $.36 town, $1.18 park district, $2.76 sanitary district, $.34 forest preserve, $.66 tuberculosis sanitorium, and $.34 miscellaneous.

[85] **Evanston.** City rate includes $3.30 for miscellaneous purposes.

[86] **Cicero.** City rate includes: $.34 forest preserve, $2.76 sanitary district, and $1.58 Clyde park district.

[87] **Cedar Rapids.** Assessed valuation does not include moneys and credits of $40,255,022 taxed at $5.00 per $1,000. See footnote f.

[88] **Springfield.** County rate includes $3.50 special road and bridge rate.

[89] **St. Petersburg.** City tax rate represents an average of four taxing districts. See footnote b.

[90] **Fresno.** County rate includes library district $1.00 and mosquito abatement district $.60. See footnote d.

[91] **Greensboro.** City rate includes $4.80 for debt service.

[92] **Decatur.** City rate includes: $1.44 town, $.84 road and bridge, $.68 sanitary district, $1.15 Decatur park district, and $.39 T.B. sanitorium.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
172	Chester, Pa.[m]	59,285	64,512,724	N	16.00	18.00	5.75	N	39.75	79†	31.22	172
173	Beaumont, Texas[o]	59,061	95,554,930	22	16.40	15.00	11.00	7.20	49.60	36†	18.02	173
174	Bethlehem, Pa.[93]	58,490	70,540,005	N	14.00	16.00	11.50	N	41.50	32†	13.46	174
175	New Rochelle, N. Y.[94]	58,408	162,103,425	N	23.40	15.50	7.10	—	46.00	100	46.00	175
176	Malden, Mass.[95]	57,865	78,520,450	10	31.01	17.20	2.45	4.66	55.32	100	55.32	176
177	Macon, Ga.[c]	57,865	53,000,000	34	13.00	—	—	—	—	50	—	177
178	Corpus Christi, Texas[o]	57,301	Not reported									178
179	York, Pa.[m]	56,712	53,000,000	N	16.00	23.00	9.50	N	48.50	53†	25.78	179
180	Union City, N. J.[96]	56,173	63,175,074	8	32.97	21.92	18.31	N	73.20	100	73.20	180
181	Waco, Texas[o]	55,982	81,976,960	25	16.80	12.50	6.90	7.20	43.40	35†	15.33	181
182	McKeesport, Pa.[97]	55,355	62,295,335	N	13.50	18.00	11.38	N	42.88	45	19.30	182
183	Irvington, N. J.[j]	55,328	74,736,300	13	29.10	25.50	9.40	N	64.00	45	28.80	183
184	Cleveland Heights, Ohio	54,996	117,492,775	3	8.00	16.70	4.20	N	28.90	80	24.12	184
185	Stockton, Calif.[d]	54,714	90,452,325	20	26.60			N				185
186	East Chicago, Ind.[98]	54,637	113,693,755	—	15.50	17.15	9.65	1.50	43.80	40	17.52	186
187	Kalamazoo, Mich.[99]	54,097	109,197,575	36	10.14	15.66	4.89	N	30.69	80	24.55	187
188	Holyoke, Mass.[h]	53,750	78,073,460	6	33.56	—	1.68	.26	35.50	100	35.50	188
189	Santa Monica, Calif.[100]	53,500	85,946,820	13	19.90	24.05	21.31	N	65.26	50	32.63	189
190	Columbus, Ga.[e]	53,280	70,882,640	29	15.00	13.00	12.00	5.00	45.00	40	18.00	190
191	Pueblo, Colo.[101]	52,160	35,173,698	—	36.60	36.82	7.53	4.00	84.95	40	33.98	191
192	Waterloo, Iowa[f]	51,743	79,747,504	37	23.79	29.23	9.25	1.95	64.22	40	25.69	192
193	Amarillo, Texas[102]	51,686	106,493,296	37	14.70	12.80	8.00	4.20	39.70	66†	26.06	193
194	Asheville, N. C.[103]	51,310	67,302,541	27	15.30	7.10	9.40	N	31.80	50	15.90	194
195	Highland Park, Mich.	50,810	128,013,050	38	14.80	12.20	6.10	N	33.10	—	—	195
196	Portsmouth, Va.[p]	50,745	42,166,856	7	—	—	N	N	25.00	70	17.50	196
197	Hamilton, Ohio[104]	50,592	89,282,620	27	7.29	13.74	2.17	N	23.20	50	11.60	197
198	Hoboken, N. J.[j]	50,115	80,015,716	13	39.74	18.93	18.48	N	77.15	—	—	198

[93] **Bethlehem.** County rate shown is for Northampton County only. The city lies in two counties. Lehigh County rate is $7.00. Male occupation assessment totaling $6,688,800 is excluded from total assessed valuation. See footnote m.

[94] **New Rochelle.** Total assessed value includes $7,452,700 in franchises. See footnote k.

[95] **Malden.** City rate includes overlay of $1.12, interest and debt maturing of $3.73. See footnote h.

[96] **Union City.** City is consolidation of towns of West Hoboken and Union. Rates shown are for West Hoboken district which is 56.73% of total assessed valuation. Rates for Union are as follows: city $32.50, school $22.72, county $18.31, total $73.53. See footnote j.

[97] **McKeesport.** The Pennsylvania State Tax Equalization Board ratios of assessed to true value were used in the computations. See footnote m.

[98] **East Chicago.** City rate includes $1.70 sanitary district rate. See footnote e.

[99] **Kalamazoo.** City rate includes $.21 collection fee. School rate includes $5.00 special assessment and $.60 debt service rates.

[100] **Santa Monica.** Assessed value excludes exemptions, $3,520,500. County rate includes water district $3.40 and flood control $1.91. See footnote d.

[101] **Pueblo.** City levy is southside levy—northside levy is $35.85.

[102] **Amarillo.** Assessed value is estimated 80% of 1941 value. City rate includes $1.70 junior college. Assessed value is for 1948. See footnote o.

[103] **Asheville.** Total assessment includes estimated corporation excess. School rate includes $3.10 for general county school.

[104] **Hamilton.** City rate includes $.69 conservancy rate.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group VI											
	Population 30,000 to 50,000											
199	Hamtramck, Mich.	49,839	100,170,100	47	20.00	11.20	7.01	N	38.21	75	28.66	199
200	Brookline, Mass.[h]	49,786	150,836,300	10	25.30	8.14	1.02	2.54	37.00	100	37.00	200
201	Muncie, Ind.[105]	49,720	55,055,825	—	16.00	24.80	9.70	1.50	52.00	25	13.00	201
202	Pittsfield, Mass.[h]	49,684	96,827,105	10	34.89	—	1.79	.32	37.00	—	—	202
203	Jackson, Mich.	49,656	94,508,480	27	9.69	13.77	6.42	N	29.88	80	23.90	203
204	Lexington, Ky.[106]	49,304	78,130,684	20	16.90	12.00	5.00	.50	34.40	90†	31.10	204
205	Woonsocket, R. I.[n]	49,303	83,747,050	27	25.00	—	—	—	25.00	100	25.00	205
206	Clifton, N. J.[j]	48,827	70,614,060	11	16.20	24.60	9.60	N	50.40	88	44.35	206
207	Kenosha, Wis.[107]	48,765	82,625,100	14	7.71	19.75	12.25	.29	40.00	70	28.00	207
208	Berwyn, Ill.[108]	48,451	92,849,131	5	10.26	14.78	3.18	N	28.22	100	28.22	208
209	Bay City, Mich.	47,956	65,225,655	27	19.98	13.27	6.33	N	39.58	70	27.71	209
210	Stamford, Conn.[109]	47,938	188,908,955	25	39.50	—	—	—	39.50	70	27.65	210
211	Muskegon, Mich.	47,697	105,035,350	30	10.00	9.00	6.00	N	25.00	90	22.50	211
212	New Castle, Pa.[110]	47,638	50,730,750	N	10.00	20.00	7.00	N	37.00	51†	18.77	212
213	Aurora, Ill.[111]	47,170	117,061,530	21	9.76	10.70	1.03	N	21.49	100	21.49	213
214	Cranston, R. I.[n]	47,085	112,141,880	26	25.00	—	—	—	25.00	100	25.00	214
215	Raleigh, N. C.	46,897	94,033,112	34	13.50	8.90	1.90	N	24.30	60	14.58	215
216	Everett, Mass.[112]	46,784	95,423,950	20	25.08	8.73	1.27	2.92	38.00	100	38.00	216
217	Haverhill, Mass.[113]	46,752	57,533,825	11	36.05	9.92	1.96	.07	48.00	100	48.00	217
218	Green Bay, Wis.[114]	46,235	87,089,140	16	10.29	16.73	8.28	.30	35.60	64	22.78	218
219	Port Arthur, Texas[o]	46,140	———	—	17.00	15.00	11.00	7.20	50.20	61†	30.60	219
220	Wichita Falls, Texas[115]	45,112	50,732,220	42	19.90	15.00	7.00	7.20	49.10	75	36.83	220
221	Elmira, N. Y.[k]	45,106	53,518,975	N	22.36	14.49	10.91	—	47.76	85	40.59	221
222	Lima, Ohio	44,711	78,792,354	39	7.65	11.50	3.05	N	22.20	75	16.65	222
223	Lynchburg, Va.[p]	44,541	62,845,815	9	12.00	11.50	N	N	23.50	70	16.45	223

[105] **Muncie.** Rates are tentative. County rate includes $1.90 poor rate. See footnote e.

[106] **Lexington.** City rate includes $2.00 debt service.

[107] **Kenosha.** City rates include $1.20 for library purposes.

[108] **Berwyn.** City rate includes: $1.14 township, poor relief and public health; $2.76 sanitary district; $.34 forest preserve; $.66 T.B. sanitorium; and $.62 park district. Rate given is for school district 100. Total rate for school district 98 is $29.76.

[109] **Stamford.** Tax rate shown is for first taxing district. Rate for third district is $34.90. Town rate is included in city rate.

[110] **New Castle.** The Pennsylvania State Tax Equalization Board ratios of assessed to true value were used in the computations. See footnote m.

[111] **Aurora.** City rate includes: $.71 town, $.83 town road and bridge, $.21 deficiency, $.46 sanitary district, $1.00 park district, and $.13 forest preserve.

[112] **Everett.** City rate includes $.44 for 1948 appropriations in 1949 levy, $1.03 for debt and interest and $.83 for abatements. School rate includes $.13 for debt and interest. See footnote h.

[113] **Haverhill.** City rate includes $.74 overlay. See footnote h.

[114] **Green Bay.** City rate includes $2.02 metropolitan sewer district.

[115] **Wichita Falls.** City rate includes water improvement district $3.00 and college rate $3.90. See footnote o.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
224	Williamsport, Pa.[116]	44,355	31,434,550	N	14.75	22.00	13.00	N	49.75	41†	20.18	224
225	Lorain, Ohio[117]	44,125	113,591,484	25	6.56	9.49	1.95	N	18.00	65	11.70	225
226	Dubuque, Iowa[f]	43,892	39,953,594	18	24.80	22.92	11.69	1.95	61.36	40	24.54	226
227	Ogden, Utah	43,688	45,214,710	26	17.00	19.55	8.50	8.28	53.33	40	21.33	227
228	San Bernardino, Calif.[118]	43,646	50,890,220	12	13.14	30.60	20.30	N	64.04	50	32.02	228
229	Battle Creek, Mich.[119]	43,453	95,448,510	32	9.50	14.23	5.15	N	28.88	80	23.10	229
230	Warren, Ohio[120]	42,837	85,405,908	20	5.30	12.40	2.30	N	20.00	100	20.00	230
231	Rock Island, Ill.[121]	42,775	103,892,236	28	8.23	11.20	1.77	N	21.20	100	21.20	231
232	LaCrosse, Wis.[122]	42,707	73,648,610	23	12.75	14.95	10.00	.30	38.00	63	23.94	232
233	Jamestown, N. Y.[k]	42,638	58,849,049	N	17.24	18.13	7.51	—	42.88	84	36.02	233
234	Joliet, Ill.[123]	42,365	129,893,846	—	6.30	14.91	1.64	N	22.85	100	22.85	234
235	Fitchburg, Mass.[h]	41,824	58,491,650	17	—	—	—	—	48.60	100	48.60	235
236	Chicopee, Mass.[h]	41,664	47,354,890	7	—	—	—	—	40.00	—	—	236
237	Bloomfield, N. J.[j]	41,623	71,551,621	14	17.00	26.10	9.50	N	52.60	100	52.60	237
238	Anderson, Ind.[e]	41,572	———	—	25.40	27.90	10.20	1.50	65.00	60	39.00	238
239	Council Bluffs, Iowa[f]	41,439	30,425,725	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	239
240	Chelsea, Mass.[h]	41,259	43,690,000	9	43.40	14.26	—	4.34	62.00	100	62.00	240
241	Perth Amboy, N. J.[j]	41,242	52,277,942	16	28.52	23.70	16.19	N	68.41	50	34.20	241
242	Salem, Mass.[124]	41,213	57,598,580	13	28.12	18.12	3.66	.10	50.00	100	50.00	242
243	Sioux Falls, S. D.	40,832	63,126,432	33	18.91	22.84	4.87	N	46.62	70	32.63	243
244	Sheboygan, Wis.	40,638	61,445,635	17	16.48	20.50	9.65	.31	46.94	80	37.55	244
245	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.[125]	40,478	57,725,837	N	40.34	—	5.03	—	45.37	75	34.02	245
246	Quincy, Ill.	40,469	108,064,888	17	7.78	10.64	2.31	N	20.73	100	20.73	246
247	Portsmouth, Ohio	40,466	57,766,084	17	12.16	11.35	2.99	N	26.50	85	22.53	247
248	White Plains, N. Y.[126]	40,327	132,190,001	N	17.34	16.55	7.57	—	41.46	99	41.05	248
249	Waltham, Mass.[h]	40,020	62,889,100	6	—	—	—	—	48.00	—	—	249
250	Arlington, Mass.[h]	40,013	60,819,400	6	—	—	—	—	46.20	—	—	250
251	Norwalk, Conn.	39,849	98,135,650	21	22.89	13.89	.22	—	37.00	80	29.60	251
252	Montclair, N. J.[j]	39,807	84,891,190	—	—	—	—	N	55.80	—	—	252

[116] **Williamsport.** City rate includes a $.75 library rate. County rate includes a $5.00 institutional rate. County also charges $4.00 on personal property par value. The city also levies a $5.00 poll tax on all residents of 21 years or more. See footnote m.

[117] **Lorain.** City rate includes $.08 township rate.

[118] **San Bernardino.** County rate includes flood control $1.80. See footnote d.

[119] **Battle Creek.** School rate includes $8.00 for special operations and $.23 for debt service.

[120] **Warren.** City rate includes $.10 township rate.

[121] **Rock Island.** City rate includes $.45 town and $.80 airport authority.

[122] **LaCrosse.** City rate includes $2.24 debt service and $.96 recreation rates.

[123] **Joliet.** City rate includes $2.11 town (including road and bridge) and $.86 park district rates.

[124] **Salem.** City rate includes $1.15 So. Essex sewerage rate and $.67 overlay. See footnote h.

[125] **Poughkeepsie.** City rate includes school rate. See footnote k.

[126] **White Plains.** Assessed value includes $4,950,495 special franchise. See footnote k.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
253	East Cleveland, Ohio	39,495	61,767,674	9	8.40	16.20	4.20	N	28.80	50	14.40	253
254	Meriden, Conn.[127]	39,494	74,652,900	27	20.00	12.44	.56	N	33.00	100	33.00	254
255	Cumberland, Md.	39,483	61,000,000	23	12.50	6.65	9.85	1.12	30.12	80	24.10	255
256	Kearny, N. J.[j]	39,467	82,755,595	—	—	—	—	N	49.60	—	—	256
257	West New York, N. J.[j]	39,439	40,420,875	11	29.04	25.70	18.43	N	73.17	45	32.93	257
258	Laredo, Texas[128]	39,274	26,940,897	25	26.10	15.00	19.40	7.20	67.70	60	40.62	258
259	Oshkosh, Wis.[129]	39,089	63,972,475	22	12.92	19.24	5.44	—	37.60	64	24.06	259
260	Alhambra, Calif.[130]	38,935	65,025,130	13	11.15	22.10	19.28	N	52.53	50	26.27	260
261	Lewiston, Me.	38,598	37,306,402	21	38.85	—	1.90	7.25	48.00	60	28.80	261
262	High Point, N. C.	38,495	69,378,030	37	13.92	9.11	4.42	N	27.45	85	23.23	262
263	Elgin, Ill.[131]	38,333	———	—	6.43	10.30	1.16	N	17.90	100	17.90	263
264	Norristown, Pa.[132]	38,181	23,821,440	N	14.50	30.50	1.50	N	46.50	50	23.25	264
265	Hazleton, Pa.[133]	38,009	27,253,198	N	18.00	27.00	11.70	N	56.70	59†	34.22	265
266	Steubenville, Ohio[134]	37,651	69,870,640	5	6.72	9.75	2.33	N	18.80	60	11.28	266
267	Zanesville, Ohio	37,500	Not reported									267
268	Plainfield, N. J.[j]	37,469	65,243,884	12	20.60	24.03	7.97	N	52.60	—	—	268
269	Pensacola, Fla.[h]	37,449	54,031,154	15	13.00	—	—	N	—	100	—	269
270	Taunton, Mass.[h]	37,395	37,688,920	6	21.21	23.03	4.26	—	48.50	100	48.50	270
271	Mansfield, Ohio[135]	37,154	81,000.000*	28*	4.00	13.70	3.30	N	21.00	—	—	271
272	Joplin, Mo.[136]	37,144	26,056,393	33	20.50	28.20	7.50	.60	56.80	50	28.40	272
273	Butte, Mont.	37,081	Not reported									273
274	Newport News, Va.[p]	37,067	57,958,321	27	18.00	14.50	N	N	32.50	40	13.00	274
275	Gadsden, Ala.[a]	36,975	36,763,917*	30*	10.00	12.00	7.50	6.50	36.00	30	10.80	275
276	Danville, Ill.[137]	36.919	78,686,647	21	11.10	15.00	1.40	N	27.50	100	27.50	276
277	Tucson, Ariz.	36,818	33,727,771	19	40.12	63.39	9.66	6.50	119.67	55	65.82	277
278	Colorado Springs, Colo.	36,789	36,923,890	—	12.00	31.87	9.46	4.00	57.33	50	28.67	278
279	Orlando, Fla.[138]	36,736	83,884,925	15	18.00	—	31.00	N	49.00	62†	30.30	279
280	Fort Smith, Ark.[139]	36,584	29,666,900	28	10.75	25.00	9.00	N	44.75	16	7.16	280

[127] **Meriden.** City rate includes $2.42 welfare and $8.64 for town.

[128] **Laredo.** City rate includes junior college, $2.00. See footnote o.

[129] **Oshkosh.** County rate includes the state rate.

[130] **Alhambra.** County rate includes flood control $1.91 and sanitation district $1.37. See footnote d.

[131] **Elgin.** City rate includes $1.52 town and $.41 sanitary district rates.

[132] **Norristown.** County rate includes institutional rate. A $5.00 per capita tax is levied for schools. See footnote m.

[133] **Hazleton.** Personalty assessment of $58,884 taxed by county at $4.00 per $1,000. County rate includes $3.00 institutional. See footnote m.

[134] **Steubenville.** City rate includes $.10 township rate.

[135] **Mansfield.** City rate includes $.13 township.

[136] **Joplin.** County rate includes $3.50 special road rate.

[137] **Danville.** City rate includes: $1.31 town, $.89 road and bridge, $.50 airport authority, $.90 sanitary district.

[138] **Orlando.** County rate includes school district rates. See footnote b.

[139] **Fort Smith.** The 16% estimated ratio represents that of today's market value. The ratio based on the market value for the years 1942 to 1945 inclusive is 25%.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
281	West Allis, Wis.[140]	36,364	100,146,905	37	13.91	10.74	14.71	.33	39.69	60	23.81	281
282	Alameda, Calif.[141]	36,256	40,991,185	18	16.07	24.22	22.81	N	63.10	50	31.55	282
283	Auburn, N. Y.[k]	35,753	53,633,235	N	19.20	10.66	6.66	—	36.52	100	36.52	283
284	Orange, N. J.[j]	35,717	45,670,565	11	25.61	22.19	9.50	N	57.30	100	57.30	284
285	Meridian, Miss.	35,481	36,522,320	21	17.00	16.00	14.50	2.00	49.50	75	37.13	285
286	Albuquerque, N. M.	35,449	40,092,453	—	12.12	5.00	14.98	5.00	—	48	—	286
287	Watertown, Mass.[h]	35,427	62,277,810	7	—	—	—	—	41.00	100	41.00	287
288	Richmond, Ind.[142]	35,147	54,284,143	—	20.63	15.50	10.00	1.50	47.63	40	19.05	288
289	Superior, Wis.	35,136	43,169,074	17	10.72	21.05	18.89	.25	50.91	66	33.60	289
290	Santa Barbara, Calif.[d]	34,958	62,628,790	7	15.70	—	—	—	—	60	—	290
291	Greenville, S. C.	34,734	Not reported									291
292	Baton Rouge, La.[g]	34,719	117,500,000	32	10.50	10.30	4.00	5.75	30.55	33	10.18	292
293	Riverside, Calif.[143]	34,696	57,288,760	11	11.40	21.10	15.00	N	47.50	50	23.75	293
294	Moline, Ill.[144]	34,608	97,961,740	25	7.00	12.83	1.77	N	21.60	100	21.60	294
295	Revere, Mass.[h]	34,405	43,395,550	8	—	—	—	—	53.40	100	53.40	295
296	Burbank, Calif.[145]	34,337	101,384,355	19	15.00	24.74	19.95	N	59.69	50	29.85	296
297	Waukegan, Ill.[146]	34,241	———	—	6.62	12.18	1.36	N	20.16	100	20.16	297
298	Rome, N. Y.[k]	34,214	34,974,023	N	26.32	21.87	16.36	—	64.55	78	50.35	298
299	Norwood, Ohio	34,010	Not reported									299
300	Kokomo, Ind.[147]	33,795	44,258,385	43	14.30	22.10	8.30	1.50	46.20	57	26.33	300
301	West Hartford, Conn.	33,776	134,759,918	19	11.40	10.70	.40	N	22.50	60	13.50	301
302	Paducah, Ky.[148]	33,765	24,008,095	28	17.90	15.60	5.80	.50	39.80	60	23.88	302
303	West Palm Beach, Fla.[b]	33,693	72,917,900	12	30.00	16.75	10.92	N	57.67	76†	43.83	303
304	Easton, Pa.[m]	33,589	41,736,911	N	12.00	17.00	11.50	N	40.50	91†	37.05	304
305	Alexandria, Va.[149]	33,523	76,874,149	21	27.50	—	N	N	27.50	50	13.75	305
306	Elkhart, Ind.[e]	33,434	55,500,000*	—	15.30	19.90	5.90	1.50	42.60	50	21.30	306
307	Wilmington, N. C.	33,407	Not reported									307
308	Watertown, N. Y.[k]	33,385	49,337,543	N	15.90	16.80	14.70	—	47.40	100	47.40	308
309	Amsterdam, N. Y.[k]	33,329	26,836,959	N	26.67	33.83	17.27	—	77.77	65	50.55	309
310	New Brunswick, N. J.[j]	33,180	45,382,575	12	24.30	21.10	16.30	N	61.70	—	—	310

[140] **West Allis.** City rate includes $1.23 metropolitan sewer rate.

[141] **Alameda.** County rate includes mosquito abatement district $.16, flood control $.05, park district $.50, utility district $2.50, and utility district special district $1 $.80. See footnote d.

[142] **Richmond.** City rate includes: $.40 public employment fund, $.20 hospital, $.03 city planning commission, $5.00 civic building fund, $4.72 sanitary general, $1.35 sanitary board, $1.25 corporation board, $.20 police pension, and $.13 municipal airport.

[143] **Riverside.** City rate includes $.60 flood control. See footnote d.

[144] **Moline.** City rate includes $.55 town and $1.36 unclassified.

[145] **Burbank.** County rate includes metropolitan water district $2.04, and flood control $1.91. Assessed value does not include exemptions of $5,351,460. See footnote d.

[146] **Waukegan.** 1948 data reported. 1949 data has not as yet been determined. City rate includes: $.67 township, $.48 township road and bridge, $.55 north shore sanitary district, and $.80 Waukegan park district. School rate includes $7.19 city grade school and $4.99 Waukegan township high school.

[147] **Kokomo.** County rate includes $.10 township and $1.70 poor relief. See footnote e.

[148] **Paducah.** City rate includes $2.90 for city bonded debt. School rate includes $.60 for city junior college.

[149] **Alexandria.** Personalty assessment is an estimate by the commissioner of revenue. Rate shown is for real estate. Rate for personal property is $30 per $1,000. See footnote p.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
311	University City, Mo.[150]	33,023	50,202,060	17	10.70	23.40	10.70	—	44.80	33	14.93	311
312	Nashua, N. H.	32,927	46,954,962	36	46.30	—	—	—	46.30	—	—	312
313	Bloomington, Ill.[151]	32,868	88,239,840	42	5.47	11.42	1.44	N	18.33	100	18.33	313
314	Port Huron, Mich.	32,759	48,004,040	18	14.70	16.48	10.32	N	41.50	75	31.13	314
315	Danville, Va.[152]	32,749	40,681,417	21	22.50	—	N	N	22.50	60	13.50	315
316	Fargo, N. D.[153]	32,580	48,024,356	29	18.54	21.98	7.91	1.45	49.88	—	—	316
317	Hagerstown, Md.[154]	32,491	58,000,000	15	5.00	—	15.00	1.12	21.12	60	12.67	317
318	Muskogee, Okla.[l]	32,332	24,998,663	30	10.29	22.20	14.23	N	46.72	60	28.03	318
319	Spartanburg, S. C.	32,349	Not reported									319
320	East Providence, R. I.[n]	32,165	70,896,510	39	24.50	—	—	—	24.50	100	24.50	320
321	Santa Ana, Calif.[155]	31,921	52,996,450	4	18.85	22.67	14.33	N	55.85	50	27.93	321
322	Newburgh, N. Y.[k]	31,883	40,262,445	N	21.29	16.00	4.57	.12	41.98	86	36.10	322
323	Lubbock, Texas[o]	31,853	69,462,970	27	17.50	—	—	—	—	67	—	323
324	Ottumwa, Iowa[f]	31,570	34,021,699	20	20.50	32.25	12.25	N	65.00	40†	26.19	324
325	Newark, Ohio[156]	31,487	47,107,050	22	5.25	12.55	3.20	N	21.00	80	16.80	325
326	Alton, Ill.[157]	31,255	87,605,005	19	4.82	10.68	1.30	N	16.80	100	16.80	326
327	Middletown, Ohio	31,220	79,650,000	37	4.80	10.06	2.24	N	17.10	80	13.68	327
328	Salem, Ore.[158]	30,908	22,352,447	20	20.50	36.00	17.00	N	73.50	44	32.34	328
329	Marion, Ohio[159]	30,817	48,550,820	30	5.76	11.94	3.20	N	20.90	80	16.72	329
330	Eau Claire, Wis.	30,745	49,650,525	15	9.41	21.27	10.97	.35	42.00	54	22.68	330
331	Newport, Ky.[160]	30,631	24,207,760	12	19.70	15.70	6.60	.60	42.60	63†	26.87	331
332	Petersburg, Va.[161]	30,631	35,141,323	21	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	60	15.00	332
333	Wyandotte, Mich.	30,618	64,050,625	36	13.00	15.50	6.95	N	35.45	100	35.45	333
334	Clarksburg, W. Va.[162]	30,579	70,512,860	43	3.45	6.34	3.28	.07	13.14	28	3.68	334
335	Newport, R. I.[n]	30,532	80,302,500	39	27.50	—	—	—	27.50	50	13.75	335
336	New London, Conn.	30,456	54,746,777	16	—	—	—	—	35.00	95	33.25	336
337	Owensboro, Ky.	30,245	26,098,272	28	13.00	16.40	—	—	—	50	—	337
338	Everett, Wash.[163]	30,224	20,244,390	28	17.75	21.50	15.70	2.50	57.45	50	28.73	338

[150] **University City.** County rate includes state rate.

[151] **Bloomington.** City rate includes $.25 town and $.92 sanitary district.

[152] **Danville.** Rate shown is for real estate. Rate for tangible personal property and machinery and tools is $25 per $1,000. See footnote p.

[153] **Fargo.** City rate includes $1.96 levy for parks. Rates are for 1948.

[154] **Hagerstown.** County rate includes schools.

[155] **Santa Ana.** County rates include: water district $3.40, flood control $1.18, harbor district $.32, mosquito abatement $.34, and cemetery district $.09. An additional sanitation district rate of $2.18 is levied against land and improvements, plus an acquisition and improvement rate of $1.25 against land only. See footnote d.

[156] **Newark.** City rate includes $.05 township rate.

[157] **Alton.** City rate includes $1.17 township and $.21 unclassified.

[158] **Salem.** Assessed values and rates are for 1948. The estimated ratio is that established for equalization purposes. The State Tax Commission's computations gave the ratio as 25%.

[159] **Marion.** City rate includes $.12 for township and county rate includes $1.00 agriculture coliseum rate.

[160] **Newport.** City rate includes $.60 sanitation rate. County rate includes $.60 court house rate.

[161] **Petersburg.** City rate includes schools. The state taxes intangible and the city tangible personal property. See footnote p.

[162] **Clarksburg.** Tax rates shown are weighted rates; Clarksburg has three classes of property.

[163] **Everett.** County rate includes $3.00 port district and $2.00 public utility district rates. See footnote q

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
339	Bristol, Conn.	30,167	81,492,160	38	—	—	—	—	30.00	80	24.00	339
340	Inglewood, Calif.[164]	30,114	53,119,480	15	14.40	30.42	20.75	N	65.57	50	32.79	340
341	Parkersburg, W. Va.[165]	30,103	57,273,810	40	3.29	8.72	3.07	.07	15.15	28	4.24	341
342	West Haven, Conn.[166]	30,021	63,767,193	—	25.13	2.25	—	—	—	100	—	342
343	Hutchinson, Kans.	30,013	37,370,276	40	16.73	18.29	11.83	1.75	48.60	—	—	343

[164] **Inglewood.** County rate includes flood control $1.91 and sanitation district $2.83. See footnote d.

[165] **Parkersburg.** Tax rates shown are weighted rates; Parkersburg has three classes of property.

[166] **West Haven.** City rate includes unspecified rate of $2.00.

GENERAL FOOTNOTES

[a] **Alabama.** The legal basis of assessment is 60 per cent of true value. Homestead exemption: first $2,000 of assessed value of homestead is exempt from state tax only.

[b] **Florida.** Homestead exemption: the first $5,000 of the assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state and all local taxes except debt service on obligations incurred prior to the passage of the amendment.

[c] **Georgia.** Two thousand dollars general homestead exemption on owner-occupied property.

[d] **California.** State statutory ratio is 50 per cent.

[e] **Indiana.** County tax rate includes township rate. School tax rate includes library rate.

[f] **Iowa.** The Iowa Tax Commission reports the following ratios of assessed to true cash values for the city and county in that order: Cedar Rapids, 45%, 60%; Council Bluffs, 60%, 60%; Davenport, 50%, 60%; Des Moines, 60%, 60%; Dubuque, 60%, 60%; Ottumwa, 55%, 60%; Sioux City, 60%, 60%; Waterloo, 50%, 60%.

[g] **Louisiana.** Two thousand dollars general homestead exemption for all owner-occupied residential property. Five thousand dollars exemption for veterans and their dependents.

[h] **Massachusetts.** Statutory requirement is that valuation be a fair cash value.

[i] **Minnesota.** Property classification: There are five classes of property assessed at varying percentages of true value; platted real estate at 40 per cent, except for first $4,000 of homesteads which is assessed at 25 per cent; unplatted real estate at 33-1/3 per cent, except first $4,000 of homesteads at 20 per cent; iron ore at 50 per cent; and personalty in three classes at 10 per cent, 25 per cent and 33-1/3 per cent. The first $4,000 true value of homesteads is exempt further from state levies except debt service on obligations issued prior to the enactment of the law.

[j] **New Jersey.** Second class railroad property included in total assessed valuation and taxable at the general tax rate. The separate tax rates for Paterson, Jersey City and Hoboken will not equal the total tax rate since the city certifies a net valuation taxable to the county, which may then revise it. The estimated ratios of assessed to true value for Hudson County cities (Jersey City, Bayonne, Union City, West New York, Hoboken and Kearny) are in sharp conflict with the Hudson County Board of Taxation's statutory equalization table, adopted March 31, 1949. This table indicates that these cities are all assessing on approximately the same basis, 100 per cent.

[k] **New York.** Where state rate is not shown, it is included in county rate.

[l] **Oklahoma.** Homestead exemption: First $1,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from tax rates for all units. Debt service charges on obligations incurred prior to this act are allowed.

[m] **Pennsylvania.** The Pennsylvania State Tax Equalization Board reports the following ratios of assessed to true cash values based on 1948 assessments for the city and county in that order: Allentown, 40%, 40%; Altoona, 65%, 40%; Bethlehem, 36%, 27%; Chester, 48%, 29%; Easton, 60%, 42%; Erie, 46%, 33%; Harrisburg, 42%, 38%; Hazleton, 38%, 33%; Johnstown, 49%, 46%; Lancaster, 61%, 30%; McKeesport, 45%, 45%; New Castle, 53%, 42%; Norristown, 29%, 29%; Philadelphia, 55%, 55%; Pittsburgh, 54%, 54%; Reading, 53%, 40%; Scranton, 44%, 44%; Wilkes-Barre, 51%, 49%; Williamsport, 37%, 25%; York, 34%, 21%.

[n] **Rhode Island.** There is no county government in Rhode Island. State does not tax real property. There is a $4 tax rate on intangible property which is not included in this survey because there seems to be little attempt either to assess or to collect this tax in most cities and towns outside of Providence.

[o] **Texas.** First $3,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state taxes.

[p] **Virginia.** The Virginia Department of Taxation reports the following ratios of assessed to true cash values based on 1944 ratios developed by an independent agency and adjusted for reassessments made during the years 1944-47: Alexandria, 45%; Danville, 59%; Lynchburg, 92%; Newport News, 54%; Norfolk, 62%; Petersburg, 80%; Portsmouth, 68%; Richmond, 88%; Roanoke, 54%.

[q] **Washington.** State statutory ratio is 50 per cent. The State Tax Commission's estimates of assessed to present day values for Washington cities are: Seattle, 35%; Spokane, 35%; Tacoma, 33%; Everett, 29%.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Federal Reorganization a Leading 1950 Issue

Most of Hoover Program Still Remains to Be Done

IN A message to the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report on December 12 President Truman, commenting on the work of the Commission on Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government, said:

"During the coming year I shall continue to take action to achieve the better, more efficient management envisioned by the commission. Not only legislative changes and reorganization plans are required but also improved operating practices within the agencies of the government. I have already called on department heads to make every effort to that end. Their response has been most gratifying. Recently I appointed a committee of experts to assist in this effort, and I shall continue to give the matter my close, personal attention.

"But support from outside the government as well as from within is necessary. Only with such support can we carry out the extensive and often difficult programs that are prerequisite to effective government at a minimum cost. Certainly the goal is worthy of the best efforts of all of us."

A two-day reorganization conference in Washington, December 12-13, arranged by the Citizens Committee, was attended by more than seven hundred citizens from the entire country. Ex-president Hoover, chairman of the Commission on Reorganization, outlined its work and its results thus far, which the Citizens Committee has estimated at 20 per cent of the full program. Accomplishments to date are credited with a saving of more than a billion dollars per annum.

Mr. Hoover listed eight categories of action as most urgent, saying that two billions in savings and more efficient service to the public could be achieved in these areas alone:

1. Reorganization of the civil service, including decentralization of recruiting and control, except for certain general services, into the departments and agencies, under regulations of the Civil Service Commission;
2. Reorganization of budgeting and accounting on a performance basis;
3. Reorganization of the Post Office;
4. Unification of the federal hospital services;
5. Unification of water conservation services;
6. Unification of agricultural land services, especially as between the Departments of Interior and Agriculture;
7. Unification of government services to transportation, with the aim of a balanced national transport system;
8. Relief for the president of the United States, to whom some 65 agencies now report directly, these to be reduced more than one-half.

Creation of reorganization commissions in twenty states and ten cities was noted as one incidental result of the federal study.

Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, speaking at the conference, suggested a five-point program of: (1) cooperation among governmental levels, (2) eliminating duplication of services, (3) studies to reduce the number of governmental units at all levels, (4) expansion of sound interstate agreements, and (5) wise and efficient administration of federal grants for national programs "with only those controls which the public interest requires."

Senator George D. Aiken of Vermont, another speaker, called for a new legal agency, answerable only to Congress, to prevent attorneys for the executive branch from interpreting some laws "contrary to the intent of Congress."

Council-Manager Plan Developments

On November 8 **Pueblo, Colorado,** (52,162) voters endorsed the calling of a charter convention and also approved seven charter amendments, No. 3 of which gives the council authority to appoint a city manager. The latter amendment was adopted 5,424 to 4,043; the calling of a convention was approved by 6,282 to 3,225. Amendment No. 1, adopted 5,297 to 4,067, calls for a council of fourteen elected by districts. Pueblo is now under commission government, and three commissioners were chosen at the November 8 election. An election of fourteen councilmen must be called in 35 days and of 21 charter convention delegates within 60 days.

Victoria, British Columbia, (44,068) at a recent referendum election resulting from a petition, adopted the manager plan under the British Columbia Municipal Manager Act.

The voters of **Gloucester, Massachusetts,** (1940 population 24,046) voted on December 6 in favor of the Plan E form of local government (council-manager and proportional representation). The vote was 5,452 for Plan E and 2,307 against, with 2,222 blank ballots. Municipal officials were also voted on. In view of doubt as to the status of proportional representation, under state legislation now being contested, City Solicitor C. W. Wonson advised City Clerk A. F. Grant prior to the election that Plan E could properly be submitted to the voters. However, if the courts decide that P. R. had been invalidated for new charters by the legislature, the Plan E form for Gloucester, if adopted, would stand except that it "would have been amended by substituting plurality for proportional form of balloting and counting."

In **Grand Island, Nebraska,** (19,130) the voters at a special election on November 29 adopted the council-manager plan, 2,148 to 1,523. A primary election for council will be held in March, with the regular election in April.

Greeley, Colorado, (15,995) adopted the manager plan under the state enabling act on November 22, by the close vote of 1,170 to 1,167.

Hobbs, New Mexico, (10,619) adopted the manager plan in November.

Gainesville, Texas, (9,651) voted at a special election on December 3 to return to the council-manager plan after two years of the aldermanic plan. Prior to October 1947 Gainesville had the manager plan for twenty years. The vote this time was 483 to 357. There is to be a council of five, to be elected by wards in April; the council elects the mayor.

In **Pharr, Texas,** (4,784) a council-manager charter was adopted at an election on November 1 by a vote of 126 to 90. Apparently the employment of a manager is not compulsory.

Moorehead, Kentucky, (1,901) voted for the manager plan in November.

Franklin, New Hampshire, which has had a city manager for two years under a mayor-council form of government, but which rejected a council-manager charter at a special election on October 26 by a vote of 1,743 to 682, voted at another special election on November 25 to dispense with a manager entirely by the close margin of 1,467 to 1,408. The manager's employment thus ended December 31, 1949. The result is attributed largely to efforts of former Mayor Henry J. Proulx, chairman of the Democratic city committee.

A town meeting in **Durham, New Hampshire,** on October 15 rejected a proposal for a town manager, 95 to 7.

The town of **Concord, Massachusetts,** at a special town meeting on November 14, voted to have a committee appointed to make recommendations as to adoption of the town manager plan.

In the town of **Dedham, Massachusetts,** a committee appointed last June by Moderator J. R. Hooper to look into the town manager form of government has been meeting with officials of manager towns and otherwise studying the plan and its operation. Public hearings will be held soon. A report is to be rendered at the 1950 town meeting.

In **Lynn, Massachusetts,** the Eastern Improvement Association has joined the movement to bring Plan E to that city. Petitions to adopt the plan are being circulated.

The board of selectmen of the town of **Saugus, Massachusetts,** on November 14 approved a motion endorsing the manager plan that has been in effect there for two years. Many accomplishments were cited, including reduction of the tax rate from $49.90 to $38.90.

At a special town meeting in **Reading, Massachusetts,** on December 3 it was voted that the present town manager study committee be continued in office to draft a town manager charter and present it to the annual town meeting. The committee itself had recommended that the charter be presented directly to the legislature in a petition for an enabling act, to be followed by a local referendum.

The town manager plan has been recommended for **North Kingstown, Rhode Island,** by the Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council.

The Republican Town Committee of **Rocky Hill, Connecticut,** advocates a study of the manager plan, saying that Rocky Hill has outgrown its present form of town government.

In the borough of **Keansburg, New Jersey,** a test of the recent New Jersey legislation prohibiting discharge of a municipal manager for three years after appointment, except after public hearing and by vote of one more than a majority of the council, is under way. Borough Manager C. B. Lohsen, who was first appointed May 3, 1927, and reappointed at various times since then, was discharged by the present mayor and council upon their taking office May 24. Mr. Lohsen sued but the Superior Court ruled that he had no tenure, having accepted reappointment under resolutions stating it was at the pleasure of the council. The suit was expected to be appealed.

Although petitions for a referendum election on adopting the council-manager plan in **Danville, Virginia,** have 1,200 signatures, their filing was purposely delayed in order to avoid the calling of an election before the Christmas holidays. An election is now scheduled for February 7.

A revised charter for **Alexandria, Virginia,** is expected to be acted on by the council and then by the legislature this month. It seeks to eliminate interference with the city manager by councilmen.

The Junior Board of Trade of

Martinsburg, West Virginia, is sponsoring a movement for the council-manager plan.

In **Memphis, Tennessee,** the Civic Research Committee is delving into many aspects of that city's government and means of improving it, particularly by adoption of the council-manager plan. At its first membership meeting, on November 22, the committee had explained to it the method under state law whereby Memphis can obtain the council-manager plan, including a petition of 20 per cent of the voters and a majority vote at a referendum.

The villages of **North St. Paul, Wells** and **Zumbrota, Minnesota,** rejected proposals for adoption of the manager plan on December 6.

In an editorial on December 1 the **Grenada, Mississippi,** *County Weekly* urged that a citizens' committee work out a council-manager plan to compromise minor differences which contributed to the defeat of a manager proposal in the spring of 1949 by a slight margin.

Benefits of the council-manager plan were presented to the Junior Chamber of Commerce of **York, Nebraska,** by E. R. Cross, city manager at Lexington, at the last quarter meeting.

Petitions calling for an election on the council-manager plan in January have been filed in **Sidney, Nebraska.**

Kearney, Nebraska, will vote on adoption of the manager plan January 31.

Durant, Oklahoma, voted on September 27 to abandon the manager plan, 1,710 to 1,668.

At a special election on January 24 the citizens of **San Antonio, Texas,** are expected to vote on thirteen charter amendments submitted by the People's Council-Manager Committee, associated with Mayor Jack White, and also on five other charter changes, including another proposal for a council-manager charter, sponsored by the Charter Revision Committee which, however, also submits a mayor-commission charter, a franchise amendment and a civil service amendment. Still another amendment, sponsored by a member of the latter committee, is for a planning commission.

Santa Paula, California, turned down a manager proposal on December 6 at a special election, 413 to 521. A measure to exclude the "South Mountain" section from the city limits was also voted on and approved 803 to 124.

It is expected that the existing city manager ordinance in **San Carlos, California,** adopted in October 1948, will be submitted to popular vote at the April 10 general election, and that a revised civil service ordinance will also be submitted. A civil service ordinance, heretofore adopted by initiative election, is claimed to be in conflict with the manager ordinance.

Efforts Made to Postpone Boston's Plan A

The governmental form known as Plan A (mayor with council of nine elected at large), overwhelmingly adopted by the electorate at the November election, is encountering opposition aimed at postponing or nullifying it. A petition filed by Representative E. J. Donlan at the State House on November 21 sought to have Boston continue under its present charter until 1954 instead of having another municipal election in 1952. The ostensible reason was to allow Mayor-elect Hynes four years instead of two to straighten out city affairs and "prove himself." It was pointed out, however, that Mr. Hynes should be able to show his competence in two years and could then seek re-election for a four-year term.

Another legislative proposal went further, seeking nullification of the vote on Plan A and the calling of a special election in June 1950 to give Bostonians a choice among all five optional plans of city government.

Boston's government would be still more greatly affected by possible results of a bill filed December 1 by Representative J. A. Burke, calling for a special commission to study consolidation of 26 adjacent cities and towns with the city of Boston.

Minneapolis Suffers One-week City Strike

Nearly 900 Minneapolis municipal employees connected with the building crafts unions returned October 10 after having been off the job for one week because of salary disputes, according to *Minnesota Municipalities.*

The employees had demanded a wage rise equal to that granted last summer to similar personnel under private contractors.

The city maintained that other benefits, not available to workers under private contractors (sick leave, annual vacation and paid holidays), more than made up the difference to city employees.

Employees resumed their jobs after talks with the city council ways and means committee resulted in the following compromise: for 1949, the wage raises, ranging from seven to twenty cents an hour, would be granted. For 1950, the new wage scale would continue in effect, but no pay would be granted for the eleven annual holidays. Sick leave and vacation benefits remain as before.

City administration units affected were: the hospital, school, library, welfare and park boards, and the city council.

AMA Seeks Stronger Position for Cities

The 1949 conference of the American Municipal Association, held in Cleveland for three days ending December 2, was attended by nearly 500 mayors and other municipal officials from 40 states and foreign countries.

The conference emphasized several policies of the association, including its position that a greater share of highway user taxes be given to cities and towns to finance urban streets and highways and that the U. S. government increase its appropriations from existing excise taxes to help financing of city streets; vigorous support of federal legislation for payments in lieu of taxes to cities on federal property inside city limits and to give municipal employees old age and survivor's benefits under the social security act; and continued demand for municipal home rule.

After consideration of the threat of organized crime against honest and effective municipal government this motion was presented to the membership and adopted: "That crime and syndicated crime be referred to the board of trustees of the association for study and report to city members of the association."

Uniform Traffic Code for Michigan Cities

Forty-two Michigan cities have adopted the unified code of traffic law enforcement, first drawn up by law enforcement and safety officials of that state in 1944 in an effort to reduce traffic accidents.

The removing of inconsistency in traffic fines has caused the violator to have a higher respect for police and court officers, according to Michigan officials. Police officers like the standardized ticket because it is much easier to fill out and as it is almost complete in itself it seldom requires the officer's appearance in court.

Awards Made for Municipal Reports

The fifth annual New England municipal report competition was recently held under the auspices of the New England Council's Community Development Committee, with the following results:

For the best reports of municipalities in the several population groups certificates of outstanding merit were awarded as follows: less than 500, Union, Connecticut; 500-1,000, New Marlborough, Massachusetts; 1,000-2,500, Guilford, Maine; 2,500-10,000, Wilbraham, Massachusetts; over 10,000, Lewiston, Maine, and Greenwich, Connecticut. Certificates of commendation were awarded to five other municipalities and five more received honorable mention.

Civil Service Assembly Holds Big Conference

With a registration of 625 delegates, including representation from 135 member agencies, the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada held one of its largest annual conferences in San Francisco, during the four days ending October 27.

Topics at the various sessions included: pay policies in a changing economy, the Hoover commission report on personnel management, the public employee in a democratic civil service, the influence of a surplus labor market on the personnel program, the civil service commissioner views his job, the city manager looks at civil service, dynamic personnel policies, the university and industrial relations, the interdepartmental personnel council, using training tools effectively, problems of classification and reallocation, the group oral test, and publishing an employee handbook.

George T. Jackson, director of organization and classification of the Civil Service Commission of Canada, was re-elected for a second one-year term as president.

Dates and places for 1950 regional conferences are: southern at Houston, Texas, March 30-31; central at Springfield, Illinois, May 1-3; eastern at Washington, D. C., May 11-13; western at Portland, Oregon, June 5-7.

The assembly's 1950 conference will be in Miami, Florida.

University Medical Schools Aid Ohio Coroners

The Department of Pathology of Western Reserve University, in cooperation with the Coroner's Office of Cuyahoga County, will undertake to provide expert assistance to the coroners of northern Ohio in the investigation of suspicious or criminal deaths. Eleven university pathologists have agreed to the establishment of a schedule whereby two or more of them will be on call for a standard fee at all times.

A similar service for other counties is being offered in Columbus by the Ohio State University and in Cincinnati by the University of Cincinnati. The service became available on December 1, 1949.

R. S. C.

Lake Champlain Interstate Commission Established

A new interstate agency was recently formed when the New York Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Cooperation and the Vermont Commission on Interstate Cooperation agreed to organize the Interstate Commission on the Lake Champlain Basin. *State Government*, organ of the Council of State Governments, says

(Continued on page 46)

Manager Plan Proposed for King County, Wash.

Seattle Municipal League Urges Modernized Charter

THE MUNICIPAL League of Seattle has proposed to the unofficial King County Charter Advisory Commission appointed by the county commissioners that major changes, including the manager plan, be incorporated in the home rule charter to be drafted for King County.

The plan provides for a legislative body of nine members, nominated and elected by districts. This board of county commissioners would appoint a qualified county administrator to supervise all departments except those under commissions or boards. Commission and board members would serve four-year terms and be chosen in off-year elections.

Voters in Seattle would elect three members to the board of county commissioners and voters in six other county districts would elect one for each district. The prosecuting attorney, county school superintendent and judges would continue to be elected as they are excluded from the charter. Candidates would appear on the ballot without party designations.

The league recommends that provision for selection of county employees by merit be incorporated in the new charter. A civil service commission of three members, appointed by the county commissioners, would hold examinations to provide eligible lists of qualified persons.

A number of the league's recommendations are aimed at improving financial procedures to check rising expenditures and taxes. A new position of budget director would be created. He would prepare annual budgets, make pre-audits of county claims before they are paid, check for deficit spending and make efficiency and research studies.

A county auditor with specified qualifications and appointed by the commissioners would perform a post-audit function similar to the independent audits made of private business. Provisions are recommended to prevent over-estimation of revenues resulting in deficit spending.

Other recommendations would result in coordination and simplification of present county procedures. County functions would be grouped into a few main departments such as finance, public works, public safety, etc. Interchange of equipment and clerical staff between departments would be possible. The tax billing operation would be integrated and licenses, now issued by a number of departments, would be handled by one office.

Santa Clara Home Rule Charter Declared Invalid

Efforts to provide Santa Clara County, California, with a modern streamlined charter met defeat recently when, in an elaborate 27-page opinion, a Superior Court judge held invalid an election a year ago at which the charter was approved.[1]

After considering the question for more than two months, the court ruled "sound" the contention that five of the ten pre-election newspaper legal publications of the charter were defective, and hence did not give voters sufficient notice of the charter provisions. The court declared:

---

[1] See also the REVIEW, April 1949, page 187.

"The evidence now before the court establishes the existence of a defect in the proceedings occurring and continuing prior to the submission of the proposed county charter to the electorate for their approval. This defect consists in a manifest failure to accurately publish the proposed charter ten times in the officially designated newspaper as required by the constitution. . . .

"The missing language is important and would easily have been a matter of substantial concern to an appreciable percentage of the voters, since it related to the tenure and salary of the newly created and extremely powerful office of county executive. . . .

"In this situation no one can possibly tell what percentage of the voters read either the correct or the incorrect publications of the charter. Speculations in this respect are idle, and the court refrains from indulging in them.

"Its firm conviction is, however, that the five deficient publications fell grievously short of compliance with the mandatory provisions of the constitution."

The charter proponents will appeal the decision, but the county board of supervisors is undecided as to whether it will join them in an effort to secure an early decision from the State Supreme Court.

City-County Relations Investigated

City-county relations have been considered recently by both the California County Supervisors' Association and the League of California Cities in their annual meetings. An attempt is being made to look at the problem realistically and to discuss areas of agreement and conflict.

In San Diego County eight cities, in an effort to get factual data on city-county problems, employed Public Administration Service to survey county revenues and expenditures. The cities each contributed to its cost. The mayor of San Diego declared:

"The report of Public Administration Service clearly shows that the residents of the unincorporated areas of the county are getting the best of it. The city of San Diego contributes 64.8 per cent of the county general fund while benefiting only to the extent of about 54 per cent. This means that the unincorporated areas are getting thousands of dollars of benefit without paying for it. It is intended that relations between the cities and the county of San Diego shall be cooperative. We intend to proceed slowly, seeking the solutions of our problems jointly between the city councils and the board of supervisors."

In North Carolina, Caldwell County recently signed a two-year contract with the Lenoir city fire department for protection in rural areas. Stanly County, in return for services of the Albemarle city fire department, agreed to pay part of the firemen's salaries and the costs of upkeep of a fire truck. Durham County will secure hydrant service from the city of Durham at a cost of $60 per hydrant.

Guilford County, North Carolina, will collect 20 per cent of the proceeds of rural garbage collectors and $10 per month from large industrial concerns that use the Greensboro city dump and transmit the amounts so collected to the city. It is estimated they will be approximately $600 per month.

Missouri Survey Reports on County Finance

The Missouri Public Expenditure Survey recently released its *Sixth Annual Survey of County Budgets* which reveals further upward trends in taxes and expenditures of the state's 109 rural counties. Budgets show that general fund spending in 1949 is up 30 per cent over that of five years ago. This represents an increase for the fifth consecutive year. A 38 per cent increase is noted for salaries and office expense. These two items account for slightly over half the county tax dollar appropriated from general funds.

Assessed valuation, as estimated in the budgets of the rural counties, increased from $1,785,121,805 in 1948 to $1,847,093,584 in 1949—nearly 3.5 per cent. During the previous five-year period, 1944-1948, assessed valuation increased $99,000,000.

Sixteen counties show accumulated surpluses in their current budgets exceeding 100 per cent of their general fund appropriations for the year. The survey asserts that counties need a surplus of only about 65 per cent of their appropriations in order to operate on a cash basis. Six counties show general fund deficits in their budgets for the current year.

The average tax rate called for in the budgets of the 109 rural counties to finance general fund expenditures is 45.4 cents per $100 assessed valuation. This is an increase of 1.1 cents over last year and 6.1 cents over five years ago. Budgets of 89 counties this year call for a general fund tax rate at the constitutional maximum while five years ago only 34 counties requested the top rate.

More Powers for Los Angeles County Sanitary Districts

The 1949 session of the California legislature has enacted a law which adds to the functions of county sanitation districts that of collection and disposal of refuse. The request for this legislation originated with the cities of Los Angeles County and the law is limited to them. In general, it extends all the powers and duties that sanitation districts have exercised regarding sewage and sanitation to garbage and rubbish disposal.

There are sixteen sanitation districts in Los Angeles County serving 35 of the county's 45 incorporated cities. The general direction, policy making and financing of the service are under a board of directors made up of representatives of each city served, usually the mayor, and a member of the county board of supervisors for the unincorporated areas. The district directors must now determine whether the collection and disposal of the additional waste products may be more effectively and economically accomplished as a district enterprise, by the cities alone or in concert with the county.

County Planning Commission Established

The Wicomico County, Maryland, commissioners have established a five-member planning and zoning commission in accordance with legislation enacted in the 1949 session of the legislature. The Consultant Service of the National Municipal League recommended such a commission in its survey of Wicomico County conducted in 1946.

Wisconsin Changing Rural Zoning Emphasis

Better Roads reports that counties and townships in northern Wisconsin are giving serious consideration to changes in the county ordinances relating to rural zoning. When the state legislature sixteen years ago gave counties full authority to enact and administer rural zoning ordinances and townships the power to designate the lands to be classified under the zoning ordinance, the major concerns were: (1) economy in road building and maintenance, snowplowing, education, relief and other public services; (2) guidance of new settlers into good farmlands in established farming communities; (3) provision for maximum land utilization; and (4) maintenance of the principle of state aid.

These objectives still are important but becoming of equal importance is that of providing recreational facilities in the forests and on the lakes. The ordinances have resulted in economies and more orderly development of rural areas.

Forty-five other states also permit some or all of their counties and townships to enact rural zoning ordinances.

School Consolidation Continues

States are accelerating the reorganization and consolidation of their administrative units, according to a recent report by the Council of State Governments, *The Forty-Eight State School Systems*.[1] Although all state school laws provide methods for redistricting, many states have revised their redistricting statutes recently to spur consolidation of school districts. This has involved the elimination of many small, outmoded school districts and the forming of larger administrative and financial units.

More than 1,400 Texas school districts were eliminated by a 1949 law directing units that had not operated a school for two or more years to consolidate with active districts. Permission also was granted for contiguous counties or portions of such counties to form consolidated administrative units. A recent Nebraska reorganization act also was a voluntary measure. Machinery was provided for the state's 63 counties to reorganize their 6,910 school districts if they desired.

In Arkansas the number of school districts has been reduced from 1,500 to 428 in the past year. This is the result of a statute approved by referendum last year under which all school districts having less than 350 pupils were abolished.[2] Illinois, which had more local school districts than any other state in 1945, has cut the number from 11,906 to nearly 5,500 since that time. Each consolidation must be approved by a majority of voters affected.

Under Washington's consolidation laws, the number of school districts has been reduced from 1,472 to 592 since 1939. When reorganization is completed local school districts will number about 275. In Idaho the number of school districts has been cut to 550, or in half, since 1947.

Consolidation proposals by 107 of Missouri's 114 county boards of education would reduce the existing 7,891 school districts to 742. If plans prepared by Pennsylvania counties and now before the State Education Council are approved by the voters, Pennsylvania's 2,540 districts will be pared to 800. North Dakota contemplates cutting its 2,267 school districts in half under a 1947 law if a pending court test upholds the law. A Kansas school district reorganization law was declared unconstitutional in 1947 but not until after more than 2,400 of the 8,000 districts in the state had been reorganized.

A common procedure in school redistricting has been for the legislature to establish reorganization committees. Some committees are empowered to create new districts while others are only study groups. In Indiana, township trustees were authorized to organize township school districts into county units.

---

[1] Chicago, 1949. 245 pages.

[2] See also "Better Schooling, Less Cost," by E. Maxwell Benton, the REVIEW, November 1949, page 494.

Most reorganization plans are modeled after that developed in Illinois. The Illinois law established county school survey commissions selected by the county school boards. These commissions were empowered to study the school districts and recommend the organization that would provide better educational opportunities for pupils of the county. If changes in school districts were proposed, an election had to be called within nine months in the entire area affected. The law specified that the consolidated district must have a population of at least 2,000 and an assessed valuation of not less than $6,000,000.

Provisions of state school laws chiefly responsible for discouraging consolidation are the manner of distributing school funds and the procedure for effecting reorganization. Specific provisions in state laws that deter reorganization include:

1. State aid is not provided for new buildings in reorganized districts,
2. Small school districts frequently received so much aid that they can operate with very low local taxes,
3. Not enough state aid is paid for transportation,
4. Rural and urban votes are counted separately on redistricting issues and a majority of each is required.

New York Towns to Meet

The 1950 annual meeting of the New York Association of Towns will be held in New York City early in February.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 41)

that this "body, which will rely on existing facilities of the two states in its operation, will seek as its basic objective 'to foster and encourage the development of the resources' of the basin. The new commission plans to undertake surveys and research activities to determine the most effective means of developing the Lake Champlain area, and to give full support to implementation of such development."

Comprehensive Survey Planned for Delaware River Basin

The Interstate Commission on the Delaware River Basin ("Incodel") has, according to *State Government,* "retained engineering services to assist in surveying the waters of that river and its tributaries, in order to determine how they may be harnessed most effectively for maximum utilization by the participating states. The 1949 legislatures of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania directed the commission to study the Delaware River system in terms of water supply, recreation, flood and salinity control, pollution abatement, navigation, generation of power and other related purposes. James H. Allen, executive secretary of Incodel, states that the survey, first of its kind by a group of states, may set a new pattern for development and construction of water resources projects through interstate cooperation."

Office-Type Ballot Validated in Ohio

The Ohio Supreme Court decided on December 14 that the majority favoring the so-called office-type ballot over that providing straight party voting, out of those voting on that question at the November election, was sufficient, although less than a majority of all votes cast at the election as a whole.[1]

---

[1] See the REVIEW, December, page 558.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Atomic Town Uses P. R.

Oak Ridge Chooses Council to Serve under New By-Laws

THE seven members of the town council of Oak Ridge, Tennessee, the community devoted to the production of atomic energy, were elected by the town meeting on September 13 by the Hare system of P. R. This was the first election since the adoption, in July 1948, of a constitution and by-laws setting up the town meeting and town council and providing for the use of P. R.

According to Ralph C. Watson, chairman of the town council, ways and means of incorporation are being considered by this federal-government managed community under which the town council, now only an advisory and auxiliary body, may be made the governing body.

Of the 2,557 ballots cast, 65, or about 2 per cent, were invalid. There were 29 candidates for the seven places on the council, not counting four persons each of whom received one write-in first-choice vote (these ballots were the first four transferred to subsequent choices). No candidate reached the quota of 312 on the first count. The seven eventually elected, after 22 transfer operations, were the candidates who on the first count had stood as the first five, seventh and sixteenth.

The candidate who came up from sixteenth place was the only woman elected, Mrs. P. Sutton. It is interesting to note that the elimination of other women in the count did not result in more transfers to Mrs. Sutton than did other eliminations. Mrs. Sutton picked up votes steadily as less popular candidates were declared defeated, thus outdistancing many who stood higher on first choices but who enjoyed a smaller proportion of the ultimate preferences of the community.

Eligibility of voters, under the town meeting by-laws, is governed by the Anderson County and state of Tennessee laws, except that payment of a poll tax is not required.

Gloucester, Massachusetts, Adopts Plan E

On December 6 Gloucester, Massachusetts, adopted the state's optional Plan E charter, 5,452 to 2,307. This provides council-manager government with proportional representation for election of the city council and school committee.

Several months before, the legislature had amended Plan E to eliminate its P. R. feature except in those six cities previously adopting it. The act, however, is defective in wording and Gloucester, like Somerville, which adopted the plan on November 8, is hoping the courts will declare it inoperative.

The State Association of Plan E Committees, at its annual meeting in December, proposed a constitutional amendment to provide home rule. The group also went on record as favoring repeal of the act outlawing P. R.

Hamilton, Ohio, Revamps Its City Council

With the largest vote cast in a city election in Hamilton's 22 years of

P. R., the election held last November in that Ohio city transferred majority status on the council to the Forward Hamilton ticket. This ticket had the support of the city's only newspaper, the Hamilton *Journal and Daily News,* and of citizens anxious to clean up what they considered a dangerous gambling racket. The group's two incumbent councilmen were reelected and two of its other candidates succeeded in obtaining seats on the seven-man council. Two independents and one Independent Charter ticket candidate were also elected.

Three incumbent councilmen were defeated. Of these, two were candidates of the Independent Charter group and one an independent.

Dr. L. L. Hunter, one of the four successful Forward Hamilton candidates, is the first member of the Negro race to be elected to the council in the entire history of the city. "This is indeed a tribute to Dr. Hunter," observed the *Journal and Daily News* on November 11, "and is a forward step in the true representation of the people of Hamilton."

The *Journal* conducted a vigorous educational campaign on the use of P. R. previous to the election and covered the progress of the election in full detail during the count, which began on November 9 and ended on the 11th.

There were 27 candidates for the seven places, of whom nine were backed by the Forward Hamilton organization and eight by the Independent Charter group. Councilman William Beckett of the Forward Hamilton ticket was elected on the first count with a surplus of 1,457 votes over the quota of 2,207 necessary for election.

It was evident from the early stages of the count that Forward Hamilton was in a strong position, as its candidates secured 49 per cent of the first choice votes. Elimination of the weaker independent candidates revealed a considerable subsequent-choice preference for the Forward Hamilton candidates and contributed to the ticket's majority position on the council.

Although the transfer of ballots of defeated Forward Hamilton candidates and of Beckett's surplus showed a consistent preference for that group's candidates over others which the *Journal* deemed to be remarkable, the figures show that even in this case some 20 per cent of transfers went to independent and Independent Charter candidates. The elimination of other candidates showed a considerably higher proportion going to Forward Hamilton candidates, however. This situation shows the highly individualized voting that is not only permitted but actually practiced under the Hare system of P. R.

Of 18,364 votes cast, 592 (3 per cent) were invalid and 117 were blank. The seven elected included the six who stood highest in first choices, but the other successful candidate started in twelfth position and gained by transfers upon elimination of his teammates and others, repeating a somewhat similar performance of two years ago.

Toledo Loses P. R. on Fifth Repeal Vote

The proportional representation method of electing councilmen in Toledo was replaced on November 8 by nonpartisan, plurality election at large of nine councilmen. The new law provides for an October open primary at which eighteen candidates will be nominated. The vote for repeal of P. R. was 56,760 to 30,378.

This was the fifth repeal election in Toledo since P. R., together with the council-manager plan, was adopted in 1934. In the spring of 1935, before the first P. R. council was elected, the first proposal for repeal was defeated. Subsequent repeals were defeated in 1937 and again in 1945. In the latter year the CIO-PAC used the repeal as an organization building issue. It was defeated.

In 1946 another group was formed at the suggestion of a political writer of the Toledo *Blade*. It operated under the guise of "veterans," inviting displeased party workers, labor and others to join in the effort. This repealer also was defeated.

Immediately after the election another repeal effort was started. The regional director of CIO, with support of the owner of the Toledo *Blade*, called for a study committee inviting representatives of all political factions and prominent civic groups. After months of study of alternate methods of election, the effort ended in no recommendation.

The Democratic party then started circulating petitions in September of 1947, with the understanding that the Republican party would assist and that the matter would be decided at a special spring election in 1949. The latter did not assist, but did not oppose the effort. However, delays beyond the filing deadline required council to deny action on the petitions.

At the request of the Democratic party, Toledo's first Democratically controlled council agreed to place the party's election method on the November 1949 ballot and not to consider any alternates. An amendment to Toledo's P. R. provisions to count all first choices as in Cincinnati and then distribute the surplus instead of giving no further choices to candidates reaching the quota and to eliminate the selection of precinct counting order by lot was recommended. Council took no action on this recommendation.

By October opponents to P. R. included the defeated ward councilites, frustrated districtites, labor blockites, both newspapers (singly owned) and the Democratic party.

The Republican party took no official stand. The City Manager League, dissolved in 1941, was not replaced this year by even a volunteer citizens committee. Only the League of Women Voters stood up in defense of P. R. And their criticisms of the proposed election system were not printed by the local press.

The city is in good financial status, giving good administration, and council is not the subject of any political criticism. In fact, the city has undoubtedly enjoyed during the last fifteen years the best administration with the least partisan politics under the most capable councils in its history.

The election system change is simply the natural turn of events under existing circumstances, for political power never goes begging.

Briefly, the reformers tired, allowed the City Manager League to die, and did not rally against the accumulated opponents, and more voters with short memories came to believe that they were as confused about P. R. as they were told by newspapers and politicians these last three years.

RONALD E. GREGG, *Executive Secretary*
Toledo Municipal League

P. R. League Holds Annual Session

The Proportional Representation League held its annual meeting at the Hotel Lowry, St. Paul, on November 29, as one of the sessions of the National Conference on Government. Some 35 members and other interested persons were present.

Four speakers reported on the use

of proportional representation in their communities. Hon. Albert D. Cash, mayor of Cincinnati and president of the league, presided and gave a short talk on the part P. R. has played in his city in securing—and keeping for 25 years—the good government which has made that city famous. Mayor Cash commented in part:

"Election of the council by proportional representation is the keystone of the charter of Cincinnati upon which good government was built a generation ago.

"Selfish interests, be they politicians, publishers or what not, who would like to control government from off-stage and who think of elected officials as manikins to be maneuvered at will contrary to the public interest, are frustrated by this device.

"Government under P. R. resides in the people, where it belongs. It is nobody's personal chattel.

"It follows that any city which adopts this form of election must expect periodic attacks upon it. The lust for power never dies. It lurks in the background, appetite whetted, to snatch the government from the people whenever their vigilance seems to be relaxed.

New York Experience

"Witness the tragedy of New York. Under P. R. the majority controlled under the watchful eye of a strong and vocal minority. The quality of membership in the council was high. It had to be. P. R. focuses attention on the individual.

"In 1947, because two Communists had been elected—New York regularly elects Marcantonio to Congress—the people were beguiled into tearing down the machinery of good government which they had fashioned. They reverted to a system of election under which New York was notorious as a boss-ridden city. They cut off the dog's tail right behind the ears.

"In this year 1949 Tammany again is in undisputed control. With a bare majority of the votes it has elected 24 of the 25 members of council. As was to be expected, but a fact which is none the less depressing, the quality of membership has declined.

"If you want to insure your city against graft and corruption which are condoned, adopt P. R. but remember that the premiums are paid in unremitting vigilance. You will have to defend against periodic assaults on the citadel. Cincinnati has met and defeated three such attacks. It expects no surcease."

Joseph C. Vesely, attorney and former mayor of Hopkins, Minnesota, gave a lively account of how P. R. came to be adopted in his city and how it has worked. Mr. Vesely was a member of the commission which drafted the council-manager-P. R. charter Hopkins adopted in December 1947. The Hare system of P. R. is used for the election of four councilmen and the single transferable vote is used for the election of the mayor. These officials, together, comprise the city council which appoints a manager to conduct the affairs of the city.

"Hopkins," said Mr. Vesely, "is the first municipality in Minnesota to adopt the proportional representation method of electing its city officials. We have conducted two municipal elections under this system and it is my belief that the people of the city do not find it too difficult and that this system offers the most democratic way of electing its officials and insuring various minorities a voice in such elections.

"When the charter commission was drafting the new city charter it spent months debating the feasibility of holding elections at large as distinguished from the ward system. Each of these plans had some advantages and some disadvantages. We now believe that the proportional representation method utilizes the advantages of both of the older methods and minimizes the disadvantages of each."

Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary of the Municipal League of Toledo, reported on Toledo's vote to abandon proportional representation. His remarks will be found elsewhere in this department.

Massachusetts Experience

One of the highlights of the session was the report on the first P. R. elections in Worcester, Medford, Quincy, and Revere, Massachusetts, by Robert E. Service, Jr., president of the Citizens' Plan "E" Association of Worcester. Mr. Service was enthusiastic in his praise of the smoothness of the P. R. count in his city and its results—five of the nine councilmen elected had been supported by his organization.

Mr. Service presented a film talk entitled "P. R.—People's Rule," prepared and used by the Citizens' Plan "E" Association in its educational efforts previous to the election. He gave credit to Donald E. Spencer, Jr., president of the Cambridge Civic Association, as the author of the film talk, which, it was agreed by everyone present, was the best explanation of the count of ballots under the Hare system which has ever been devised.

Mr. Service also presented an effective recorded talk on the use of the council-manager plan in Cambridge. This was one of five platters—on Lowell, Hartford, Richmond and Cincinnati, as well as Cambridge—prepared by Worcester's radio station WTAG for use in the city's councilmanic campaign.

Dr. Belle Zeller of Brooklyn College gave an impromptu talk on the outcome of the 1949 councilmanic election in New York, the first since the city gave up P. R. in favor of the single member district system.[1]

Previous to the addresses a very short business meeting was held. A reading of the minutes of the previous meeting was waived.[2] Stanley E. Renton of New Rochelle nominated the following persons (all incumbents) for trustees of the Proportional Representation League for the coming year: Albert D. Cash, mayor of Cincinnati and president of the P. R. League; Richard S. Childs of New York, chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League; Paul H. Douglas of Chicago, U. S. Senator; C. A. Dykstra, provost of the University of California at Los Angeles; C. G. Hoag of Haverford, Pennsylvania, honorary secretary of the P. R. League; J. Henry Scattergood of Villa Nova, Pennsylvania; and Thomas Raeburn White of Philadelphia, vice president of the P. R. League. There being no further nominations, it was moved and seconded that the secretary cast the ballot for these nominees, who were duly declared elected.

Participants at the meeting included Rev. Edward Dowling, S. J., *The Queen's Work,* St. Louis; Professor John P. Senning of the University of Nebraska; Charles F. Keyes of Minneapolis; Robert D. Selzer of Indiana State Teachers College; and Homer Talbot of the Montclair Civic Association, Denver, Colorado.

E. S. P.

---

[1] For an account of the New York election see the Review for December, page 566.

[2] Minutes of the November 1948 meeting have been published in the Review for January 1948, page 51.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Few New State Taxes in 1949

But More Revenue Sought Through Increasing Rates

REVISION of rate structures, rather than the imposition of new taxes, featured the action of most states in 1949 in coping with their general problem of producing sufficient revenue for increased expenditure requirements. According to the Federation of Tax Administrators, 24 of the 45 legislatures meeting through November 1, 1949, raised the rates of at least one major tax, with changes of motor fuel taxes most numerous.

Eight states increased their income tax rates while one, Maryland, revoked a scheduled increase. Two of the increases were in New York and California, which had previously granted taxpayers percentage reductions from base rates. New Yorkers, who had paid 60 per cent of the normal tax on 1947 incomes, paid 90 per cent on their 1948 incomes. California let lapse a 15 per cent credit granted corporate taxpayers in the period 1943-48.

Delaware substituted a gross income tax for its levy on net income and raised rates from a range of 1 to 3 per cent to 1.25 to 6.25 per cent. Georgia raised its corporate tax rate from 5.5 per cent to 7 per cent, while Vermont raised rates and reduced exemptions. Massachusetts raised its 13 per cent surtax on personal and corporate income to 23 per cent for 1950 and 1951. Minnesota, to finance veterans bonuses, levied a surtax of 5 per cent on corporate and personal income taxes and also imposed a $5 filing charge.

Another increase in tax rates to pay the cost of veterans' bonuses became effective in Washington, where a constitutional amendment of 1948 providing for an additional two cents per pack cigarette tax to finance an $80,000,000 bond issue was upheld by the State Supreme Court early in November, raising the tax to four cents a pack beginning December 6. Delaware reentered the cigarette tax field with a two cents a pack tax, after abandoning the tax since 1945. Rate increases of one cent a pack were made by Florida, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Mexico and Wisconsin, and two cent increases were levied by Georgia, North Dakota and Vermont. Arkansas, however, reduced its tax from six to four cents a pack.

One state, Florida, was added to the sales tax list, with an excise of 3 per cent. South Dakota raised its sales tax rate from 2 to 3 per cent to finance veterans' bonuses. North Dakota extended its tax to 1951 and increased the basic exemption from 14 to 24 cents. In two states previously enacted sales tax rate increases took effect during the year, California's rising to 3 per cent and Connecticut's to 2 per cent.

Motor fuel tax rates were raised by sixteen states. The gas tax was increased one-half cent a gallon by Nevada and Vermont. A one cent raise was made in Delaware, Georgia, Kansas, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon and Pennsylvania. Washington effected an increase of one and a half cents, and two cent raises were made by Missouri, New Mexico and North Dakota. The Missouri and North Dakota increases will be submitted to referenda in 1950, while the

North Carolina rise was approved at a referendum in 1949, to become effective January 1, 1950. The Nevada measure made mandatory a one cent increase made optional on a county basis in 1947.

Congress Provides Additional $100 Million for Works Plans

Congress, before adjourning, enacted legislation to provide an additional $100,000,000 for advance planning of state and local public works, supplementing a similar appropriation made during the war to help insure a shelf of projects for the expected postwar depression. The appropriation will be allocated among the states, three-fourths on a per capita basis and one-fourth "in accordance with the needs of the states as determined by the [general service] administrator." Loans or advances will be repayable, without interest, if and when the construction of the planned public works is undertaken.

According to the American Public Works Association, funds of the first appropriation were approved for planning a total of nearly 6,500 projects, with an estimated cost of $2,700,000 on which construction had been started on work amounting to $442,000,000. The new appropriation is expected to provide a reserve of some $3,000,000,000 in state and local projects.

Municipal Accounting Committee Changes Name

The National Committee on Municipal Accounting changed its name November 18, 1949, to National Committee on Governmental Accounting, to emphasize the applicability of its work to all levels of government, according to a recent announcement.

This is the committee which has done outstanding work in developing and publicizing uniform terminology and standard accounting practices in the field of local government finance. The committee, whose sponsors include the National Municipal League, has enjoyed a wide and competent membership and its recommendations have influenced the accounting and financial reporting practices of communities all across the nation.

Philadelphia Raises Income Tax

Philadelphia's city income tax moved to a higher rate on January 1, 1950, and was extended to apply to unearned income as well as wages and salaries and other payments for personal services.

The new rate will be 1.25 per cent, up from 1 per cent. It will apply to income from investments of all kinds, including trust earnings, dating from January 1, 1949, with exemptions for profits made outside the city. The city expects to derive an additional $14,000,000 during 1950 from the change.

The city's income tax was first enacted January 1, 1940. The initial rate was 1.5 per cent, but was lowered to 1 per cent effective January 1, 1943, and had remained unchanged the last seven years. The new increase and extension to unearned income was opposed by business and labor groups.

Wyoming Cities Seek More Revenue

Wyoming cities, subject to a constitutional tax rate limit of eight mills exclusive of taxes for debt service, have been hampered in their effort to raise their taxing power by the requirement that constitutional amendments must receive a majority of all those voting at the election. In 1948 an amendment to raise the rate limit to twelve mills was defeated although it received 40,905 favorable votes to 38,925 against. The vote had been 10,197 short of the 51,102 needed for passage of the amendment.

The 1949 legislature reenacted the amendment which reads as follows: "No incorporated city or town shall levy a tax to exceed twelve mills on the dollar in any one year, except for the payment of the public debt and the interest thereon." This amendment will be submitted to the voters at the regular 1950 election. Assessed valuations of property in this state are still very low in comparison to the present selling prices of property. There has been some effort during the past year to increase these valuations and some progress has been made, but not much. A member of the State Board of Equalization recently said that the valuations were far too low and that the elected county assessors are not in a favorable position to raise them.

Cities and towns could secure a great deal by way of increased revenue in this state through increased valuations. They could, perhaps, accomplish as much or more by this means than through the proposed constitutional amendment.

Wyoming has a generous exemption law for veterans. Veterans of all wars have a property exemption of $2,000, except that veterans of World War II must have entered the service from the state. This exemption is equivalent to more than $100 per year for those who have $2,000 worth of property and live in the large cities where mill levies are highest. Of course, the veteran who has no property receives no benefit whatever. While this exemption has meant considerable tax loss to cities, the 1949 legislature enacted a law to reimburse the cities for such lost revenues.

The law covering reimbursement of cities for losses caused by such veteran exemptions provides that the county assessors must transmit to the state treasurer, on or before the first of September, a certified statement of exemptions allowed veterans. On or before the first day of October following, the treasurer reimburses the counties to the amount of such exemptions and they, in turn, reimburse the cities and towns. This year Laramie, with an estimated population of 15,000, has been reimbursed $14,933.

Another law passed by the 1949 legislature authorizes the Wyoming Aeronautics Commission to make grants to cities ranging from $4,000 to $8,000, depending on the class of the airport, for improvement of municipal airports. The cities are required to match this grant. At the present time the city of Laramie, for example, is supporting the airport to the extent of $10,000 per year, and city authorities are not certain additional expenditures for improvements can be justified at this time.

The city officials are trying to persuade the legislature to refrain from ear-marking what money the cities have for specific purposes, such as designated mill levies for police pensions, recreation, bands and the like.

Proposed legislation sponsored by cities and towns which did not pass the 1949 session were:

1. A bill requiring that 25 per cent of the existing sales tax collections be returned to the cities and counties on a per capita basis.

2. A bill to provide that 50 per cent of the net profit of the Wyoming State Liquor Commission be returned to the cities and counties on a per capita basis.

3. A bill to provide for an increase from 2 per cent to 10 per cent of the return of gasoline tax collections from the state to the cities.

HERMAN H. TRACHSEL
University of Wyoming

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

How Sustain Effort for Good Government

Cincinnati Charter Committee's 25 Years of Citizen Service

EDITOR'S NOTE. This article is an address by Forest Frank, executive director of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, delivered at the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, St. Paul, November 30, 1949.

HOW has the City Charter Committee in Cincinnati been able to keep up its fight for good government so long? The answer is, I believe, "By supporting men like Henry Bentley and Murray Seasongood, Albert Cash and Charles Taft, with a positive, constructive program and with public relations and organization know-how."

Stated more generally, sustained effort for good local government is primarily a matter of leadership exercised in conjunction with the application of the best techniques of public relations and community organization to the special problems of local politics.

The nature and significance of these political problems varies from community to community. In Cincinnati they grow progressively greater and more difficult as the memory of the bad government which antedated our reform revolution becomes each year more and more remote, and also as the aura of our opponents—the ugly shadow surrounding the machine which opposes our good government group—becomes diffused with a halo of respectability from the reflection of the national political alignment.

Even so, in November the City Charter Committee scored a fitting climax to the celebration of its 25th anniversary when Cincinnati's voters gave the Charter council ticket the largest first-choice vote in its history.

The victory was all the more impressive in the light of the campaign waged against the Charter ticket—a campaign which reached an all-time low in deception and libel. Slanderous charges of radicalism, even Communism, on the one hand, were joined to a determined, heavily financed effort to make the reelection of Senator Robert A. Taft next year the dominant issue of the campaign.

Permeating the campaign was a use of funds in which opponents of the Charter openly admitted to spending nearly three dollars for every one of Charter campaign money and, in addition, left considerable ground for suspicion that a far larger amount actually was spent, though unreported.

Not the least remarkable feature of the campaign was the fact that the newspaper space and radio time devoted to reporting the campaign were even more restricted than they were four years ago at the height of the newsprint shortage and postwar adjustment.

Save for the Cincinnati *Post*, which made a determined effort to report the closing stages of the campaign, the press and radio declined virtually all campaign news. They asserted, arbitrarily, that "the voters weren't interested." They were never more wrong. The vote came within 3 per cent of the city's all-time high.

Essentially, the City Charter Committee of Cincinnati is a fusion, or coalition, of diverse elements. Though these elements are political in nature, leaders of the City Charter Committee do not view it as a partisan political organization. Rather, we see it as an instrument to develop publicly in our city what we as individual citizens would wish to do through private means if we had the proper tools and equipment to do so.

Here are a few paragraphs from our creed:

"To make Cincinnati a great city not in size alone but great in spirit, through increased opportunities, through adequate housing, through better educational, recreational and cultural facilities, is the main purpose of our existence. . . .

"The Charter Committee insists that the yardstick that measures the future planning of Cincinnati be the yardstick of the value and dignity of human beings and not its cost in dollars and cents. Low taxes are desirable in principle but not at the cost of human misery and human suffering. We reject stagnation, we shall not accept defeatism, we shall be satisfied only with results. At every phase where the official life of this community touches the individual citizen, we shall expect ever-increasing improvement and refinement. . . .

"The Charter Committee invites the cooperation, the friendship and the support of all segments of our citizenry—not by groups, nor classes, nor creeds—but as individual American citizens."

Factors in Struggle

The opposition to the Charter group centers primarily in the political machine which the City Charter Committee displaced in its first victories a quarter of a century ago. That machine has managed to maintain its strength over the years through a combination of factors.

One of these was the reluctance of many supporters of the original Charter group to back up those of their number who undertook to clean up the county government at the same time the city government was being overhauled.

These persons, national Republicans and Democrats alike, based their reluctance in the ancient political notion that the strength of the national parties lies in their grass roots—that is, the county central committees set up by law. They felt that members of the central committee, in order that they might be encouraged to do the political chores necessary to keep the national party strong, had to have court house patronage, at least, by way of compensation and reward.

As a result, although dispossessed of the city hall, some 2,500 political jobholders, constituting the mainspring of the old machine, were able to take over the county court house and through the patronage of the county administrative offices and the perquisites of the county judiciary rebuild their political fortunes.

Another factor in the Cincinnati picture perpetuating the struggle has been the political career and aspirations of Senator Taft. A great many erstwhile Charter supporters have gradually withdrawn their support because of an unfounded but nevertheless real fear that they had to be "regular" in order to uphold the senator. Their number and influence has not been lessened by the nature of the economic class struggle with which Senator Taft, rightly or wrongly, has been identified.

A third factor in our situation has been the influence of the press, heavily weighted against the Charter group almost from the start—and a fourth has been the influence of the local gas and power utility whose capital stock is widely distributed throughout the community. The old machine had allowed the utility almost unlimited scope in setting rates and conditions of service. And when the Charter councilmen, aware of the basic economic and social error of that course, attempted to correct the situation, a fight ensued which continues with unabated fury even to this day.

Other factors might be cited but these are sufficient to show the important elements of the Cincinnati drama: on the one hand, a loosely affiliated, constantly changing citizens group, variously characterized as do-gooders, reformers, bleeding-hearts, radicals and socialists; on the other hand, a thoroughly organized, well disciplined, professional jobholding machine not in the least interested in the philosophy or objectives of the national Republican party but making use of the party label to confuse well meaning laymen, particularly those in a position to donate heavily to the party coffers.

To the seasoned observer the Cincinnati scene has had all the earmarks of a David-and-Goliath contest.

Technique for Citizen Groups

Against a powerful foe, the leaders of the Charter movement have appeared effective only in their superior social consciousness and in their awareness of the problems of urban living and the economic implications of deficient or corrupt local government. As individuals, they have come from all walks of life, all creeds, all races and classes. As a group, and in their conduct and aspirations, they have exemplified democracy at its best.

It is to their leadership, their vision, their constructive contributions to the progress of their city, that the Charter Committee is for the most part indebted for whatever measure of success it has achieved.

If we are to generalize from Cincinnati's experience then, it follows that as a first condition of the technique of sustained civic effort there must be a need for improvement or reform, there must be a program, and there must be aggressive and inspiring leadership.

Next, our technique must include well defined procedures of public relations and community organization. Good handbooks on these subjects are available.

Speaking generally, the procedures must include use or development of some medium of mass communication —press, radio or both. If these are not available in voluntary or spontaneous support, then a special publication or program of broadside communication must be developed.

The operational plan will also include development of a thorough, city-wide, block-work organization.

Finally, the procedure should include a voting system responsive to the will of the people and resistant to political machine manipulation. In Cincinnati that means proportional representation, without which, I fear, the Charter group and the Charter program for Cincinnati long ago would have disappeared.

The effective effort for good government, the sustained effort, will be one which evolves as an expression of freely given service for the benefit of the community and the generations still to come. Inevitably it will make mistakes; it will not always be as dynamic as its founders and well wishers will want it. But if it is broadly representative of the people, if it is truly a fight in the public interest, somehow, some way, leadership will be found to make it endure.

Citizen Publications

Edited by Troy R. Westmeyer, the *Proceedings of the Citizens' Conference on Government Management,* Denver, November 18 and 19, 1948, (167 pages) have been published by the University of Denver Press. The conference was sponsored by the Department of Government Management, College of Business Administration, of the University of Denver.

A report on the Fourth National Conference on Citizenship, held in New York, May 1949, appears in the July 1949 issue of *U. S. A. Citizenship—Know It, Cherish It, Live It,* published by the National Committee on Citizenship of the U. S. Department of Justice.

A complete revision of *Know Your Town Government,* published by the National League of Women Voters, is now available at league headquarters in Washington for 25 cents.

The League of Women Voters of Glynn County, Georgia, has issued a *Political Directory for Glynn County,* which lists state, county and Brunswick officials with their salaries and terms.

"An 1852 Model on the 1949 Highway—Georgia's Tax Structure" is the title of a recent issue of *Georgia Voter,* published by the League of Women Voters of Georgia.

* * *

For the School Citizen

Kansas Government—A Short Course is now in its third edition. It is published by the League of Kansas Municipalities which reports that the first two editions have been used in 410 Kansas high schools during the past three years.

Prepared by Senator Philip K. Allen and Albert West primarily for use of high school students elected to serve as senators, representatives and officials on Good Government Day, *Your Massachusetts Government—A Manual of Information,* has been published by the Massachusetts Civic League. The sixteen-page pamphlet is liberally sprinkled with illustrative cartoons with a center spread charting the state's organization.

Good Citizenship—Junior Level is a handbook of the Junior Citizens Organization sponsored by the Community Service Division of the Welfare Department of Kansas City, Missouri. Based on the theory that "A good junior citizen grows into a good adult citizen," the publication demonstrates the organization of the city, how an election is held, and operation of the city government. It points out that "there is work for junior citizens in the school, in the community, and in the city." Described also is the citywide council session of junior citizens held yearly at city hall and the many other activities provided for young citizens.

The successful experience of a central school district in organizing itself for community effort is told in *Adventure in Cooperation,* published by the Bureau of Adult Education of the New York State Education Department. Described is the work of the Columbia Community Council representing Greenbush, Nassau and Schodack.

The 'X' Is Out is a most attractive leaflet prepared by three high school boys and published by the Public Schools of Quincy, Massachusetts, to describe Plan 'E' (council-manager with proportional representation for election of city council and school board) which the city inaugurated the first of the year. Devoted chiefly to an explanation of the voting and counting of ballots under P. R., the leaflet was prepared by Alan Craigue and Fred Shea, members of the Quincy High School Creative Writing Club, sponsored by Miss Ethel Crockett, and illustrated by Roger Carling, also of Quincy High School. Miss Mildred B. Harrison, school director of guidance and research, edited the pamphlet.

Researchers Confer on Many Problems

GRA Elects, WGRA and Other Groups Hold Meetings

THE last fall has been full of meetings for governmental researchers. First came the Governmental Research Association's 35th Conference at Bedford, Pennsylvania, which brought together 260 people, including 189 GRA members. Robert B. Murray, Jr., president of the Pennsylvania Economy League, was host to the conference. Mayor Lawrence of Pittsburgh, Governor Duff of Pennsylvania and Dr. Robert L. Johnson, chairman of the Citizens Committee for Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government, were among the speakers.

Some of the topics and discussion leaders for the conference were announced in the Researcher's Digest for July. In addition, a morning session on adjusting areas of local government was conducted by John F. Sly, of Princeton Surveys with Henry W. Connor, director of the Newark Bureau of Municipal Research, and Charlton F. Chute, director of the Philadelphia Committee, Pennsylvania Economy League, as principal discussants.

Robert E. Pickup, director of the Northeastern Division, Pennsylvania Economy League, was reelected president of the association. Merle W. DeWees, executive director of the New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, was elected vice-president. Carl R. Dortch, director of the Bureau of Governmental Research, Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, and Steve Stahl, executive vice-president of the Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, were elected to a second term on the board of trustees. George Bestrom, executive vice president of the Minneapolis Taxpayers Association, Victor D. Brannon, director of the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis, and Frank J. Zeo, assistant executive director of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers' Associations, also were elected to the board.

The Western Governmental Research Association held its ninth annual conference at the Hollywood-Roosevelt Hotel, Hollywood, November 9-10. Among the subjects listed for discussion were Top Management and Administrative Research, Alfred H. Campion, chief administrative officer, San Diego County, chairman; Recent Developments in Administrative Law in California, Sheldon B. Elliott, dean, School of Law, University of Southern California, speaker; Research in Business and Government Long-Range Planning, J. W. Rupley, U. S. Bureau of the Budget, chairman; Research in Personnel Administration, E. A. Williams, assistant to works manager, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, chairman; Research in Budgetary Administration, John R. Leach, chief administrative officer, Los Angeles County, chairman; Problems in Financing Public Education, Alexander J. Stoddard, Los Angeles County superintendent of schools, speaker; Integration of Local Government Activities, Edwin A. Cottrell, Haynes Foundation, Los Angeles, chairman.

The Twin Cities Conference of the National Municipal League, November 28-30, and the preliminary meeting of the National Association of Civic Secretaries, November 27-28, also attracted a large number of governmental researchers, many of whom were on the program. Carl P. Herbert, director of the St. Paul Bureau of Municipal Research, was particularly helpful in making the local arrangements which were largely responsible for the extraordinary success of the conference. A well attended morning session, devoted entirely to a discussion of university bureaus and training programs to state and local governments, will be reported more fully in February.

Representatives of the bureaus of municipal research of Syracuse, Rochester, Schenectady, Lackawanna, Utica and Buffalo and Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State met recently in Syracuse to discuss the tax limit amendment to the New York constitution voted on at the general election, according to a report in the *New York State Taxpayer* for November 1949. Richard A. Atkins, director of the Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau, moderated the sessions. Discussion leaders were William J. Embler, municipal consultant, State Comptroller's office; W. Earl Weller, director of the Rochester bureau; and Cuthbert Reeves, appraisal engineer, Buffalo.

The Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, devoted its September *Newsletter,* entitled "Accent on Staff Work," to an illuminating digest of its latest quarterly twelve-hour-day staff conference. The conference discussed current program and organization problems, including such subjects as Financing County Committees, Application of Mechanical Equipment to Municipal Accounting, the Hoover Report and the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, Urban Redevelopment, Budget and Financial Analysis, Municipal Borrowing and Authorities, and Local Health Services.

Bureau Notes

The Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research and the Michigan Public Expenditure Survey merged their activities October 1, 1949, under the direction of Loren B. Miller, director of the bureau.

The unusual, if not unique, Kalamazoo Bureau of Municipal Research, staffed entirely by college students and conducted by a cooperative arrangement between the city and Kalamazoo College, is described in an article entitled "Kalamazoo Bureau of Municipal Research—A Cooperative Plan that Pays Dividends" by William Danielson, staff assistant, Municipal Personnel Service, Michigan Municipal League, in the *Michigan Municipal Review* for September 1949.

Strictly Personal

Chester Bates, former office manager for the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company in Seattle and graduate of the South Dakota law school, has joined the staff of the Municipal League of Seattle as director of research.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budgets

Appropriation Requests and Enactments, 1949 General Assembly. (Summarizes governor's budget recommendations, other appropriation requests and the final disposition thereof by the legislature—total authorized expenditure for biennium, $1,392,000,000.) Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1949. 39 pp. tables.

Erie County Budget. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just A Moment,* November 24, 1949. 3 pp.

Maryland's Illusive State Budget. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* November 23, 1949. 6 pp.

The Mayor's Budget, It Seems, Was

Only a Start. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, November 29, 1949. 3 pp.

1950 City Budget and Financial Outlook. Syracuse, New York, Governmental Research Bureau, *Your Government*, November 28, 1949. 5 pp.

Rise in County Costs Makes Necessary a Strict Economy Program. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment*, November 17, 1949. 3 pp.

Up! Up! Up?? 1950 Budgets—Chicago's Local Governments. Will Appropriations (and Taxes) Continue to Climb? Chicago, Civic Federation, *Bulletin*, November 1949. 7 pp.

Council-Manager

It Works in a Small City. City Manager Government in Holton, Kansas. By Edwin O. Stene and H. H. Holt, James W. Bibb, Jr., Donald R. Bailey and Harold Horn. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1949. 27 pp.

Education

Rochester's School Population. Rochester, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Bulletin*, November, 1949. 1 p.

Federal Government

The Hoover Commission: A Symposium. Louis W. Koenig, editor. By Charles Aikin, Ferrel Heady, John M. Gaus, John D. Millett, D. S. Cheever, H. F. Haviland, C. Herman Pritchett, and Lewis B. Sims. Columbus, Ohio, American Political Science Association, *American Political Science Review*, October 1949. 67 pp. $1.25. (Apply Harvey Walker, 100 University Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus 10.)

Food Regulation

A Step Forward in Food Sanitation. (Food handlers complete sanitation classes). Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Newsletter*, November 19, 1949. 1 p.

Health

Administration of Industrial Hygiene. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1949. 25 pp.

Cooperative Health Administration in Metropolitan Los Angeles. (A study in intergovernmental relations.) By Margaret Gorsuch Morden and Richard Bigger. Los Angeles, University of California, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1949. 52 pp. tables, bibliography. 50 cents.

Legislative Councils

Report for 1948-49 of the Illinois Legislative Council. Springfield, the Council, 1949. 33 pp. tables.

Licensing

Business License Ordinances. Based on Flat Fees. Selected from Washington Cities. Seattle, University of Washington, Association of Washington Cities in cooperation with Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, *Washington Municipal Bulletin*, October 1, 1949. 29 pp.

Ordinances Licensing Public Utilities for Revenue. Seattle, University of Washington, Association of Washington Cities in cooperation with the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, *Washington Municipal Bulletin*, October 15, 1949. 11 pp.

Liquor Control

Utah's Liquor Monopoly. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1949. 4 pp.

Parking

The San Francisco Parking Authority. (A new and important agency of municipal government created to alleviate local parking and traffic problems by providing off-street parking facilities.) San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin*, November 29, 1949. 1 p.

Personnel

Merit System Legislation for Kentucky. (Includes analysis of types of state merit system laws and existing merit systems in Kentucky, together with data on Kentucky state employees and summary questions and conclusions. "The basic decision facing the legislature is, of course, *whether they desire better personnel and improved administration of state government seriously enough to surrender a large share of patronage in appointments.*") Frankfort, Commonwealth of Kentucky, Legislative Research Commission, 1949. 76 pp. tables, figures.

Political Parties

Relative Strength of Parties in Monroe County Since 1900. City Vote Becoming of Less Importance Relatively. Rochester, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, November 1949. 2 pp.

Public Welfare

Commitment of the Mentally Deficient. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1948. iii, 27 pp.

Research

Research Is Invaluable. The Mayor Tells the Pittsburgh Story. (Welcoming address of Mayor David L. Lawrence of Pittsburgh to the Annual Convention, Governmental Research Association, at Bedford Springs.) Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, *Newsletter,* October 1949. 8 pp.

Retirement Systems

A Retirement System for Kentucky State Employees. (Includes a review of the types of state retirement systems including existing systems in Kentucky, data on Kentucky state employees and summary of policy decisions for the legislature.) Frankfort, Commonwealth of Kentucky, Legislative Research Commission, 1949. 86 pp. tables, figures.

Retirement Plan for Employees of Maine Towns. By Orren Chalmer Hormell. Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College, Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, 1949. 31 pp.

State Government

The Little Hoover Commissions. (A summary description of the organization and powers of current state reorganization commissions.) By John W. Lederle and Dorothee E. Strauss. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Bureau of Government, *Michigan Governmental Digest,* November 4, 1949. 4 pp.

State Administrative Organization in South Dakota. (Includes a chart and a summary report of the movement for state administrative reorganization with particular attention to South Dakota and current little Hoover studies in Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska and North Dakota.) By W. O. Farber. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Governmental Research Bureau, 1949. 15 pp.

State Reorganization. A Report to the Members of the Legislature. (Summary of progress made by the state reorganization commission and work yet to be done.) Concord, New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation, *New Hampshire Taxpayer,* November 1949. 4 pp.

Studies in Florida Administration. Florida's Budget System, A Merit System for Florida, Legislative Research. By A. J. Waterman, Jr., and Hulda Grobman. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1949. 101 pp. tables.

Toward More Efficient and Economical State Government. Part I: Some Inadequacies of the State's Administrative Structure. Part II: Some Inadequacies of the State's Fiscal Methods. Part III. Improved Budgetary and Accounting Systems Needed. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar.* September 24 and 28, October 1, 1949. 2, 2 and 3 pp. respectively.

Sewers

Metered Sewer Rentals in Major U. S. Cities. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 22, 1949. 3 pp.

Streets and Highways

The Road System of Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* October 15, 1949. 3 pp.

Taxation and Finance

American Taxation and World War II. By James W. Martin. Lexington, University of Kentucky, Bureau of Business Research, 1949. 12 pp. charts.

Analysis of Appropriations and Expenditure in Selected Massachusetts Towns and Cities. (In tables.) Boston, Boston University, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 10 pp.

Appropriations—Kansas Legislature, 1949 Session. A summary explanation of the budgeted appropriations, the inter-use of the principal funds involved in planning the state fiscal program, and the effect of that program on the state ad valorem tax levy. By John E. Burke. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, 1949. 35 pp. charts, tables.

California Tax System. By J. Roy Holland. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* November 1949. 15 pp. 25 cents.

The City's Current Revenue and Spending Progress. The City's Proposed Budget and Tax Rate for 1950. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., *Your Tax Dollar,* October 20 and November 5, 1949. 1 and 2 pp. respectively.

City's Revenues Still Rising—Expenditures Rise Faster. Income From Most Sources Is Higher, but the Budget Picture Is Cloudy. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 18, 1949. 3 pp.

Comparison of State Government Expenditures, 1948. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, *Your Report on Government,* October 1949. 4 pp. charts.

Cooperative Administration of Property Taxes in Los Angeles County. By J. E. Swanson, W. R. Bigger and W. W. Crouch. Los Angeles, University of California, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1949. 63 pp. tables.

Cost of Government in Canada. Dominion Government Spending. Toronto, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* October 6, 1949. 5 pp. table.

Financial Trends in Erie County's Government During the Decade 1940-49. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* November 10, 1949. 3 pp.

Jurisdiction to Tax in the United States. By James W. Martin. Lexington, University of Kentucky, Bureau of Business Research, 1949. 16 pp.

Minnesota's Income Tax. An Analysis of and Comparison with Other States. St. Paul, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1949. 30 pp. tables, charts.

No More Windfalls in Sight. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* September 1949. 4 pp.

Postscript for the 1949-50 Tax Bills. (An analysis of each of the rates included in the total combined tax rate.) Los Angeles, Government Research, *Monthly Bulletin,* October 1949. 6 pp.

Property Taxation—1950. Indianapolis, Bureau of Governmental Research, Chamber of Commerce, *It Is Your Business!* October 11, 1949. 2 pp.

The Real Cost of Local Government—A Study of Springfield Township. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, *Borough Bulletin,* November 1949. 4 pp.

The Real Estate Tax—Indicator of Danger. Woonsocket, Rhode Island, Taxpayers Association, *Your Business,* October 1949. 2 pp.

State and Local Tax Trends. 1949 Changes Reviewed. By Fred Bennion. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers'

Association, *Tax Digest,* October 1949. 3 pp. 25 cents.

The State Must Live Within Its Income! Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, October 1, 1949. 2 pp.

State of Maryland Taxes and Other Revenues. State of Maryland General and Special Fund Receipts. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., *Your Tax Dollar,* October 20 and 27, 1949. 3 and 2 pp. respectively.

State of Oregon. Where the Money Came From—How the Money Was Spent. (Includes two pie charts.) By Louise Humphrey. Portland, Oregon Business and Tax Research, *Your Taxes,* November 1949. 3 pp.

Summary of Study of Financial Operations. Years 1937-1949 and the 1949-1950 Budget. Flint, Michigan, Civic Research Council, 1949. 8 pp.

Tax Exempt Property in Cities of the Third Class. By M. M. Chudy and Charles F. LeeDecker. Harrisburg, *League of Cities of the Third Class in Pennsylvania,* July-August, 1949. 10 pp. tables.

Total Appropriations for Major State Functions. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., *Your Tax Dollar,* November 2, 1949. 2 pp.

Two Years of "Home Rule." Opinions Are Divided on Pennsylvania's Law 481. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Outlook,* October 1949. 8 pp.

Why Do We Pay Taxes in Two Places? (Court House and City Hall.) Lincoln, Nebraska, Governmental Research Institute, *Bulletin,* November 1949. 3 pp.

Taxicab Regulation

Municipal Regulation of Taxicabs. (Taxicab ordinance of Dallas, Texas.) Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with Association of Washington Cities, August 1949. 11 pp.

Traffic

Traffic Congestion. Newark, Bureau of Municipal Research, June 1949. 2 pp.

Transportation

Urban Expressways. Newark, New Jersey, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1949. 2 pp.

Urban Redevelopment

The Legal Foundations of Redevelopment. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 15, 1949. 4 pp.

Urban Redevelopment I, II, III. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* September 22, 29 and October 6, 1949. 3 pp. each.

Veterans

Cash Bonuses for World War II Veterans. A State-by-State Analysis. New York, Tax Foundation, 1949. 10 pp. tables.

Federal Benefits to Veterans. An Analysis. New York, Tax Foundation, 37 pp. tables.

Pennsylvania's Proposed Veterans' Bonus. (Described and discussed in questions and answers with arguments pro and con in six vari-colored leaflets.) Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, September and October, 1949. 4 pp. each.

The Quality of Gratitude. In Five Years, U. S. Benefits to Veterans Cost More Than $34 Billion. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Outlook,* November 1949. 5 pp.

Books in Review

Public Organization of Electric Power. By John Bauer and Peter Costello. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1949. 263 pp. $4.

The title of this book would indicate a primary concern with organizational problems of publicly owned electric power, including both internal and intergovernmental relationships. It deals also, however, with various other matters and may be considered primarily an exposition of advantages of public ownership of electric power and disadvantages of private ownership.

The book has undergone a period of gestation—its publication having been held up by the war—during which the scope and importance of publicly owned electric plants and projects have increased and in which attacks upon such activity and its proponents have intensified, particularly of late.

The authors (or Dr. Bauer, who has predominantly written the book, in the first person singular) take pains to deny that Socialism is involved in the single problem of control of electric power—caution that would seem unnecessary except for recent charges of radicalism against present and former advocates of governmental responsibility for this essential public utility.

Dr. Bauer does not expect public ownership completely to supersede public regulation of electric utilities soon, and he devotes considerable space to discussion of federal and state regulation and suggestions for improvement, including control of depreciation reserves and continuous rate revision based on accounting data.

The immense importance of electric power in domestic and industrial life is made a prime reason for the course advocated in the book. Dr. Bauer envisions a three-level system of public electric power, with cities undertaking local distribution and local generation where desirable, the states furnishing transmission facilities and some large scale generation and the federal government assuming responsibility for most such generation, both from water power and from fuel, and primary transmission of the energy produced.

The Tennessee Valley Authority is praised as an example of successful public power development, and the semi-autonomous, self-sustaining authority is recommended for public power organization.

Unnecessary repetition and lack of documentation of statements and assumptions weaken some of the arguments. Money savings calculated to result from a shift from private to public ownership and operation are based on apparently arbitrary data, admittedly outmoded by the delay in publication and mechanically applied, in an appendix, to all localities on an unchanging average basis. Problems of administration, personnel, planning and control, under complete public ownership, are given relatively little attention.

Otherwise, the great possible benefits from an integrated public power system are marshaled in much detail and with high optimism.

H. M. O.

Federal Grants-in-Aid. Report of the Committee on Federal Grants-in-Aid. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1949. viii, 322 pp. $3.50.

An orderly array of the history and present status of the system and a survey of new projects of the same sort pending in Congress. A valuable companion to the work of the Hoover Committee's task force in the same field.

California Government. Politics and Administration. (Revised edition) By Winston W. Crouch and Dean E. McHenry. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1949. xiii, 407 pp. $5.

A second edition of this competent book—the first was published in 1945—with 60 or more pages including valuable new material on the increasing practice of "cross filing" in the primary elections of California and the new problems thereby created as to the future of local parties. The authors show that cross filing sometimes produces minority elections and advocate its abolition.

The Structure of State Departments of Education. By Fred F. Beach and Andrew H. Gibbs. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1949. 81 pp. 40 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

Organization charts of the 48 state education departments with comparisons and comments. A valuable and new companion to the recent publication by the Council of State Governments (Chicago) in the same field, viz. *The Forty-eight State School Systems.*

The Social Areas of Los Angeles. Analysis and Typology. By Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams. (Published for the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation.) Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1949. xvi, 172 pp. $4.

This is a technical description and interpretation of the social pattern of Los Angeles, making use of a new method of area analysis based on the relations of status, urbanization and segregation. Comparative and experimental, the research is part of a larger effort to define problems associated with urban growth and development. Basis of the study is the population and housing data by census tracts for the entire Los Angeles area.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Civil Liberties

The Supreme Court and Civil Liberties. How Far Has the Court Protected the Bill of Rights? By Osmond K. Fraenkel. New York City, American Civil Liberties Union, 1949. 80 pp. 25 cents.

Community Relations

Community Relations: Getting Acquainted with the Community. A Report Prepared for Metropolitan Group Policyholders. New York, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1949. 42 pp.

Council-Manager Plan

Council-Manager Plan of Municipal Government. A Report to the Commercial Organization Department. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1949. 10 pp.

Criminal Justice

Sources for the Study of the Administration of Criminal Justice. By Dorothy Campbell Tomkins. (Prepared for the Special Crime Study Commissions and the California State Board of Corrections.) Sacramento, State Division of Printing, Documents Section, 1949. 294 pp.

Education

What Popular Magazines Say about Education. By William Van Til and Evelyn Luecking. Urbana, University of Illinois *Bulletin*, September 1949. 51 pp.

Municipal Codes

Municipal Adoption of Codes by Reference. By Roy H. Owsley. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1949. 12 pp. $1.

Population Statistics

The American Family. A Factual Background. Basic Family and Population Statistics, The Family in the American Economy, Education and American Families, Family Health, Housing for American Families, Legal Status of the Family, Income Maintenance and Social Services in Families. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949. $1.25.

The Daytime Population of the Central Business District of Chicago. With Particular Reference to the Factor of Transportation. By Gerald William Breese. Chicago 37, University of Chicago Press, 1949. xiii, 267 pp. $6.

Public Health

Community Health. By Laurence B. Chenoweth and Whitelaw Reid Morrison. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949. xi, 314 pp. $3.

Public Libraries

The Public Library in the Political Process. By Oliver Garceau, with assistance of C. DeWitt Hardy, Robert D. Leigh, Lillian Orden and Watson O'D. Pierce. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1949. xv, 254 pp. $3.75.

Sanitation

The Washington Suburban Sanitary District Maryland. A Report on the Utility Services Rendered by, and the Economy and Finances of, the District as Well as a Discussion of Its Future Improvement Requirements. New York 5, Wainwright Ramsey and Lancaster, 1949. vi, 67 pp.

Shopping Centers

Market Analysis of Shopping Centers. By Homer Hoyt. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1949. 8 pp. $2.

Taxation and Finance

Cigarette Tax Law and Regulations. Albany 1, New York State Tax Commission, Miscellaneous Tax Bureau, 1949. 21 pp.

Eleventh Annual Report. 1948 Statements of Financial Condition of Counties and Municipalities. Trenton, New Jersey Department of the Treasury, Division of Local Government, 1949. xx, 589 pp.

Government Finance in a Stable and Growing Economy. Edited by Alfred G. Buehler. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* November 1949. viii, 256 pp. $2.

Local Tax Administration. By Joseph F. Clark, Mabel L. Walker, etc. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* November 1949. 32 pp. 50 cents.

Taxation of Thoroughbred Racing. By Rienzi Wilson Jennings. Lexington, University of Kentucky, Bureau of Business Research, 1949. viii, 126 pp. $1.

Taxes Levied under Act 481. Supplement—February 1, 1949, to November 15, 1949. By Joseph B. Boran. Harrisburg, Department of Internal Affairs, 1949. 8 pp.

The Whiskey Production Tax in Kentucky, 1933-1947. By Orba F. Traylor. Lexington, University of Kentucky, Bureau of Business Research, 1949. 53 pp. 50 cents.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from page 2)

The Council discussed the need for staff salary adjustments and adopted a budget for 1950 of $144,725, including $38,500 for special projects.

Proposed Model Medical Examiner Law

A symposium on a proposed *Model State Medical Examiner Law* was held November 30 at St. Paul, in connection with the National Conference on Government. It brought together a dozen experts including representatives of the American Medical Association and the American Judicature Society to examine an outline prepared by Dr. Robert Ford of the Department of Legal Medicine at Harvard Medical School, describing a statewide technical service, as now in force in Massachusetts, Maryland and Virginia, to replace the usual elective county coroners. Agreement was secured and a final draft was authorized. It is to be offered to other appropriate societies for possible joint sponsorship.

Proposed Model Direct Primary Law

A symposium on a *Model Direct Primary Law,* held November 28 at St. Paul, brought together authorities from ten states. These experts worked all day over a summary prepared by Dr. Joseph P. Harris, of the University of California, following mail exchanges of an earlier draft. Substantial agreement was achieved on a proposal, with some new features first proposed a generation ago by Governor Charles E. Hughes of New York: (1) proposal of candidates for public and party office by the party officers; (2) a waiting period reserved to permit making of contesting proposals by petition, and (3) identification on the primary ballot of the official party candidates. These principles are applicable to closed primaries, open primaries or the Washington blanket-ballot type of primaries, which are to be described as available options. A second and larger symposium was scheduled for December 29 in New York, after which a final report will be prepared and circulated to secure further sponsorships before publication.

New Honors for Murray Seasongood

Murray Seasongood, former League president, has been appointed chairman of the Standing Committee on Civil Service and vice chairman of the Committee on Judicial Administration in Metropolitan Trial Courts of the Section of Judicial Administration, American Bar Association. He was appointed a member of the Ohio Turnpike Commission recently.

Visiting Lecturer

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council, who has been a volunteer member of the League's staff for the last two years, is occasionally available as a visiting speaker before college political science classes.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

BRUARY 1950 VOLUME XXXIX, NO. 2

Parties versus Principles .... *Editorial*

State Management Limited .... *John A. Perkins*

Good Government and Labor .... *S. A. Galatas*

Nebraska Idea 15 Years Old .... *Richard C. Spencer*

Relations Between Governments *American Municipal Association*

79 Places Adopt Manager Plan in 1949 91

St. Louis Charter Plan Voted 98

Cincinnati Chooses 'Charter' Council 101

State-Local Debt Reaches New Peaks 104

Civic Secretaries Hold Sessions 107

Voters Plump for First on List 110

Public Library Kansas City, Mo.
PERIODICAL DEPT.

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR

ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation

ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
JAMES K. COLEMAN, *South Carolina*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
JAMES GIRAND, *Arizona*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*

DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN, *Maryland*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
HAROLD W. SANFORD, *New York*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
JAMES P. TAYLOR, *Vermont*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
HARVEY WALKER, *Ohio*
YORK Y. WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *President*
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J., *Vice President*
J. W. Clise, Seattle, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York, *Treasurer*

Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
John E. Bebout, *Assistant Secretary*
George H. Hallett, Jr., *Associate Secretary*
William Collins, *Finance Chairman*

COUNCIL

Richard S. Childs, New York, *Chairman*

William Anderson, Minneapolis
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
Frederick L. Bird, New York
Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati
William Collins, Yonkers, N. Y.
L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Mo.
James A. Cunningham, Chicago
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
C. A. Dykstra, Los Angeles
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
B. H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Clarence Francis, Bronxville, N. Y.
Arnold Frye, New York
Lloyd E. Graybiel, San Francisco

Harrison S. Hires, Berwyn, Pa.
Robert W. Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
John S. Linen, New York
Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis
Mrs. Thomas H. Mahony, Boston
D. K. Pfeffer, New York
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Walter M. Phillips, Philadelphia
Lawson Purdy, New York
Harry W. Schacter, Louisville, Ky.
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Henry L. Shattuck, Boston
George S. Van Schaick, New York
Richard Weil, Jr., New York
A. C. (Jack) White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXIX, No. 2 Total Number 396

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for February 1950

EDITORIAL COMMENT 70

STATE MANAGEMENT LIMITED .... *John A. Perkins* 72

GOOD GOVERNMENT AND LABOR .... *S. A. Galatas* 79

NEBRASKA IDEA 15 YEARS OLD .... *Richard C. Spencer* 83

RELATIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS
American Municipal Association 87

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 91

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 98

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ...... *George H. Hallett, Jr., and Wm. Redin Woodward* 101

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 104

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 107

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 110

BOOKS IN REVIEW 114

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Index to Legal Periodicals,* the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Copyright February 1950 by
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Editorial Comment

Parties versus Principles

THE Socialist party is a group of idealists unified in a cause and uncorrupted by possession of power. Suppose it should show promising growth and begin to elect candidates!

Membership being open to all, it will forthwith enjoy an influx of newcomers, including some merely intent on sharing the power. The latter will dismay the idealists by their indifference to doctrine and their readiness to sacrifice it for victories; so the platforms become less obnoxiously explicit and items alien to the original concept are put in as voter-bait.

Pressure groups clamber aboard this vehicle and are eagerly welcomed and catered to. Management problems multiply, a party machine develops and practical men take it over, utilizing the cause and the embarrassed idealists to mask their grab for power. Until at last the platforms become general and equivocal, the candidates nondescript, and people say, "What real difference is there now between the Socialists and the Republicans?"

Such a cycle of degradation (long since completed in the major parties) has been seen twice in miniature in Greater New York's half-century, requiring, in small new parties, no more than four years to sink from honest reform to narrow escapes from capture of key posts by self-seekers blatantly disdainful of party ideals.

Such degradation toward meaninglessness would not occur in England where the party organizers would pass their torches to successors of their own choosing. Holding their rudder true, they could control selection of party candidates in distant districts and read deviationists out of the party. And there would be no point of entry for undesirables, for the mass of the party members, old or new, would not participate in the party's simple mechanism of internal management.

But England is compact, its ballots are short, its party machines have relatively little to do and can be kept to their place as servants of the cause.

Here party machines have vastly more to do. They must act as unofficial extensions of government. They must maintain horizontal contacts of the party groups over vast areas and produce concerted action therefrom on candidates in bulky constituencies such as that of the state of Pennsylvania voting for governor. They must fill long ballots and find funds or patronage to remunerate their busy army of precinct professionals.

The party mechanicians, taking full possession, juggernaut the party's soul.

The remedy is to reduce the volume of work that now calls them into existence in such numbers. Shorten ballots, simplify the democratic process! We cannot hope to carry this to the point of abandoning election from the unique gigantic constituencies of the president or the statewide elective officers but the numbers of officers, chosen in great cities or in states, from huge at-large constituencies, can be reduced to a minimum. The clearing up of the clutter of the million county, judicial and local elective officers is in successful progress, reducing blind dependence of voters on party labels and bringing in nonpartisan elections wherein genuine local parties on the British model arise and flourish.

Party mechanicians, when thus made less important in party activity, will lose some of their power to overrun leaders whose interest is in principle. Then a party council, defining party policy in defiance of ward vote-getting strategies, may feel less futile and, if it becomes influential, less fearful of capture.

You See, It Was Like This

THE huge margins by which Frank Hague delivered Hudson County's vote at the height of his power were scarcely believable.

Few areas in the world, outside Hitler's Germany or Stalin's Russia, have ever experienced such near unanimity on any question or candidate. It was widely assumed that no really honest election could produce such results; and, indeed, the fall of Boss Hague since voting machines replaced the old paper ballot would seem to lend some support to such suspicions.

New light was thrown on the situation recently with the discovery of a secret roster of the 160,000 Jersey City voters, carefully recording their faithfulness or their enmity to the organization and suggesting how their loyalty could be bought by favor or fear.

Examples:

"25 votes in family—all now active Republicans. Sore because unable to get job shaving patients in jail. All votes N. G. Rep." (N. G. stands for "no good," of course.—Ed.)

"Husband is ex-Gov. $20,000-a-year Democrat. O.K." (This for wife of former Governor A. Harry Moore.)

"Republican—favor would help."

"Six Republican votes, including wife who is sister of a Democratic officeholder."

"Widow of ex-Police Chief. Votes Republican but receives widow's pension from P. D."

"Has been very irregular and is an agitator. Husband retired J. C. fireman."

"N. G. Think he is a Socialist. Talks like one."

There were also reports on Republicans who signed petitions in favor of the council-manager form of government, a nurse in the city's Medical Center whose family was Republican and one on an irregular family the son of which held a bus license.

A thorough study to learn what favors out of the public treasury or what reprisals by the dictator might later have brought the various recalcitrants to heel would be illuminating.

Public Library

State Management Limited

Michigan's advances in administrative reorganization during last decade have been halting but significant.

By **JOHN A. PERKINS***

THIRTY years ago Michigan citizens were first acquainted with the fact that, like Topsy, Michigan's government "just growed." The Community Council Commission, created by the legislature of 1919, made the first administrative analysis of Michigan's government. To offset scattered responsibility, diffused authority, invisible government, easy shifting of blame and fiscal mystery, reorganization based upon fundamental principles of good administrative organization was proposed.

The work of this early study commission provided the legislature and the governor with excellent blueprints as background. Had the governor read them well, and the legislature built accordingly, Michigan would have enjoyed more responsible government these many years since.

The 1921 legislative session jerry-built. It did reduce the number of state agencies by 30 through merging those with similar functions but rejected the short ballot idea and an integrated type organization responsible to the governor. Instead, the State Administrative Board was created. It brought together all elected state officers, thereby putting the governorship in commission. The chief executive was chairman but was hardly *primus inter pares*, for he did not choose his co-workers. For a few years the governor had an absolute veto power over the board's actions but eventually the board was given power to override the veto.

The "Ad" board was given virtually all powers of the chief executive other than the appointment of certain officers. Under its immediate jurisdiction, reporting to it through an executive secretary, were grouped the several administrative service and control agencies: personnel, budgeting, purchasing, accounting and building construction, plus a few other miscellaneous duties. Since its creation the board has demonstrated every weakness of a reorganization plan which fails to fix authority and responsibility so that the people know whom to hold accountable.

A strong-minded governor can dominate the board while disclaiming responsibility for its actions. An individual member of the board, experienced and endowed with strong will, can likewise dominate the board without accepting responsibility. A weak chief executive can blame

---

*Dr. Perkins, professor of political science and assistant provost of the University of Michigan, was budget director and later controller for Michigan in 1947 and 1948. Former secretary to Senator Arthur Vandenburg, he has had a wide experience in both practical politics and political science. He has been assistant director of training for the Institute for Training in Municipal Administration of the International City Managers' Association, as well as secretary to the executive committee of the Institute of Public Administration of the University of Michigan.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

others for lack of action or mistakes.

Elected officials comprising the board are not always members of the same party and administrative decisions are often fraught with petty party politics. Even when composed entirely of members of a single party, the board does not work smoothly because members are often vying for the governorship.

Board members collectively performing control activities are reluctant to apply the controls to themselves as department heads. Hence, several major state departments have been free to run as they please. This board, like all *ex officio* ones, has had little time to supervise its subordinates carefully. It has vacillated between supervision of routine matters in infinite detail and perfunctory action on policy matters.

Experience under this Administrative Board arrangement in Michigan amply demonstrates that boards are long, narrow and wooden, and are not for purposes of administration.

The problem of state organization in Michigan arises from the fact that the governor carries responsibility for administrative performance which he lacks the means to fulfill. The true objective is not to "give the governor power" but to give the public power to demand and get the kind of results it wants. The present organization of state government stands as a bar to that objective. Reorganization will provide it.

Little or no attention was paid to the problems of reorganization for nearly twenty years. The limited authority and great responsibility of the governor of Michigan attracted, for the most part, mediocre candidates. A political boss dominated state administration — the headlessness of state administration invites the invisible government of a party boss for someone has to coordinate affairs.

It was in 1938 that the Michigan Commission on Reform and Modernization of Government was established. A preliminary survey identified eleven problems of general executive organization and management. They are enumerated here as benchmarks of progress:

Management Problems

(1) The appointment of presently elected department heads, (2) lifting constitutional limitations on compensation of elected officers, (3) use of single administrators instead of boards and commissions as the heads of agencies, (4) need to consolidate agencies into approximately fifteen large departments, (5) creation of a governor's cabinet in the true sense instead of the Administrative Board, (6) strengthening of state civil service and personnel management,

(7) Unification of tax collection into a single department of revenue, (8) establishment of a department of finance comprising the functions of budgeting, accounting, controlling and purchasing under an officer responsible to the governor, (9) staffing the governor's office with skilled and competent assistants to

enable him to fulfill the requirements of his position, (10) lengthening the governor's term to four years, and (11) providing an independent check on the executive branch by relieving the auditor general of administrative duties and empowering him to perform the post-audit function.

In six of the areas delineated for study some improvements have been made in the ten years that have intervened and earnest attention is now being given the rest. In 1941 revenue collection, theretofore scattered in a dozen agencies, was brought together in a Department of Revenue headed by a single commissioner. The same year a comprehensive state civil service system was written into the constitution by popular referendum.

And then came the third extraordinary session of the 64th Michigan legislature in 1948. Governor Kim Sigler's message was based upon the principles of the Community Council Commission report enriched by the experience of the 28 intervening years. The governor observed that in the nearly 40 years under the present constitution only five governors had had more than one term. In two years it is next to impossible to conceive and carry out a program, not to mention opportunity to prove its validity. He advocated lengthening the term of office of governor to four years. He proposed that the governor appoint the attorney-general and secretary of state, thus shortening the ballot. He also advocated that the constitution be amended to remove all provisions fixing salaries.

Only the last proposed change in the constitution was adopted. The legislature benefited as well as the governor and other elective officers. Higher pay was provided subsequently by statute. A sales tax diversion amendment enacted in 1946 brought some sweet with the bitter. It earmarked funds, contrary to good governmental practice, but it made mandatory annual school appropriations and hence annual legislative sessions.

Meeting annually, the legislature has come to appreciate better some organizational shortcomings in Michigan's government. The sales tax diversion amendment also made it urgent that every remaining tax dollar be stretched further in the performance of governmental services. Therefore, there was considerable receptivity when Governor Sigler proposed a new Department of Administration.

Fiscal Affairs Integrated

The Department of Administration provided a reorganization of the fiscal control type, integrating the several fiscal staff and managerial functions in one department whose head is appointed by the governor and serves at his pleasure. These functions, which in 1921 were placed under the Administrative Board and supervised by its executive secretary, had in the intervening years become widely scattered.

The secretary of the board had become simply a corresponding one. Accounting had been reassigned to the auditor-general in 1939; purchasing was supervised by a committee of the board as was building and construction, while budgeting became the responsibility of a separate staff agency responsible to the governor. Building management, office services and printing, which had for many years been under the *ex officio* Board of State Auditors, were transferred along with these other functions to the new department.

The Department of Administration was given control over all the "tools of management" except personnel. The head of the new department, the controller, was to serve as secretary of the Administrative Board.

Although there was little left for the board to do, it was thought that it could not be abolished entirely. To have suggested it would have been too much of an affront to administrative tradition in Michigan. It was also necessary to appease some of the board members and keep them from opposing too actively the new department.

Administrative Board Dominates

The board was supposedly stripped of its administrative functions by the Department of Administration Act. It did retain, as long as the act creating it was on the books, a general supervisory authority over all state agencies, an authority so broad as possibly to conflict with the constitutional responsibilities of the governor.

There is no reason, except tradition, that the board should give any more supervision to the Department of Administration than to the Highway Department, or the Conservation Department, or any other department. However, the board, through its broad supervisory power, out of political expediency and somewhat tortured statutory interpretation, has interfered with the operation of the new department to an extent never contemplated by those who conceived the new organization.

This Michigan experience teaches a lesson in administrative reorganization: There should be no compromises with sound administrative principle. When compromises are made, the fundamentally sound administrative change may be discredited not because of inherent weaknesses in it but because of the failure to free it to operate.

The Department of Administration had just begun to function when the governor who sponsored it was defeated at the polls on issues extraneous to reorganization. His defeat was the signal for some of his more fortunate fellow partisans in other elective state offices quickly to delimit the Department of Administration. Through its general supervisory authority, the Administrative Board substituted itself for the governor and reviewed the operations of the department in the spirit of a chief executive.

The department and its activities have been relegated to a position comparable to that which the several staff agencies had in 1921 when they were assembled under an executive secretary directly responsible to the Administrative Board. The committees of the board which were scheduled to go out of existence took a new lease on life after the election. The board went so far in one instance of assuming control that it directed a subordinate of the controller to make his recommendations directly to the board. Such steps were taken in a partisan spirit of "saving the state" from the Democratic governor who had been elected by the people by a good majority.

Republican leaders in the legislature who enthusiastically supported the idea of the Department of Administration have been put in a difficult position. Defeat in the gubernatorial race made them draw more closely to the other elected state officers of their party—some of whom had always considered the department a threat to their prestige and power.

Legislative information about the operation of the Department of Administration has come from this biased source and was easily believed in an atmosphere full of party spirit. Concepts of responsibility commensurate with authority, an integrated executive authority easily held accountable by the people, and even efficiency and economy are quickly sacrificed to party loyalty.

Legislative leaders who had sponsored the Department of Administration envisioned a single agency which they as well as the governor could hold responsible for the overall efficient operation of not only budgeting, accounting and purchasing, etc., but also, through these tools, the line departments as well. When the department came under the control of a governor of the opposite party some of its staunchest legislative friends lost confidence that it would serve the legislature as they had expected. This change of legislative attitude is reflected in the subsequent creation of a legislative comptroller to be the watchdog of the legislature over administration.[1]

Administrative reorganization and politics are closely related. Had the election following the creation of the Department of Administration not gone as it did, the governor, enhanced by the prestige of reelection, could have assured the independence of the new department and kept the Administrative Board in its place. The department would not have become the storm center of partisanship. In time the position of its head might have become—as was visualized—a state business manager. The controller should be a professional manager and not a politician, and accepted as such, as is the city manager in so many well governed American cities.

Department's Accomplishments

Greatest accomplishment of the Department of Administration is the integration effected in the work of its own divisions—particularly budgeting, accounting, purchasing and building. Elimination of duplication, confused responsibility and conflict between these activities could only be brought about when they were all made parts of one department responsible to a single head. When they were separate agencies with different heads, with no one to coordinate them, there was buck-passing between them and differences in policy. This worked hardships upon the departments and institutions upon which they exerted their separate controls.

---

[1] While this official will be helpful to the legislature in innumerable ways, he can never perform the business management function that the legislature was seeking in the creation of the Department of Administration. The tools for day-to-day management can never be vested in a strictly legislative official as long as the separation of powers theory is embedded in our state constitutions. There is between this legislative official and the Department of Administration every possibility of conflict.

New procedures and methods introduced by the Department of Administration have proved popular with other operating units of the state government. It is these agencies that are perhaps in the best position to judge the efficiency and effectiveness of centralized service and control activities.

While the Department of Administration endeavored to establish a strong central executive control, from the outset it has had a policy of simplifying and decentralizing, both geographically and functionally, so that each department and institution more completely controls the details of its own destiny. Any fair-minded student of public administration, called upon to make a comparison of budgeting, accounting, purchasing, architectural services, building and land management, operation of car pools and other miscellaneous central services, would testify to improvements in each since the new department went into operation. State tax dollars have been more carefully spent. Although politics has interfered with the development of the new department, the governor's position has been somewhat strengthened and hence responsible popular control enhanced.

Good government in Michigan has been advanced by separating the related but distinctly different functions of accounting and auditing. The Community Council Commission, to quote from its nearly 30-year-old report, declared, "Accounting is a managerial or administrative duty and is no part of auditing." Before the Department of Administration was created, the auditor general kept the books, established the accounting systems centrally and in the departments and then audited his own work. The act emancipated the auditor general from bookkeeping and enabled him to undertake an independent post audit of state agencies.

In the past year the auditor general has presented an unprecedented number of audit reports, many of them covering the operation of major state agencies, some of them being audited for the first time in their history. The legislature in the auditor general now has the independent check it was seeking and the legislative comptroller is not so necessary.

Other Advances

In the past two years there were at least two other examples in which the legislature followed the principles advocated by the Commission on Reform and Modernization of Government of 1938. The Juvenile Institute Commission was abolished, thus reducing by one the number of separate state agencies. The institutions for which it was responsible were placed under the Department of Welfare, thus facilitating the juvenile rehabilitation work by relating it to other activities of a similar character. By placing the

Department of Corrections under a single commissioner and abolishing the five-man commission, responsibility for this activity was centered and over-all supervision and planning facilitated.

Efforts at reorganization in Michigan did not stop with the end of the third special session of 1948. Governor Sigler appointed a joint committee of legislators to study further reorganization steps. This committee was reassigned to its task in the regular session of 1949 by concurrent resolution.

Governor G. Mennen Williams feels that this joint committee of the legislature can accomplish very little reorganization. He proposes the now almost ubiquitous "little Hoover Commission" approach that is being tried in a number of states. His proposed commission of "leading citizens" to study reorganization would be created by statute and given an appropriation of $100,000 or more to hire a staff to do a complete job.

Up to Legislature

The Democratic governor may be right. At least, it is up to the Republican legislature to prove that it is sincere in its apparent interest in administrative reorganization. Seventeen statutory changes in administrative structure, for the most part commendable, were recommended by the joint committee just prior to the regular session in January 1949. None of them passed the legislature. If a legislative committee cannot push its own reorganization proposals through to enactment, the strongest argument in favor of a legislative study committee to initiate reorganization is nullified.

If the joint committee is to do the reorganization job it must have objectivity, courage and intelligence to overcome prejudice, partisanship and misconception. Any worthwhile reorganization must establish clear lines of authority and responsibility leading to the governor. Partisanship and traditional legislative jealousy of the governor must not be permitted to interfere with clear thinking on this point or extension of the governor's term to four years.

Personal ambition of legislators to become elective state officers must not preclude consideration of the questionable wisdom of electing department heads. It is paradoxical, indeed, that the same legislature that is studying reorganization should be reported as ready and willing to repeal the Department of Administration Act. That act and the creation of a corrections commissioner in lieu of a commission are definitely in the spirit of the Hoover Commission's philosophy and proven good practice in reorganized states like New York and Virginia.

It is to be hoped that the legislative joint committee will meet the challenge. Michigan has made halting but significant advances toward better administrative organization, especially in the last decade. Unless haste is made in Michigan and many other states, it may be a case of too little, too late, if the states are to maintain anything like their proper and traditional role in a federal system beset by the problems of the welfare state which seemingly is upon us.

Good Government and Labor

Union leader cites progress in Kansas City with manager plan but demands greater part in general civic efforts.

By S. A. GALATAS*

IT IS significant that those interested in the preservation and spread of good government across the nation have recognized the importance of considering how the labor groups within our cities think and react to such efforts.

The labor movement was first concerned primarily with economic issues. Having made great progress in this respect it now turns its attention to the broader aspects of all those things that make for good living. Society, in its own interest, must recognize the interdependence of all groups. Labor wants to obtain and give cooperation.

A city government provides services and material things for all citizens. The workers make up the majority of the citizens, and certainly workers are interested in good government. But we must have a concept of what good government is. From my point of view it means opportunity for better living for everyone, especially for the lower income groups.

Labor recognizes that what we spend for one purpose cannot be spent for another. Good government may not necessarily be the most economical government from the point of view of the lowest possible taxes. It is interested, however, that every tax dollar collected be spent as effectively as possible. Certainly the masses of people, and the people I represent, who are in the lower income group—Negroes and whites, of all religious denominations—are especially concerned with the effectiveness and extent of governmental services.

In Kansas City, Missouri, we are fortunate that during the past ten years under the council-manager plan, which I, for one, heartily endorse, we have seen improved and expanded services for citizens—better streets, better lighting, better recreation, improved health and physical safeguards, and future comprehensive planned development, without increased tax assessments and in spite of constantly increased costs of living. This has been possible only through vigorous guarding of public expenditures, and the development of revenue sources not previously utilized.

I refer particularly to such things as the revenue produced at the city's municipal farm (penal institution), which is responsible for some $60,000 a year in actual revenue in addition to a tremendous reduction in costs of providing for prisoners. The present city administration, through

---

*Mr. Galatas, president and business representative of the Kansas City (Missouri) Local of the Laundry Workers' International Union, has long been active in civic affairs. He is a member of the City Planning Commission, co-chairman of the Men's Division of the Community Chest, chairman of the Labor Management Clergy Committee of Greater Kansas City, first vice president of the Urban League and a member of the Legislative Committee of the Central Labor Union, AFL.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

careful study and letting of contracts for garbage collection, makes an annual saving of something less than $200,000 a year, even though wage scales have kept pace with the times.

Labor is interested in health matters and the consideration now being given by City Manager L. P. Cookingham and the city council to increasing hospital facilities, and the city's participation in the development of a mental health facility which will give relief to a deplorable lack in our community and state, is cause for rejoicing by labor, which may be expected to benefit largely from this program.

Since we spend much of our time within the limits of the city, we need a complete, adequate, coordinated recreation program for children, for young people in industry, for the middle-aged and for those who have retired. This, too, has been developed within the past ten years until in 1948 an attendance of almost two million was recorded as participating in Kansas City's year-round recreation program.

Labor appreciates a fighting government, one which will fight to get the proper franchises from public utilities and see that they are enforced. In transportation, when fares are increased wages are cut. It is the working people who use public transportation. Bus and street car fares are oppressive to labor and student groups and we hope officials will continue to give real concern to this fact. Our municipal authorities have succeeded in lowering gas rates and have reduced water rates while still obtaining substantial revenue from the water department.

Labor wants a city government that will go to bat on telephone rates and light rates. It would not always take the position that requests of public utilities for increased rates are not necessary but, when the requests are made, we want to know that our city government is looking after the public's interest. Labor is interested to know that utilities as well as big corporations are paying their proportionate share of city taxes because cities depend upon taxes, which should be equitable.

Housing Program Needed

As it moves forward economically, labor is interested in the environment in which its homes are built. Good government, through zoning, building, sanitation and fire controls, plus planning, can provide the basis and framework upon which the working classes can build and improve their own environment and family life. This means also a program of public housing supported by the city. This has been one of the disappointments in our city, although its program of rodent and insect control and its sanitary code are of help in improving this situation.

Kansas City is to be commended on its accomplishments in raising the wages and salaries of its lower bracket employees approximately 73.3 per cent and labor is in favor of a merit system which provides that each individual shall be protected in his job. However, it feels that union minimum wages should prevail. It wants the opportunity, without discrimination, to fill any of the responsible positions in the city.

Labor will support an adequate

social security program but, if I were asked what the greatest need for all citizens in my city is, I would say it is the need of an adult education program—not for those who are interested in specialties such as music or literature, not for those who are interested in trades, nor for illiterates, but a program that will provide for these special interests and in addition will broaden the understanding and give reason and basis for the thinking of people on the many issues they must decide if they live in a democratic system.

Labor's Interest in Education

Of major importance, and possibly paramount, is labor's interest in education. As far back as 1829 public education took its place at the head of labor reforms demanded by the Workingmen's Party of Philadelphia. In 1830 it declared:

> All history corroborates the melancholy fact that, in proportion as the mass of the people becomes ignorant, misrule and anarchy ensue—their liberties are subverted and tyrannic ambition has never failed to take advantage of their helpless condition. . . . Let the productive classes then unite for the preservation of their free institutions and, by procuring for all the children in the Commonwealth republican education, preserve our liberties from the dangers of foreign invasion or domestic infringement. . . . Our government is republican; our education should be equally so.

In 1834 trade unions in convention in New York City urged the necessity of an "equal, universal, republican system of education." The next year the convention demanded establishment of free libraries "for the use and benefit of mechanics and workingmen."

Exactly 125 years later we still stand for these things. Labor unions were the first supporters of the public schools. We are in favor and have supported a good school system not only in the elementary grades but in the high school and now in the colleges, with an opportunity for training in the industrial arts and technology. We are in favor of libraries which offer the opportunity for those who work for a living to obtain both enjoyment and the opportunity for development.

The union believes in collective action and, as I have mentioned, our objective in the past has been economic improvement; our concept now is broader. There are many places in the labor movement in which we can justifiably be criticized; there are others in which we have been criticized unjustly. I believe we can all agree that in the short time in which democracy has been made available in the economic realm, great strides have been made in intelligent assumption of responsibility by labor. Not the least part of an adult education program is the opportunity to put into action the decisions arrived at by men free from political and economic duress.

In 1947 Kansas City approved a bond issue of some $41,000,000. Confident that these moneys would be spent economically and properly for the purposes for which they were designated, labor approved this bond issue. Back of this was the financial rating which has been established for Kansas City in recent years through honesty, integrity and economy in city expenditures. This is actual cash in the pockets of the laboring men and highly desirable.

As responsible government thinks and plans for better living within a community, labor should be in on the planning so that the needs and desires of this large segment of the population may be rightfully interpreted at the conference table from which will issue the blueprint for community development. Such plans pertain mostly to the workingmen's children, for it is his children who depend upon city-supervised playgrounds. It is on these playgrounds that boys and girls of all races are taught to play the game square and have their first opportunity to play their part in real American life where segregation, because of race or religion, is not tolerated.

Labor's Part in Government

We in labor not only want to live in a city that has good government but we want to participate in government and be a part of it. If I were to make one labor suggestion for the continuance of good government it would be that those who have responsibility in labor organizations and the rank and file of labor be consulted on the same plane as the chamber of commerce, the real estate board or any other civic group, not a token participation but a real one where the opinions of one group receive equal consideration with those of any other.

Labor feels that the city government should set the standard and provide the atmosphere of good relations between all groups. It also feels that, before a program can be made, there must be improvements in the economic realm, and the labor union, with its objective of opportunity, wishes to work along with all other groups, with the city taking the leadership to bring them together in the interest of full production and distribution based upon contribution.

We in labor join with other civic minded groups not only in providing the greatest possible service for each dollar but also in seeing that these dollars are used for common benefit in order to provide for a full life now and in the future.

We join with such groups in every endeavor to provide good, honest and efficient government in the interest of all citizens.

We feel that city government can do and has done much to provide an atmosphere of freedom and that the city must envision the problems of living beyond those problems that existed ten, 25 or more years ago. The highest caliber of government leadership will seek, encourage and find an equally fine caliber of leadership in the labor groups and mutual respect will be productive of greater achievements for the benefit of all.

I would not be honest with myself or with the labor group I represent if I were to leave the impression that Utopia has been achieved by any existing municipal government. I cannot fail to applaud the many fine achievements under the banner of good government. Neither can I fail to urge those working for good government to welcome labor into their innermost councils, from which they still feel themselves excluded and to which they can make a real contribution.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

Nebraska Idea 15 Years Old

One-house legislature no longer considered experimental; people well satisfied with result of their pioneer move.

By **RICHARD C. SPENCER***

NEBRASKA'S experience with the unicameral legislature is now beyond the experimental stage. The one-house system is well established and it is possible to make a fairly accurate appraisal of its features. Seven regular biennial and three special sessions have been held. Some suggestions for minor changes will go on the ballot in the 1950 general election, but they do not call for any return to the two-house system.

Probably every session of any legislature pleases some people who are affected by its enactments or by its inaction while it displeases others by some of those same measures. Nebraska is not an exception in this respect but, regardless of expressions of disappointment at some of the bills that become law, one does not hear now, certainly not from important political sources, any demand for reversion to two houses.

The constitutional amendment of 1934 provided merely for the abolition of the two-house legislature and the substitution of a relatively small house of from 30 to 50 members. The size was fixed within these limits in 1935 by the last bicameral legislature in providing for 43 districts, a member to be elected from each, for the term beginning in 1937.

The biennial sessions were unchanged and so also were the relations of the governor to the legislature by way of budget proposals, veto power and the confirmation of gubernatorial appointments. The lieutenant governor's duties as presiding officer were transferred from the old Senate to the new body.

By statute the office of the clerk of the legislature was made permanent and a legislative council with research and reference staff was established to assist the legislature. These offices have been a distinct aid and the fact that they need serve only a single house prevents confusion and waste of effort on their part.

The early accounts of the first two or three sessions of the new legislature seemed to some skeptics to be somewhat generous in praise of the new system but, in general, longer experience has proved the skeptics wrong. Some former political opponents who at first viewed the device with alarm or scorn soon became adjusted to the new idea, or even began to view it with approval or at least with some degree of optimism. A lieutenant governor who presided over the new legislature is numbered among the converts.

The 43 districts were rather equitably arranged on the basis of the population census of 1930 and, according to the 1940 census, no great change occurred to alter the picture seriously. But a further growth of the metropolitan communities could upset Nebraska's representation just as it has done in some other states. Any attempt to rearrange single-member districts, of course, could result in a gerrymander. The principal safeguard against such a contingency is that these legislators are elected on a nonpartisan basis. This nonpartisan, or "non-political," feature has been subject to some attack from partisans, at least during the earlier years, but no present proposals for change heed this criticism.

---

*Dr. Spencer is professor of political science at Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. He has taught political science at Western Reserve University and has been visiting professor at the Universities of Cincinnati, Nebraska and elsewhere. From 1942 to 1947 he was a government organization specialist with the Governments Division of the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

Election records show that voters are fully aware of their legislature and are interested in their representatives. Although legislative nominees do not have a prominent place on the ballot, about four-fifths of those voters appearing at general elections vote for legislative candidates. And between 80 and 90 per cent of those voting at primary elections vote for legislative candidates even though they are not on partisan sections of the ballot.

More than that, candidates elected are usually persons who have already won some local distinction, by long service on school boards or in city or county offices. A number have been presidents of their local chambers of commerce. Two-thirds or more of those elected each session have had previous experience in the legislature, some of them for a number of terms, so that Nebraska laws are not made by green legislators. Thus far there have always been a few members who had served in the former bicameral legislature.

Until now, at least, no member seems to have his district sewed up through local machine politics. Seldom are candidates without opponents, at least in the primary, and in some districts considerable rivalry develops.

Factors of Success

Internally, the factors that have contributed to the success of the unicameral legislature may be listed as: (1) knowledge of what goes on, that is, absence of the uncertainty so common under bicameral systems caused by not knowing what another chamber, its standing committees or committee chairmen or conference committees may do; (2) a bill procedure that is deliberate and democratic; (3) procedure that is clear, understandable, observable and easily reportable by the newspapers; (4) committee structure that promotes some degree of internal leadership and coordination; (5) a session that is not limited as to duration.

The preliminary examining or drafting of bills is real and not perfunctory. The rules requiring introduction of bills early in the session can be and are applied. Committees report bills only after each has a public hearing announced in the journals five days in advance and the report thereon adopted in a committee meeting held at a scheduled hour and a committee record made. A successful exposure of an attempted evasion of this rule late in the 1949 session indicates that rules on committee procedure are enforced. Newspaper reporters may attend executive sessions of committees.

The legislature itself has an adequate opportunity to debate each bill. Technical safeguards are provided so that there seems to be little opportunity to railroad a bill through, as so frequently happens in bicameral legislatures.

After the first general debate on a bill it is given a thorough review for technical accuracy, even rewritten if necessary. Then after a second consideration it is engrossed and reprinted by the same technical committee, and its draftsman, that had previously reviewed it.

Only then does it go on the calendar for final reading and passage. A bill may not be read finally for passage until at least five legislative days after having been submitted for review and two days after placement on final reading file and at least one legislative day after final printed copies have reached members' desks.

There are only eleven bill-considering committees, so that they do not get in each other's way. Their chairmen, as members of the committee on order and arrangement, prepare the daily calendar after the close of the period for free introduction of bills and thus can help coordinate committee action with the debate schedule of the house itself.

A further coordination of effort apparently is achieved through the influence of the budget committee whose chairmanship is recognized as one of the, if not the, most powerful positions in the legislature. The general appropriation bill, introduced early, comes to the floor for extended debate and amendment during the last two or three weeks of the session when the most difficult bills are in their final stages, and it is likely to be the last bill passed.

Fewer Bills, More Laws

All these things have had their effect on the total operation of the legislature. On an average the number of bills introduced in a session is about half that under the former bicameral system. The number of laws passed, however, is somewhat larger than in the bicameral legislature, but are felt by all concerned to be in better form technically and less subject to misinterpretation or to questioning as to constitutionality. As elsewhere, the number of laws needed is on the increase, also as elsewhere, most of them are corrective or amendatory of laws already on the books rather than of new substance. Regular sessions have increased in length somewhat, but this increase is less than 14 per cent, or by an average of about twelve legislative days.

The time-table of the session is rather striking. The deadline for the introduction of bills is enforced. Only seventeen bills in 1949 were introduced after the lapse of the first twenty legislative days, and a number of these were either recommended by the governor or were substitute or consolidated bills presented by committees rather than by members. The size of the job could thus be estimated early in the session.

In the 1947 session about three-fourths of the bills ultimately reported out of committee were so reported by the time the session was barely half over. Similarly, in 1949, something better than half the bills either to be passed or defeated in the session had already been disposed of when the session was half over, and about three-fourths of them were disposed of when the session was two-thirds of the way along. In general, only the difficult bills were left until late.

In striking contrast to the usual closing days of bicameral sessions, the last two weeks of the session saw only eight bills killed and 36 passed. The figures for the last week were two killed and six passed, and the only bill passed on the last day was the general appropriation bill. The number of bills on the governor's desk at the close of the session, therefore, is amazingly small compared with that usual in other states. Ordinarily the number is well under twenty.

The people of Nebraska have been well satisfied with their single-house legislature, at least until toward the close of the recent session, and they have enjoyed the distinction their state has in being unique in this particular.

There are now proposals for minor constitutional change in the system but no suggestion of returning to bicameralism.

One of the measures to go to the voters in 1950 was passed in the 1949 session. It would amend the constitution to provide for four-year terms, half the members to be elected every two years, and for fixing the legislative salary by statute—instead of the rather low maximum now embedded in the constitution. It would also permit annual sessions and, if annual, the session in even-numbered years limited to budgetary appropriations and confirmation of appointments.

An initiative petition is in circulation calling for a vote on increasing the legislative membership to somewhere between 75 and 85, and raising the salary. The thought of Nebraskans is thus upon alteration of details without changing the essential features of unicameralism.

Smooth Operation

The 1949 legislature may or may not have made some grievous errors. But in spite of charges of lack of leadership on policy and that in vote trading it was a "fraternity of tolerance," its program did not bog down or end up in the wild confusion common to most bicameral systems. This smooth operation seems to have been characteristic of all sessions of the unicameral system. Sly tricks may be attempted, but the work is so open that they are almost sure to be caught.

Perhaps one of the greatest assets of the Nebraska system is that operations, including those of lobbyists and members alike, are out in the open where newspapers may report them and keep the people of the state currently informed.

Relations Between Governments

American Municipal Association statement of policy urges cities to take initiative in furthering sound program.*

THE relations between the federal, state and local governments determine the limits on the ability of municipalities to solve their own problems and to serve their citizens. Therefore, progress in American municipal government is dependent on a proper relationship and understanding between the various governmental levels and units.

The need for such an understanding is emphasized by looking at the many areas in which questions of intergovernmental policy and action arise. These include federal-local relations, state-local relations, federal-state relations, metropolitan area problems, county-city relations, intercity problems and regional relationships.

At least eight major reasons can be found for consideration of the relations between governments in the United States. These are:

1. The competition for revenues,
2. The overlapping and duplication of services,
3. The tendency to split a government into so many independent parts that a given geographic area no longer functions as a single governmental unit,
4. The tremendous effects on local governments of state and federal grants-in-aid,
5. The impact of state and federal standards and state and federal personnel on local affairs,
6. The demand for local services and expenditures growing out of federal programs,
7. The competition for high grade personnel between the federal, state and local governments,
8. The absence of any over-all policy on relations between the levels and units of government.

All these relations and problems are also opportunities—opportunities for initiative and constructive public action, serving the general community.

There is no inherent antagonism between the federal government, the states and the municipalities. The business of these levels of government is a joint business. In its over-all aspects, government should be conducted as if it were concerned with all of the people and with due regard for its impact on the individual citizen where he lives.

STATEMENTS OF POLICY

Federal-Municipal Relations

The American Municipal Association suggests the following principles and actions as a basis for federal-municipal relations:

1. The National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, proposed by S. 1946, should be enacted at the earliest possible date. Clarification of the difficult questions arising between federal and local governments can be accomplished best by such a commission. Few activities are more urgent or more important as a means of proving that a democratic federal government

---

*Adopted December 2, 1949, by the American Municipal Association, national federation of state leagues of municipalities, at its convention in Cleveland.

Public Library
Kansas City

can work effectively and harmoniously. The commission must have direct representation by municipal officials.

2. Congress should enact legislation at once to provide for payments in lieu of taxes on federally owned property. The present exemptions not only deprive municipalities of money to which they are entitled but also create an unfair burden on those communities where disproportionate amounts of federally owned property are located. The need for equity between municipalities is at least as important as the revenue to be derived from such payments.

3. Old age and survivors' insurance as provided for in the federal Social Security Act should be extended to local government employees. The extension of the act should make its insurance benefits available to every municipal employee, regardless of the size of the community for which he works and the type of work he is doing. The insurance should be made available as a supplement to existing retirement plans or fill the gap for those who are not members of any retirement system.

4. The admissions and amusements tax now levied by the federal government has every characteristic of a good local tax and should be made available to all municipalities which wish to use it. To accomplish this, the federal government should withdraw from the federal admissions tax or institute a credit device similar to that employed with respect to the inheritance tax.

5. The president of this association is directed forthwith to appoint a committee which shall be charged with the responsibility of studying the effect of federal grants-in-aid upon our municipalities and presenting recommendations as to the policy to be adopted by this association on this question at the next annual meeting.

6. The placement of defense industries, defense establishments or other large scale federal activities in some communities but not in others creates disproportionate burdens. Such burdens should be equalized by compensating federal payments.

7. The federal government should make clear to the cities of the United States what is expected of them in relation to civil defense. The cities must know what kind of local organization is needed and what they will be expected to do if an emergency arises. In working out an over-all plan for civil defense in the United States, the regularly appointed officials of municipalities should not be supplanted or circumvented, nor should the usual channels of authority between the state and local governments be wiped out. The municipalities of the country desire to cooperate in a national program for civil defense, but they need to know what is expected of them. As civil defense measures must operate at the local level in the cities of every state, cities should be consulted and should participate, through their representative organizations, in the formulation of policy and in developing a program based upon an

agreement among federal, state and local representatives.

State-Local Relations

1. The extension of municipal home rule, so that cities may adopt and amend their own charters, is the greatest need in the field of state-local relations. Under the provisions of general state law, municipalities should have the right to prepare and amend their own charters, to decide what activities they want to carry on, to have the form of government they wish and to finance local government in the way they determine locally. The association also reaffirms its 1948 statement on home rule.

2. Municipalities are entitled to fair and adequate representation in their state legislatures. Where constitutional reapportionment is required it should be carried out. Not only do municipalities need representation based on numbers in the state legislature but the municipalities themselves need to take action to see that the representatives elected from cities represent the interests of their municipalities.

3. The structure of local government needs to be simple enough so that any citizen can easily determine the units of government to which he has obligations and from which he may obtain service or protection. This principle should be considered in the formation of appointed independent agencies, boards or commissions. The laws governing annexation of territory should be amended so that annexation may be simple, fair and without undue delay. State laws should also permit the combination or joining of areas which desire to be brought together into a single government.

4. State legislation should permit voluntary cooperation among municipalities. Such cooperation will usually be brought about by contractual arrangements which will permit one government to perform services for another. This voluntary cooperation will eliminate the necessity for local governments with limited functions and will permit both the centralization of services and the decentralization of authority. The right to make such contractual arrangements will further home rule by permitting voluntary action among municipalities to do things that otherwise would be governed by state or federal law.

5. Some taxes which municipalities can appropriately use are collected best by the state. In such cases consideration should be given to state collection and local sharing of the tax. But the fact that the state is the logical collector of a tax does not give it sole proprietary interest in the revenue from that tax. State aid should have a three-fold objective: to stabilize local revenues, to provide a return to municipalities of money which the state can collect more advantageously than the cities, and to maintain reasonable standards of service for local activities in which the state has an appropriate interest but which cannot be financed from local funds. State fiscal aid, however, should avoid distortion of local services, should encourage local initiative and permit expenditures above the minimum,

should not be used to perpetuate uneconomic local practices and should not impoverish some areas for the benefit of the others. Federal and state taxation must not become so burdensome that local governments do not have enough resources to perform local functions.

6. The state government shall impose no service burdens on municipalities without providing the necessary revenue to perform such services.

7. State governments should refrain from "going over the heads" of municipal governments in establishing hours of work, scales of salaries and working conditions for groups of municipal employees. The hours of work and compensation of all municipal employees should be determined solely by the municipality.

8. The relations between cities and the counties which contain them need to be examined. Differing policies between cities and their related county governments cause difficult law enforcement, encourage tax migration or distribute unfairly the services rendered by government and the revenues to finance them. There are many cases where functions are performed by both the city and the county, or where the city, through its county taxes, pays for services rendered only to county residents outside the city. Therefore, city governments and the counties in which they lie are urged to undertake studies of city-county relationships at once.

Conclusion

The initiative to bring about the most helpful relationships between the municipalities, the states, other local governments and the federal government must come from the municipalities. Within each state the municipalities should agree on a reasonable program of working relationships with the state government. Through the state leagues of municipalities they should seek the accomplishment of such a program. The national program on which the cities should agree and the representation of the cities before the federal Congress should be carried out in a unified, consistent manner in accordance with the principles and objectives laid down in the association's National Municipal Program.[1]

---

[1] See the REVIEW, January 1949, page 40; February 1949, page 91.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

79 Places Adopt Manager Plan in 1949

World Total Expected to Pass Thousand in 1950

SEVENTY-NINE American municipalities—78 in the United States and one in Canada—adopted the council-manager form of government during 1949. This brings the world total of places in which the manager plan is in effect to 958, of which 916 are in the United States, including Alaska and Puerto Rico, 38 in Canada, and four in Ireland. At the present rate of adoptions, the world total should pass the thousand mark well before the end of the year.

Chula Vista, California, (5,138) adopted a council-manager charter on November 8, which became effective December 15, 1949.

In **White Plains, New York,** Silas S. Clark, distinguished former mayor, advocates the manager plan for his city, saying that the city now has no executive head but is run by a committee.

Mayor Scott of **Bloomfield, New Jersey,** at induction ceremonies on January 2, urged the council-manager plan as recommended by New Jersey's Commission on Municipal Government.

A preliminary draft of a new charter for **Falls Church, Virginia,** which would formally establish council-manager government, was approved by a special nine-member charter commission on December 26. Falls Church now has a so-called city manager who serves as an advisor to the council. The proposed charter would make the manager the chief executive of the city. It would also provide a council of seven members elected at large, instead of nine elected by wards as at present.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Myrtle Beach, South Carolina,** has endorsed the council-manager plan and will conduct an educational campaign in its behalf.

Sterling and **Delta, Colorado,** voted in November in favor of calling charter conventions. **Montrose,** in the same state, defeated a charter revision proposal.

A petition for a special election on the manager plan in **Hot Springs, New Mexico,** was rejected by the city council because the city's population is inadequate to qualify under state law for the plan.

The Utah Taxpayers Association has recommended the council-manager plan for **Salt Lake City,** along with consolidation of certain city departments and other suggestions for reducing the cost of the city's government, which increased 120 per cent in nine years.

Mayor Dorothy McCullough Lee of **Portland, Oregon,** in a radio address late in December, reiterated her belief that the manager plan would be good for that city.

In **California, San Luis Obispo** voted down a manager proposal on November 22. **National City** defeated a similar proposal. **Palo Alto** will vote February 21 on a council-manager amendment to the city charter. Under the present charter, adopted in 1909, there are four administrative boards.

St. Jerome, Quebec, has voted to abandon the manager plan.

The 35th annual conference of the International City Managers' Association, held December 4-8 at Palm Beach, Florida, set a new record of attendance with 250 city and county managers, over 25 per cent more than the previous high of 199 in 1948. Total registration was 545, as against 413 in 1948. Of the managers present 91 were attending their first ICMA conference. Topics discussed included the art of management, manager relationships with the public, the council and the employees, public reporting, budget making, financing capital improvements, reducing costs, fringe areas, use of advisory aids, housing and redevelopment, parking and traffic, county management problems, and special questions affecting cities in different population groups.

New York City Sets up Economy Commission

Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York City on January 10 appointed a special committee of 20 members (later increased to 25) "to conduct a comprehensive survey of the entire municipal government in an effort to achieve the greatest amount of efficiency and economy possible, consistent with the maintenance of adequate public service in future years."

The committee includes seven city officials or employees, the other members being business executives and representatives of industry, labor and civic organizations. It is headed by Lazarus Joseph, city comptroller. Among the civic representatives are George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary of the Citizens Union and associate secretary of the National Municipal League, and Mrs. Ralph B. Morris, president of the New York City League of Women Voters. The Citizens Budget Commission and the Commerce and Industry Association are also represented.

The mayor stated that the committee will make plans for an over-all survey and will be empowered to recommend to the Board of Estimate the employment of specialists and use of city employees to make the actual study. It is expected to select some independent research agency which would send investigators into all branches of the city government, including the Board of Education and the Board of Transportation, to see where better work could be done at less expense. After knowing the results of such a survey the committee would submit recommendations to the Board of Estimate for final action.

In congratulating the mayor on his action the New York *Herald Tribune* mentioned that two years ago, also at the mayor's request, the Citizens Budget Commission had made an intensive study of five important city departments, followed by reports and recommendations for reforms calculated to produce substantial savings, a small percentage of which have thus far been achieved.

A pending reclassification and salary study of the city's civil service may be incorporated in the new committee's program of study.

On January 3 William Reid, former chairman of New York's Board of Transportation, assumed the post of deputy mayor and embarked on a financial survey of all city departments with a view to possible savings without detriment to public service. His first object of inquiry was the Board of Education and he announced his intention to investigate other city departments or agencies with the aid of trained employees. Mr. Reid has had long and varied experience in New York City administration and is regarded as an authority on the city's finances.

Revised Charter for Tarrytown Merger Drafted

A new charter of 220 pages for the city to result from the proposed merger of the villages of Tarrytown and North Tarrytown, Westchester County, New York, has been prepared for action by the state legislature. It has been revised from a prior draft, vetoed by Governor Thomas E. Dewey last April because of violating the state constitution in various respects.

Merit System Urged for Town Clerks

At its annual meeting the National Institute of Municipal Clerks adopted a resolution to work for placing town clerks under civil service. As these officers should be well informed on municipal laws and actions, it was felt that tenure is important and that such positions should be filled on a basis of ability.

Montana League to Hold Regional Meetings

The board of directors of the Montana Municipal League decided on November 19 to conduct a series of regional meetings of city officials throughout the state to work out the league's program for the coming legislative session. City Manager M. E. Henderson, of Bozeman, was named league president to succeed former Mayor J. R. Wine, Jr., of Helena, who has resigned to become a major in the U. S. Air Corps.

Maryland League Sets Legislative Goals

At its second annual convention, held in Baltimore November 18-19 and attended by 90 persons representing 27 municipalities, the Maryland League of Municipalities determined upon the following items of legislative policy:

(1) To do everything possible to bring about a constitutional convention;

(2) To work for home rule at every legislative session, regular or special;

(3) To obtain technical advisory service for Maryland municipalities similar to that of Tennessee;[1]

(4) To study the question of general legislation to limit damage suits against municipalities.

Inter-American Congress of Municipalities to Meet

The third meeting of the Inter-American Congress of Municipalities, after an eight-year lapse because of the war and its consequences, will take place in New Orleans in May, at the invitation of Mayor de Lesseps S. Morrison. The program is expected to emphasize the following subjects: relations between municipalities and higher government levels especially as regards finances, the role of cities in public housing, city planning and the city traffic problem.

The North American representative of the Congress is Herbert Emmerich, director of the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago.

Intern Program in Glendale, California

A cooperative undertaking by the city of Glendale, California, and Occidental College has been instituted to assist senior and graduate students to train for a public service career, according to *Western City*.

Political science students, referred by the college and selected by Glendale's personnel division, are placed in various city offices according to their educational specialization and field of interest. They are assigned duties for which they receive college credits but no other compensation.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, September 1949, page 403.

South Dakota Authorizes City Planning Commissions

The 1949 session of the South Dakota legislature adopted enabling legislation (chapter 198) permitting any incorporated city or town to create a planning commission by ordinance, if authorized by popular referendum. The commission is required to prepare and adopt a master plan.

Oklahoma to Vote on Constitutional Convention

The question of calling a constitutional convention in Oklahoma will be submitted to the voters at the November 1950 general election in accordance with a senate joint resolution adopted late in the 1949 Oklahoma legislative session. If a majority voting on the proposition approves, a special election will be held in September 1951 for the purpose of choosing convention delegates.

A resolution requesting the legislature and the governor to submit the question of a convention to the people was overwhelmingly approved prior to the 1949 legislature at a meeting of the State Legislative Council and the Citizens Advisory Committee, appointed by the governor to meet with the council to consider reports on constitutional revision.

In 1947, although a legislative proposal to submit the question of a convention to the people had been killed by a veto, the State Senate requested the State Legislative Council to undertake during the intervening two years a comprehensive study of the constitution and to submit a report and its recommendations to the legislature at the beginning of the next legislative session in 1949. This work was promptly undertaken.

The Legislative Council, under the leadership of L. D. Melton, director, requested of the University of Oklahoma that Professor H. V. Thornton, director of the Bureau of Government Research at the University, be permitted to direct the studies. The instructions of the council laid emphasis upon studies rather than upon the drafting of a new constitution or articles thereof. With the assistance of the Oklahoma Bar Association and staff members of the Departments of Political Science of the University of Oklahoma, A. & M. College, Tulsa University and East Central State College, 21 studies were completed.

The Citizens Committee for Calling a Constitutional Convention, organized in 1946 and in effect a federation of several statewide civic organizations, is being reorganized and enlarged for the purpose of securing a favorable vote in November.

H. V. Thornton
Bureau of Government Research
University of Oklahoma

New Mexico Reapportions; Other Constitutional Changes

The legislature of New Mexico proposed in its 1949 session ten amendments to the state constitution. At a special election on September 20 seven were adopted.

Amendment No. 10—far from the least important—involved reapportionment for the legislature. It was adopted, 17,560 to 10,671, but was severely criticized by the Division of Research of the Department of Government of the University of New Mexico in a published study of the ten proposals. The membership of the House of Representatives is increased from 49 to 55, the six added seats going to four counties much underrepresented on a population basis. In some instances a county in New Mexico constitutes a single district with one or more representatives, but there are also many districts that cross county lines. The reapportionment does not change the districts except that one two-county district becomes two one-county districts.

The Division of Research points out that even the addition of six representatives to the four counties gives them only twelve representatives out of 55, while their combined population is nearly one-third of the state population.

While apportionment of the House of Representatives is made somewhat more nearly equitable, inequitable representation in the Senate is made much worse. Senate districts have heretofore overlapped county lines to a large extent, with 24 senators from a total of 31 counties, and there has been some recognition of differences in county populations (ranging from 3,000 to 115,000). The reapportionment is frankly on a county basis with one senator from each county—except the newly formed Los Alamos County, which shares a senator with Santa Fe County.

Thus the approach toward more equitable representation of people in the case of the lower house is counteracted by the change in Senate representation, making it more grossly disproportionate than before, while the number of senators is increased from 24 to 31.

Another feature of the amendment is the relinquishment by the legislature of its power to reapportion legislative membership after each federal census. Heretofore it has had such power but has never exercised it. A reapportionment in the form of a constitutional amendment was proposed by the legislature in 1941, but it was defeated at the polls. Now the legislature gives up even the right to reapportion except by submission of another amendment.

The subjects of the other amendments adopted include: authority for the legislature to provide for absentee voting; a highway commission of five members appointed by the governor for six-year overlapping terms, from five districts, instead of the present commission of three members directly responsible to the governor; increase in jurisdiction of probate courts; the $2,000 property tax exemption of veterans changed to include community property of husband and wife; permission for city-county consolidation;[1] the state board of regents for educational institutions to be appointed by the governor for six-year overlapping terms.

Amendments defeated would have permitted the legislature to fix the salaries of district court judges, now frozen at $4,500; required severance taxes in excess of $2,000,000 per annum to go into a permanent fund; and increased legislative salaries from $10 per day for regular and special sessions ($600 for biennial 60-day regular sessions) to $20 per day plus $600 per annum.

California to Vote on Court Reorganization

A proposed constitutional amendment to be passed upon by the people of California in November of this year would effect a reorganization of the lower courts of that state. In a report on an explanation of the amendment by Chief Justice Phil S. Gibson of the California Supreme Court, it is pointed out in *Western City* for December that there are now 768 courts in that state below the Superior Court, consisting of six kinds of city courts and two kinds of township courts, with concurrent and overlapping jurisdiction within a given governmental subdivision, and with most of them on a part-time basis.

Under the proposal each county

---

[1] See also page 100, this issue.

will be divided into districts, with a single court in each district of as many judges as necessary.

Ohio Valley Commission Reports Anti-Pollution Gains

The Ohio River Valley Water Sanitation Commission, formed under an eight-state compact signed June 30, 1948, by representatives of Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Virginia, states in its first annual report that it had helped promote a new pollution law in Ohio, which for the first time gave the State Health Department power to enforce pollution abatement.

New York also strengthened its control over stream pollution through the passage of comprehensive legislation. Important changes were incorporated in the Illinois laws during the year to permit the state more aggressive action against pollution offenders.

Findings were completed leading to recommendations for pollution abatement measures in the Pittsburgh and Huntington, West Virginia, areas of the Ohio River. Other types of action were taken to prevent discharge of wastes from industrial plants.

Tennessee, which participated in the original compact negotiations, may soon became a party to the pollution abatement work provided Alabama and North Carolina join the compact.

In its first year the commission operated on a budget of $40,000. Budgets for fiscal years 1949-50 and 1950-51 have been set at $100,000. Its support comes from the states in the compact, based on population and land area within the district.

State Government Council Suggests Legislative Program

The legislative drafting committee of the Council of State Governments has made several proposals for legislation to the twelve state legislatures meeting this year. Eleven legislatures — in California, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, South Carolina and Virginia — meet in regular sessions in 1950. Georgia plans a special session in mid-January.

The majority of the proposals grew out of suggestions by the states and federal administrative agencies and were drafted by the committee with the aid of the U. S. Department of Justice.

Suggestions of the committee include: State government budgeting of federal grants-in-aid, exchange of tax information, legislation for uniform support of dependents regardless of state residence, requirement that refusal of an officeholder to testify concerning his office because of possible self-incrimination would bar him from office for five years, and return of mentally ill persons to their home states.

Puerto Rico Commission Urges Administrative Changes

The Commission for the Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Puerto Rican government has recently made recommendations for more efficient government, similar in general principles to those resulting from the study of the executive branch of the United States government recently completed by the Hoover Commission.

The Council of State Governments reports that of the reorganization study groups set up this year, Puerto Rico was the first to complete its work. Together with Puerto Rico and Hawaii, 23 states provided for surveys of governmental operations in 1949.

At the present time there are 82 separate agencies reporting to the governor. The commission recommended reducing this number to 23 by abolishing 29, transferring 22 more into other departments or agencies and eliminating eight other boards of directors or governing boards.

Recommendations concerning the island's seventeen public corporations would increase the responsiveness of the corporations to the governor by giving him power to appoint and remove the directors. At the same time the corporations would be left with the administrative flexibility they need.

Further recommendations would increase the authority of the governor who, until made an elective officer in 1948, was appointed from Washington, for which reason the elected legislature had been reluctant to allow him sufficient authority. His powers were largely subject to approval of the executive council, made up of department heads. The council alone has more than 100 separate duties assigned to it by statute, the commission noted. Among its recommendations concerning the governor were that all functions of the executive council, with the exception of the delineation of election districts, should be transferred to the governor with authority to delegate where necessary and that the governor should divest himself of minor routine duties by delegating them to other officials. The positions of executive assistant and administrative assistant for liason with the corporations were recommended. An *ex-officio* Council of Economic Advisors was also suggested.

Constitutional Convention to Meet in Hawaii

A primary election to make nominations for a Hawaii constitutional convention will be held on February 11, with final election of delegates on March 21. The convention, to consist of 63 delegates, is to meet on April 4. It was provided for at the last session of the territorial legislature "in order that Hawaii may be admitted in the union on an equal footing with the original states."

Congress Urged to More Efficiency

In line with efforts of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government (the Hoover Commission) recommendations for improved organization of Congress have recently been proposed by the National Committee for Strengthening Congress. The chief suggestion is establishment of a joint standing committee on the organization of Congress.

In a communication to all members of Congress shortly before resumption of sessions in 1950 the committee, through Robert Heller, its chairman, said: "The work of the LaFollette-Monroney committee and the legislative reorganization act of 1946 which it fathered went far to strengthen internal organization and operation. But the experience of the last three years and especially of the past session indicates that strengthening the Congress should be a continuous process and that much remains to be done to increase its efficiency."

The committee particularly emphasized the need of modernizing the rules of the Senate, which have had no general revision and little important modification since 1884. A special appeal was made for a new rule requiring senators to adhere to the subject under discussion and to forego the "luxury" of irrelevancy in debate.

Other recommendations included reduction of the volume of work imposed upon Congress, better control by Congress over executive expenditures and increase in party responsibility.

St. Louis County Charter Plan Voted

Commission Provides Elected Supervisor and Council of 7

THE St. Louis County, Missouri, Charter Commission has announced that by unanimous vote it has decided to propose a "council-supervisor" form of government under which both the seven-man county council and the county supervisor would be elective. The council would be the legislative body, with the supervisor handling administrative matters subject to its approval. At present, the three-member county court functions as both the legislative and administrative body. Both council members and the supervisor would serve four-year terms, with one council member chosen from each of the county's seven legislative districts.

The charter will be submitted to the voters at a special election this year. Date of the election has not yet been set.

Executive and administrative work would be organized into departments and divisions under the supervisor. The charter would establish a merit system for employees in the departments of public health, public welfare, hospitals and parks and recreation. The charter commission has agreed that the council must establish the merit system by November 1, 1952. Possible extension of the system to other departments is still under discussion.

The following county officers would continue to be elective for four-year terms: assessor, circuit clerk, collector, county clerk, coroner, constables, highway engineer, public administrator, prosecuting attorney, recorder of deeds, sheriff, superintendent of schools and treasurer.

The charter also will carry provisions for initiative, referendum and recall elections and for its amendment.

Buchanan County Citizens Lose Charter Battle

The campaign for adoption of a county manager charter in Buchanan County, Missouri, resulted in its defeat last November by a vote of 11,010 to 7,114.

The campaign began in 1945 when the Citizens' Good Government Association took the initial step — that of securing the required number of names on petitions (20 per cent of those who voted for president in the last presidential election). About half the number had been secured when the executive secretary resigned and the association was discontinued.

The League of Women Voters attempted to finish the campaign. Another thousand names were secured. It was decided, however, that the first names secured might be declared legally "stale," so the campaign was dropped temporarily.

In January 1948 the League of Women Voters asked other large organizations, men's and women's, to form a citizens committee to initiate a new plan of action. Fourteen organizations accepted the invitation; the group was known as the Buchanan County Charter Committee. Two representatives from each of the fifteen groups formed the planning committee.

In order to secure signatures on the petitions, an office was set up in the Chamber of Commerce with two paid staff members. The campaign started officially on March 1, 1948. More than six hundred volunteers worked during the three months' campaign. The signed petitions were presented to the county court May 28, 1948, and were declared sufficient by the county clerk on September 18, after he checked every name. The final count of good names was 7,270. The first hurdle was accomplished.

The three members of the circuit court and the probate judge named a charter commission of seven Republicans and seven Democrats — twelve men and two women — on November 18, 1948. At this time the executive committee of the citizens group voted to discontinue its activity until the charter had been drafted. This was a grave mistake — an educational program during the writing of the charter was very necessary.

The charter commission met weekly, committees met between commission meetings, and open hearings were held. The final draft was completed September 15, 1949. During its preparation, P.T.A. organizations, the League of Women Voters, the A.A.U.W., and Women's Chamber of Commerce followed the work of the commission, appeared at hearings, arranged for other interested citizens to appear and in other ways kept in close touch with members of the commission. The four groups attempted to do what the county committee of fifteen organizations was designed to do.

A good charter was written, even though it contained compromises in many places. Upon its completion the County Charter Committee reorganized as the Citizens Charter Committee. It opened an office September 10, 1949, in the center of town, with one paid secretary, a speakers' bureau and an election day organization.

The committee had complete cooperation of the newspapers. A daily article explaining each section of the charter, a daily question and answer box on the front page, and pictures, editorials and news stories appeared regularly. A full page advertisement was run the day before election. Speakers appeared before practically all organized groups, special groups and on the radio.

In addition to radio time bought, the stations arranged four debates. The money to finance this campaign ($2,075) was raised through contributions by more than 150 interested citizens. Prominent citizens made public statements through the press. Late in the campaign the Chamber of Commerce appointed a legislative committee of fifteen prominent men who voted unanimously to endorse the charter. The Junior Chamber of Commerce came out for it and assisted.

On the Saturday before election, students from high school and college government classes were stationed on prominent street corners from 10 A.M. to 2 P.M. with a questionnaire, checking the yes and no answers to:

> Are you interested in the county charter?
>
> Do you believe in home rule?
>
> Do you want your taxes lowered?
>
> Will you vote "yes" for the charter on Tuesday?

An old horse and buggy were driven through the main streets on the Saturday and Monday before election with signs on each side reminding people to vote "yes" and saying, "We took the horse and buggy off the streets; let's take it out of our county government."

Literature used was as follows:

1. A folder, "Voters Know Your Charter," explaining the charter by means of a chart,
2. A folder with short statements and pertinent questions answered,

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

directed at the farm vote and distributed to every rural box,

3. Large charts for speakers,
4. "Salient Points of the County Charter,"
5. Window and automobile cards,
6. Cards for use at factories, etc.

The vote was the largest ever cast locally in a special election. The results of the educational campaign were reflected in the urban vote of approximately 7,000 against and 6,000 for, while in the suburban sections, where it was difficult to inform voters, the vote was three to one against.

The opposition came from the court house and city hall organization. It advanced no constructive argument; fantastic tales and misrepresentation confused the people. It did a thorough job of that. Only two organized groups officially opposed the charter—the A. F. of L. and "The Friends of the Constitution." The C.I.O. took no action.

There is just one conclusion: more people must become informed before another attempt to modernize our county government is made. Our state constitution provides that a new start can be initiated in two years.

GERTRUDE B. SUTHERLAND
St. Joseph League of Women Voters

Texas Counties Cooperate with Cities

Nueces County, Texas, and the city of Bishop recently began construction of a new municipal-county building that will house county, city and school district officials. Hamilton County, Texas, recently voted an annual contribution to the Hamilton city fire department for rural protection, and Jim Wells County is considering the construction of a city-county tuberculosis hospital.

Two Virginia Counties Consider Manager Plan

In Fairfax and Chesterfield Counties, Virginia, renewed attempts are being made to adopt home rule charters embodying the manager plan of government. Discussions in Fairfax constitute a renewal of efforts of former years, while in Chesterfield the proposals have been rejected by referendum vote on three prior occasions.

Various individuals and civic associations are conducting a series of meetings in Fairfax County to educate the people on the advantages of the manager plan. In Chesterfield County, the board of supervisors, by a four to two vote, decided to request the state legislature to permit continuation of election of supervisors by districts rather than at large as provided in the county manager law. When neighboring Henrico County adopted the manager plan some years ago it secured such an exception by special legislative action.

City-County Consolidation Wins in New Mexico

The proposed constitutional amendment permitting city-county consolidation in New Mexico[1]—applying only to Albuquerque and Bernalillo County because of a population limitation—was approved at a referendum in September by a vote of 15,140 in favor of the proposal to 11,974 against it.

County Planning in Maryland Continues

County planning in Maryland made significant strides forward in 1949. In addition to the Wicomico County Planning Commission, establishment of which was previously noted in this

(Continued on page 113)

---

[1] See also the REVIEW, October 1949, page 458.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Cincinnati Chooses 'Charter' Council

Medford and Lowell Elect P. R. Legislative Bodies

THE thirteenth P. R. election of Cincinnati's nine-member city council accomplished much — with an economy of effort.

First, it returned a majority of councilmen supported by the Cincinnati City Charter Committee to control of the city's affairs for another two years, thus insuring continuity for the Charter group's efforts to carry out Cincinnati's new Master Plan.

Second, for the first time in the city's history it brought two Negroes into the city's ruling body.

Third, it again demonstrated the sureness with which P. R. effects turnover without revolution or chaos. Only six of the nine men who took office January 1, 1948, resumed office January 1, 1950. Of the three who retired, only one did so voluntarily.

Fourth, it gave the lie to the punditing Cassandras who throughout the campaign croaked, "Little interest — less votes," the total vote, 167,482, coming within 2½ per cent of the city's all time high.

Fifth, it established rather convincingly the ineffectiveness of mere money expenditure in influencing P. R. results, three of the four most expensive personal campaigns ending in defeat and the winning group campaign being by far the most economical one.

Sixth, it again exposed the weakness of one of the claims most loudly advanced against P. R. in Cincinnati, that it promotes Jewish and Catholic block voting. A majority of the ballots transferred from eliminated Catholic candidates went in each instance to non-Catholics, and less than one-sixth of the transfer of one of the two Jewish candidates went to the second.

Seventh, it revealed the terrific pressure to which national party adherents —in this instance supporters of Senator Robert A. Taft—are subjected in purely local matters, the entire campaign of the machine opposition which has dogged the Charter group since its inception 25 years ago again being built around the theme, "You can't have a Republican on Capitol Hill or in the White House unless you put them in city hall."

Eighth, it provided a personal triumph for the Charter majority leader, Charles P. Taft, younger brother of Senator Taft, who was subjected to incredibly vile abuse and contumely because of his support of Mayor Albert D. Cash, long time Charter associate and national Democrat.

Finally, it proved once more the superior drawing power of Charter candidates on transfers from eliminated candidates, Charter outgaining its opponents three to two in these transfers, thereby bolstering the Charter group's confidence in its community wide support.

Twenty-two candidates entered the race, the Charter group and its machine opposition both entering full tickets, with four independents. The total first choice vote: City Charter Committee, 80,444; Organization Republican, 74,531; independents, 3,315.

Mayor Cash ran high in first choices with 22,107, approximately 50 per cent more than his total in 1947. His predecessor in the mayoralty, on the other hand, Carl W. Rich, leader of the opposition, dropped nearly 40 per cent to 16,115.

Rollin H. Everett, one of the two Charter labor representatives, was defeated, undoubtedly as a result of his anti-Communist activities and his support of the anti-Communist resolution adopted by the Congress of Industrial Organizations in its national convention in Cleveland a week before the election. Everett's loss robbed the Charter group of much of the pleasure of its victory, for he had been a courageous and far-sighted councilman.

Election of the second Negro provided enemies of P. R. with a nine-day campaign against the voting system. The campaign drooped, however, for want of big name leadership and was shelved for the time being when examination of the voting returns demonstrated that the Negro elected on the minority machine side owed his election in large measure to his support by the Cincinnati *Times Star* and by voters in the upper income bracket white wards with whom the *Times Star* is a religion.

The three novices in the new council lineup — Theodore M. Berry, Douglas Allen and Potter Stewart — have one thing in common, their youth. Beyond that their election is significant chiefly because of the divergence of their routes to office.

Berry, first Negro to be elected on the Charter ticket, is a leading lawyer, an eloquent speaker and a long time leader in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Allen, a *Times Star* reporter and socialite, was placed in council chiefly by the tireless front page campaign waged in his support by his employer, Hulbert Taft, *Times Star* publisher. A minor contributing factor may have been an error in Charter strategy. From the outset Allen devoted himself to a campaign of sensational, front page headline "charges" against the Charter ticket, incumbent Charter councilmen and the Charter Committee. Instead of refuting the charges, as easily could have been done, the Charter group chose to ignore them on the assumption that Allen's recklessness would spell its own defeat. In retrospect the decision appears a mistake.

Stewart, son of former Mayor James Garfield Stewart, now Ohio Supreme Court justice, owed his election primarily to his father's influence and quiet but active campaign in his behalf.

Both Allen and Stewart raided the socialite support which a number of Charter candidates in the past — Charles P. Taft, the late Tylor Field and Russell Wilson, for instance—had enjoyed. It remains to be seen just how permanent the loss of this support will prove.

Invalid ballots totaled 9,192, or 5.4 per cent of the total vote cast. This is just about the average for invalid ballots in the P. R. elections held to date.

The count was completed in the customary six-day period, final results being known Sunday night and made official Monday noon.

FOREST FRANK, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

Medford Holds First P. R. Election

A city council of seven and a school committee of six were elected in the first P. R. election in Medford, Massachusetts, last November. The election was preparatory to the inauguration, in January, of the city's Plan E government—council-manager plan with P. R., adopted at the polls in November 1947.

As has been the case in other cities using P. R. for the first time, there was a large number of candidates for the seven council seats—83. Nineteen of these were eliminated at an early stage because they obtained fewer than 50 first choice votes.

Differing from the experience of Worcester and some of the other P. R. cities, the seven candidates elected were those that stood highest on first choices. One of them, Arthur Dello Russo, president of the outgoing board of aldermen, was elected on the first count, receiving votes in excess of the quota necessary for election.

Only two of the seven new councilmen were endorsed by the Medford Plan E Civic Association, which had sponsored the new charter and supported eleven candidates. Charles M. Doherty, president of the association, reports, however, that his organization regards a majority of the council as favorable to its objectives and approves the council's selection of James F. Shurtleff, town manager of nearby Saugus, as city manager.

There were nineteen candidates for the six school committee seats and, again, those elected led the poll throughout the count, one of them receiving sufficient first choices for election on the first count. One of the unsuccessful candidates was a write-in, who stood seventh on first choices and picked up about two hundred transfers during later stages of the count so that he was next to the last to be eliminated.

Total votes cast in the councilmanic election numbered 25,355, of which 635, 2.5 per cent, were invalid. Of the 25,351 votes cast for school board, 1,110, or 4.4 per cent, were invalid. In its editorial of November 18, "Some P. R. Observations," the Medford *Mercury* commented that: "P. R. was mastered by the voters. The low number of invalidated ballots in the council count, about 3 per cent, was remarkable for a first election. As a matter of fact, the experts figured that Medfordites would cast about 15 per cent invalid ballots. The record demonstrates that there is nothing inherently difficult about voting under P. R."

Democratic Council Majority Chosen by Lowell

Candidates of the Democratic party obtained a five-to-four majority on the Lowell, Massachusetts, city council at the November P. R. election, to score their first such success since adoption of Plan E in 1943. The vote has been close throughout that period and Democratic candidates had already succeeded in obtaining a majority of the seats on the school committee, also elected by P. R., in 1947.

The 1949 election brought three new faces to the council, all Democrats. One of them, George C. Eliades, who had made the race unsuccessfully in 1947, led the poll. Four of the five Republican councilmen were re-elected, but Woodbury F. Howard, original chairman of the pro-Plan E organization and first mayor under the new charter, was defeated, although he stood ninth by a narrow margin on first choices.

Four new members were elected to the school committee by the 1949 P. R. election, one of them, Arthur L. Eno, Jr., leading the poll. Three incumbents, two Democrats and one Republican, were among the defeated contestants for the six seats.

Approximately 73 per cent, 38,818, of the registered voters went to the polls. There were 49 candidates for council, of whom seven obtained less than 50 first-choice votes. School committee candidates numbered 31.

The Lowell *Sun* covered all aspects of the election with characteristic skill in daily reports during the five

(Continued on page 116)

Taxation and Finance . . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

State-Local Debt Reaches New Peaks

Postwar Increase Follows Substantial War Decline

THE gross debts of state and local governments reached new peaks in 1949, according to the annual compilation of the Bureau of the Census,[1] postwar borrowing having by June 30 more than offset the reduction which occurred during the war years. State debt, amounting to $4,024,000,000, was 14.1 per cent above the earlier peak, established in 1940, while local debt at $16,851,000,000 was 8/10 of 1 per cent above its previous peak, also reached in 1940.

Although state and local debts both increased in the decade 1940-49, the rise in local debt was less rapid than the rise in population during that period, and the state increase just matched the population increase. Local debt amounted to $113 per capita compared with $127 in 1940, while state debt was $27 per capita in both years. Local debt had its per capita peak in 1932, at $134, while in the same year state debt had equalled $23 per capita. State-local debt combined in 1949 was $140 per capita compared with $154 in 1940 and $157 in 1932.

The postwar increase followed a substantial decline during the war period, when labor, materials and supplies for improvements were scarce and state and local borrowing dropped to a low level. State debt dropped 33.1 per cent from 1940 to its low June 30, 1946, while the decline for local debt, covering the same period, was 18.9 per cent. For state-local debt combined, the reduction 1940-46 equalled 21.4 per cent.

The table following, summarized from Census Bureau data, shows the trend for selected years from 1922, illustrating the sharp rise through 1932, the moderate change during the remainder of the decade, the wartime decline and the postwar rise.

State and Local Debt
(Amounts in millions)

Year	*State*	*Local*	*Total*
1922	$1,163	$ 9,093	$10,256
1930	2,444	16,015	18,459
1932	2,896	16,680	19,576
1940	3,526	16,720	20,246
1946	2,358	13,564	15,922
1947	2,978	13,847	16,825
1948	3,722	14,980	18,702
1949	4,024	16,851	20,875

Not all levels of local government show new peak debts for 1949, it may be noted. City debt (including towns, villages, etc.) accounted for $9,496,000,000 of the 1949 total, compared with $9,899,000,000 in 1940 and $9,909,000,000 in 1932. County debt was also below earlier levels, for 1949 amounting to $1,503,000,000 compared with $2,156,000,000 in 1940 and $2,775,000,000 in 1932.

School district debt, on the other hand, was up from 1940 and only just under 1932, the 1949 figure amounting to $2,147,000,000 compared with $2,170,000,000 in 1932 and $1,813,000,000 in 1940. Special district debt, which amounted to only $639,000,000 in 1922 and $1,393,000,000 in 1932, and had reached $2,562,000,000 by 1940, rose to $3,295,000,000 at the 1949 date.

The increase in special district debt in the face of a decline in city-county debt during the 1932-49 period emphasizes something of the extent to which local governments have turned to the special agency device in the last two decades. Where in the period 1932-49 there was a net decrease of $1,685,000,000 in combined city-county debt, special district debt showed a net increase of $1,902,000,000.

---

[1] *Governmental Debt in 1949.* U. S. Bureau of the Census, Governments Division, December 1949.

Many of the special districts were, of course, established to meet needs best handled by special agencies; many others, however, were created to avoid city and other debt limits, to overcome the inadequacies of powers granted to cities or counties by state laws, to take some favored activity "out of politics," or otherwise for reasons reflecting a growing tendency to add new governmental units rather than revamp existing agencies.

Of the gross local debt of $16,851,000,000 in 1949, $7,018,000,000, or 41.6 per cent, was enterprise debt, the obligations incurred for water, light and power, and similar public service enterprises owned by local governments. Enterprise debt accounted for $4,660,000,000 or 49.1 per cent of city debt and for $2,307,000,000 or 70.0 per cent of special district debt, with negligible amounts represented by other local units.

A considerable proportion of enterprise debt imposes no additional burden on property, which through the ad valorem general property tax is the principal support of local government debt otherwise, inasmuch as the public enterprises generally finance their debt retirement and interest from service charges.

Although state and local gross debts are each at new peaks for 1949, the decline in state-local borrowing costs made it possible to carry the debt with a lower annual interest charge. For the fiscal year ending in 1948 (1949 data are not yet reported) state interest costs were estimated at $87,000,000 compared with $114,000,000 in 1932, while the local interest cost was $457,000,000 compared with $726,000,000 in 1932. For cities only, the interest payments were down from $419,000,000 for 1932 to $282,000,000 for 1948.

The state-local debt is, of course, a minor item in comparison with the debt of the federal government in recent years. The public debt of the United States (excluding debt of federal agencies incurred outside the general treasury) amounted at June 30, 1949, to $252,770,000,000. This was an increase of $478,000,000 over the 1948 figure but compared with a peak of $269,422,000,000 in 1946. In 1944 it had been $42,968,000,000 and, in 1922, $22,963,000,000, Where the federal debt had represented 69.1 per cent of total public-state-local debt in 1922, and 68 per cent in 1940, for 1949 it accounted for 92.4 per cent.

Federal in-lieu Payments for Canadian Cities

Current interest in efforts of United States local governments to secure payments from the federal government in lieu of property taxes, to offset expenses incurred for servicing federally owned property or because of the presence of federal installations, raises interest in a recently announced formula whereby Canadian cities will receive annual payments in lieu of taxes from the federal government there.

Estimated to amount to about $5,000,000 annually, the new Canadian in-lieu scheme will necessitate an assessment of federal property throughout, according to a description of the system by the Municipal Finance Officers Association. In the interim, if parliamentary approval is given, cities considered overburdened because of a concentration of federal buildings within their limits will be given partial payments based on 75 per cent of the estimated value of federal holdings.

The Canadian plan will divide cities into two classes—those in which assessed value of federal property is 4 per cent or less of the total assessment roll and those in which federal property assessment is over 4 per cent of the total. In the latter case the Canadian government believes some abnormal loss of tax revenue is suffered because of federal property.

In cities where federal holdings exceed 4 per cent, the government will calculate the percentage of its own assessment to the total assessment and subtract 4 per cent from this. The remaining percentage of the general tax levy for municipal and school purposes represents the "abnormal revenue loss." Of this total, the federal government will make a grant of 75 per cent to the cities.

Full amount of the revenue loss will not be paid since some benefits accrue to a municipality if federal property is located within its boundaries. Then, too, there is always a proportion of tax-exempt property in the municipality not federally owned.

Certain federal properties will be excluded from the assessment survey by the government including naval and air force establishments which are self-contained, all harbors, canals and lands held in connection with the federal government's responsibility for navigable waters, all parks and parklands and all government owned railroads.

Wisconsin Rural Zoning Brings New Tax Sources

Rural zoning in Wisconsin, originally planned as an economy measure, has become a means of developing new sources of taxable wealth, reports the American Society of Planning Officials.

Wisconsin's first rural zoning ordinance was adopted sixteen years ago in an effort to solve the problem of tax-delinquent land, which in some counties comprised as much as a third of the area. Objectives of zoning were to promote economy in road-building and maintenance and in education and other public services, to guide and direct new settlers to good farmlands and to provide for the best use of all land.

Full authority to enact and administer the zoning ordinances was given to local county boards of supervisors. Four classes of land-use districts were set up and town boards were authorized to determine which land would be placed in each. Land was classified for use as restricted forestry districts from which all farms were excluded, private recreation, commercial recreation and unrestricted use.

Lands that were unused, tax-delinquent, of low value or isolated were the first placed in restricted forestry-use districts and excluded from future agriculture use and legal residence. Settlers that were on these lands were encouraged to move to more productive lands or to urban areas. Nearly 800 isolated families have been relocated since the enactment of rural zoning ordinances and in many cases the purchase cost of their holdings has been returned within a year in saving in road or school costs.

An intensive program of seedling planting was carried out on the marginal land. As new forests have developed, a new and valuable use of the adjacent lands and water has come into being—recreation. Many northern Wisconsin towns that previously had no recreational facilities have proved to be valuable vacation properties, bringing new tax revenues to the communities.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Civic Secretaries Meet in St. Paul

Problems of Civic Groups Subject of Round Tables

THE National Association of Civic Secretaries held three "civic clinics" in connection with the National Conference on Government at St. Paul in November. The first, "How to Preserve Good Government," met Sunday evening, November 27, presided over by Forest Frank, executive director of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee and president of the civic secretaries group.

Dr. Hayes A. Richardson, director of welfare in Kansas City, Missouri, described the public relations work of his city. He pointed out that his department does much besides handling relief—operation of legal aid, municipal parole, the city market and, most important, recreational and community services.[1] He described the city's organization of community and neighborhood councils and the use of coordinators in various districts of the city, the Junior Citizens Program with teachers and parents as advisors, and the city's relationships with special groups—civic clubs, chamber of commerce, improvement associations.

Dr. Richardson pointed out that efficiency of municipal operation is not enough, that the city must also establish good public relations with its citizens. "Through a public relations program," he said, "the nonpartisan government seeks to interpret its belief in honest, efficient handling of the people's business through the selection of competent, trained personnel who have the interests of the entire city at heart. . . . Through this interpretation of its program and services the public relations program seeks to secure for itself the support for the continuation of this type of government."

Dr. W. D. Bryant, executive director of community studies in Kansas City, developed the same theme, discussing particularly the aspects of the city's public relations program as carried on through his division.

The talks were followed by general debate and a question and answer period.

Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary of the Municipal League of Toledo, presided over the round table session at 9:20 Monday morning on "Rating and Endorsing Candidates." Rev. H. Ralph Higgins reported on the Grand Rapids "Candidates Rating Scale," distributing a mimeographed memorandum on how the scoring is done by a candidates' committee.[2] Others who described their organizations' methods or discussed this problem included Guy C. Larcom, Jr., director of the Citizens League of Cleveland; Chester J. Morse, executive secretary of the Detroit Citizens League; Edward M. Martin, executive director for civic affairs of the Union League Club of Chicago; Mrs. Theodore Stroud, president of the Des Moines League of Women Voters; L. E. Marlowe of the Richmond Citizens Association; and Mr. Frank.

The 11 A.M. session on Monday,

---

[1] See also "The Children Get a Chance," by Dr. Richardson, the REVIEW, June 1946, page 284.

[2] See "Local Groups Endorse Candidates," the REVIEW, October 1949, page 467.

"The Problem of Money," was also presided over by Mr. Gregg, who described the attempts of his organization to raise funds. Allen H. Seed, Jr., of Minneapolis discussed the ways and means used by organizations there, in Pittsburgh, Chicago and other cities; Mr. Larcom and Mr. Frank discussed the problem as it affected their groups. Most were agreed that personal contacts are generally necessary to raise funds, especially in securing large contributions.

The following officers of the association were elected for the coming year: president, Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary, Municipal League of Toledo; vice presidents, Guy C. Larcom, Jr., director, Citizens League of Cleveland; William R. Pouder, executive secretary, Tennessee Taxpayers Association; and Roy V. Peel, director, Institute of Politics, Indiana University; secretary-treasurer, Hazelle B. Scott, associate executive director, Allegheny County (Pennsylvania) Civic Club.

With the Women Voters

"The President Knew the Answers" is the caption over a photograph in *Action,* organ of the League of Women Voters of the U. S., picturing Miss Anna Lord Strauss, league president, pinning a "Quiz-Whiz" tag on President Truman. Seems that the President knew the answers to the league's quiz, "What's the U. S. to You?" The new leaflet poses some sixteen problems. "The voter in finding the answers," says *Action,* "learns how he can become active in his political party—how he can have some voice in solving today's important public questions." The quiz is a four-color, comic-book style pamphlet on requirements for voting, how candidates are nominated, etc. (ten cents).

Action also reports that over 1,400 league members interested in voters' service work attended twelve regional conferences over the country.

The League of Women Voters of New York State has opened its legislative campaign for permanent personal registration with a bang. A bill to provide "P. P. R." was introduced in both houses of the state legislature on January 2 and league members are hard at work educating the general public as well as party and state officials on the need for this up-to-date method of registering voters. All round the state, league members are presenting a skit on the subject, "It was Good Enough for Grandpa." Working with the league are the Citizens Union of New York City, the New York Young Republican Club, and other civic groups.

Eight goals—needed reforms in the state's prison system—are listed by the League of Women Voters of Georgia in *Pardon Our Return.* The league is supporting legislation to attain these goals in the 1950 special session of the state legislature.

"Citizens' Date Books" are becoming popular with Leagues of Women Voters. The New Jersey league's 1950 edition is now available at 25 cents. Three by four and a half inches, it fits easily into a handbag or a man's pocket. The League of Women Voters of New York City has available *Notes and Votes 1950.* Somewhat larger than the New Jersey edition, it is an excellent addition to one's desk. The Oregon league has also issued a pocket-size date book. All three contain data on primary and regular elections, registration and voting instructions, with lists of public officials. Each allows ample room for jotting down engagements and other memoranda.

One of the latest in league handbooks is *You Are the Government—A*

Handbook for Minnesota Citizens (96 pages, 25 cents), compiled and distributed by the League of Women Voters of Saint Paul. It sets forth election data and describes the work and services of federal, state and local governments. Costs of government are demonstrated by pie charts; other charts depict the setup of the various levels of government.

Government Pattern Connecticut Style (28 pages, 15 cents) has been published by the League of Women Voters of Connecticut "as a public service for the citizens of Connecticut in the hope that it will give them a clearer picture of the development of Connecticut's pattern of government." Mrs. Elizabeth Budd of Wethersfield was largely responsible for its preparation.

* * *

What Civic Groups Are Doing

Worcester's new city council and school board, elected November 8 by proportional representation, were honored at a dinner in December attended by more than 700 local citizens. Plans for Worcester Civic Night, as it was termed, were headed by the Chamber of Commerce; cooperating were the Worcester Plan E Association and other civic groups. Hon. Albert D. Cash, mayor of Cincinnati, made the principal address. The new council, a majority of whose members were nominated and supported by the Plan E Association, took office the first of January when Plan E—council manager government with proportional representation — went into effect.

The elections committee of the Citizens Union of New York City has been busily working on a revision of the state election law as it pertains to the requirements for party organization. It expects to have introduced into the legislature proposed amendments which would correct various flaws in the law. The union urges its members to attend meetings of the city council, board of estimate and city planning commission, as well as those of the board of standards and appeals.

Some one hundred of the towns and cities of Connecticut have established community groups to evaluate the state's schools, reports the Council of State Governments. The movement has been initiated by the state Citizens' Fact-Finding Commission on Education, appointed by Governor Bowles and headed by Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review*. While the commission has engaged professional consultants, it has sought the widest possible participation among local citizens. Results of the survey are to be made known next fall.

* * *

Conferences—Past and Future

The Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association announces the Fifth Conference on Citizenship, to be held May 21-24, at the Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C. The *Report on the Fourth National Conference on Citizenship* (112 pages), held in New York May 14-18, 1949, under the auspices of the NEA and the United States Department of Justice, is now available at the NEA office in Washington at 50 cents.

The Citizenship Clearing House, headed by Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt of the New Jersey Supreme Court, held a New England conference in Boston in November. Invited were professors of government from some 50 New England colleges and others interested in civic education. Purpose of the organization is to place outstanding college graduates in touch with leaders of public opinion in their own communities to train them as political leaders.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Voters Plump for First on List

Study Shows Ballot Place May Determine Elections

THE requirement that names of candidates for each office in a primary election shall be rotated, so as to place each name first on about the same number of ballots, is defended on grounds of fairness and equal opportunity. It is accepted as axiomatic that the first place name will obtain some votes that it would not otherwise receive.

Students of elections seem to accept this fact without investigating to find what proportion of an electorate can be depended upon to vote for the first name they see under each office. One candidate with a scientific bent, however, finding himself involved in a recount, analyzed the votes with this question in mind.

William Tyrrell was a candidate for nomination in the 1948 Republican primary for a seat in the Ohio Senate. He had but one opponent, I. E. Baker, who was declared nominated by a slender margin.

While studying the votes reported from each precinct, with the view to deciding where to ask for a recount, Mr. Tyrrell noted that the person whose name came first usually carried the precinct. This result was obvious only in the precincts where voting machines were used. Elsewhere, the effect of rotation could not be determined without noting the position of the name marked on each ballot. But where machines were used, rotations were made by precincts with the result that Mr. Baker's name was first in 144 voting machine precincts and Mr. Tyrrell's name was first in 128.

The analysis of the votes shows that, even with only two names from which to select, first place is important. Mr. Tyrrell reports: "In the 144 voting machine precincts where Mr. Baker's name appeared on the top line, 7,262 votes were cast. . . . Out of this vote, Mr. Baker received 4,780 votes, or 61.5 per cent of the total, while I received 2,982 votes (38.5 per cent). . . . In the 128 precincts where my name appeared in the top line, 6,218 votes were cast. . . . Out of these I received 3,601 votes or 59.5 per cent of the total while Mr. Baker received 2,617 votes or 40.5 per cent. . . . We found that 8,381 votes, or 59.99 per cent of the total were cast for the name appearing in the top line, while only 5,599 votes, or 40.01 per cent were cast for the name appearing in the second line.

"In observing the number of precincts carried by the two opposing candidates, the importance of the position of the candidate's name is even more apparent. Out of the 144 precincts where Mr. Baker's name appeared in the top line, 128 precincts (88.8 per cent) were carried by Mr. Baker, fourteen precincts (9.72 per cent) were carried by me and two precincts (1.38 per cent) were tied.

"On the other hand, in the 128 precincts where my name appeared in the top line, 103 precincts (80.47 per cent) were carried by me, 19 (14.84 per cent) were carried by Mr. Baker and six (4.69 per cent) were tied. Out of the 272 voting machine precincts *231 (84.92 per cent) were carried by the candidate whose name appeared in the top line,* only 33 (12.12 per cent) were carried by the candidate whose name appeared in the second line, and eight (2.96 per cent) were tied."[1]

More data on this aspect of voting behavior should be collected. There may be too many variables to form definite conclusions concerning the proportion of voters who are addicted to this form of blind voting. Conceivably, the proportion will be found to vary inversely with the importance — as viewed by the voters — of the office, or with the amount of publicity given to the contest. The extent of this chance marking of ballots may also vary with the total number of offices for which nominations are to be made.

It may be assumed that each participant in a primary election favors the nomination of some candidate for one or more of the offices. But many of the names on our prevalent long ballots elicit no spark of recognition from a large proportion of the voters. They mark an X or pull the lever preceding the first name on the list of candidates for the office. Admittedly, blind voting may take other forms, such as picking names suggesting an approved national origin.

Before we ask for a larger turnout of eligible voters at elections, or urge compulsory voting laws, we need to learn more about the voting habits of those who do cast their ballots.

Howard White
Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budgets

Another Workmanlike Budget. The League Analyzes Pittsburgh's 1950 School Budget. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter*, November 1949. 5 pp.

Milwaukee's Local Governments Need Analysis Throughout the Year. Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, December 3, 1949. 2 pp.

"Performance Budgets" Point the Way to Better Budget Control. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment*, December 15, 1949. 2 pp.

Statements Made at the City of Chicago Public Budget Hearing, Sanitary District of Chicago Public Budget Hearing, Chicago Park District Public Budget Hearing, Chicago Board of Education Public Budget Hearing. Chicago, Civic Federation, *Bulletin*, December 9, 13, 17 and 22, 1949. 8, 5, 4 and 5 pp. respectively.

Council-Manager Plan

Council-Manager Government in Wisconsin. Arguments For and Against Manager Plan, How Council-Manager Type Government Works. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer*, November 1949. 8 pp.

The Council-Manager Plan. A Summary of the Major Arguments Pro and Con. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, December 6, 1949. 5 pp.

Crime

Bringing the Criminal to Justice. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government*, December 15, 1949. 3 pp.

Debt

Bonded Indebtedness of the State of New Mexico and Its Governmental Units. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *Tax Bulletin*, December 1949. 9 pp.

Capital Improvements and City Debt. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, October 1949. 4 pp.

---

[1] Tyrrell was finally declared to have won the Republican nomination, but was defeated in the general election by his Democratic rival.

Maryland State Debt and Public Improvements. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* December 7, 1949. 2 pp.

Education

Pay For Teachers. "We cannot afford to go on budgeting so little for teachers' salaries." Toronto, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* December 1949. 5 pp.

Public School Expenses and State Aid in Connecticut's 169 Towns and Cities. Including Data for the School Year 1948-1949. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, December 1949. 33 pp., tables.

Supervision of School Finance. A Study of Educational Administration in Kentucky. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1949. 19 pp., tables.

Firemen

About Reducing Hours for Firemen. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* December 21, 1949. 4 pp.

Health

Study the Alternatives for Coordinated Health Service in Milwaukee County! Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* December 15, 1949. 2 pp.

Federal Reorganization

The Hoover Commission Reports (I and II). By Herman Finer. New York 27, Columbia University, Academy of Political Science, *Political Science Quarterly,* September and December, 1949. 15 and 17 pp. respectively.

Judicial Councils

Judicial Councils. (Including charts summarizing provisions of state laws regarding membership, compensation, expenses and staff.) Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1949. 35 pp.

Land Use

Industrial Land Supply in the Kalamazoo Area. Four Fringe Townships. By Samuel V. Bennett and Thomas W. Froom. Kalamazoo, W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research, 1949. 13 pp., charts, tables.

Libraries

People Without Books. An Analysis of Library Services in Mississippi. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1950. 47 pp.

Liquor Control

Municipal Liquor Dispensaries. Minneapolis, Municipal Reference Bureau and League of Minnesota Municipalities, 1949. 28 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

What Metropolitan Legislation Means to Boston. Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* December 13, 1949. 4 pp.

Mining

Strip Mining in Kentucky. Good or Bad for Kentucky? Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1949. 54 pp., illus.

Parking

Off-Street Parking. Newark, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Memo,* December 16, 1949. 2 pp.

Public Records

Public Records Management. (Guide posts and goals for administrators and others in installation and maintenance of effective records programs with selected bibliography.) By Philip C. Brooks. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1949. 19 pp. $1.

Public Welfare

New Jersey's Institutional Needs. An Appraisal of 101 Construction Projects Proposed by the Department of Institutions and Agencies. (By a committee of industrial building engineers which included A. B. Heiser, chief draftsman, American Can Company; E. I. Merrill, plant engineer, Johns-Manville Corporation; and R. W. Doering, advisory engineer, Westinghouse Electric Corporation.) Trenton, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, 1949. 46 pp., tables.

Secret Sessions

When Should Public Bodies Meet in Private? Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* December 8, 1949. 4 pp.

Taxation and Finance

The "A B C" of Fall River's Tax Rate and Budget. Fall River, Massachusetts, The Taxpayers Association, *Bulletin,* December 1949. 5 pp.

Indiana Counties — Property Taxes. Indianapolis, Indiana Taxpayers Association, December 1949. 8 pp., tables.

Major California Taxes. A Digest of California's Tax Laws. Los Angeles, Chamber of Commerce, State and Local Government Department, 1949. 28 pp.

Property Tax Rates of Missouri Municipalities and Counties — Third Annual Tabulation. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, December 1949. 5 pp., tables.

Rising State Expenditures. Little Rock, Arkansas Public Expenditure Council, *You and Your Government,* December 1949. 5 pp., tables.

Tax Calendar for Minneapolis and Minnesota. Index to Tax and License Information Most Frequently Needed. Minneapolis, Taxpayers Association, 1949. 12 pp.

Veterans

Cash Bonuses for Veterans. A Survey. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Outlook,* December 1949. 4 pp.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 100)

section, a similar commission has been established in Howard County. The latter immediately initiated a survey of school facilities and needs. The Baltimore County Planning Commission has developed transportation plans and subdivision regulation during the past year. The St. Mary's County Planning Commission has concentrated on zoning and land-use problems.

Wisconsin Considers County-Wide Assessment

Alfred R. Ludvigsen, chairman of the Wisconsin State Legislative Council, recently asserted that action must be taken to reduce the inefficiency and inequity of the present local property assessment procedure. He is seeking "major changes in the method of selecting assessors and improvement in their valuation procedures." He commented, "We find inequity in the assessment of property so common that it looms as one of the greatest weaknesses in our tax system."

Many small tax districts elect their assessors on a part-time basis. Proposals to enlarge the areas to a county-wide basis and to appoint assessors under the merit system have failed up to the present time.

County Road Association Succeeds in Michigan

The County Road Association of Michigan, whose membership consists of county highway administrators, has succeeded in raising standards in the secondary road program, informing the public on highway needs and coordinating the activities of state and county highway agencies, according to an article in *Better Roads.*

The association was formed in 1918 and all 83 county road commissions are now members. Counties pay from $300 per year upward for membership in return for which they receive technical assistance through expert counsel and advice, highway development information through bulletins, training through special courses and schools and better representation before departments of the state government.

Books in Review

Congress on Trial. The Legislative Process and the Administrative State. By James MacGregor Burns. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1949. ix, 224 pp. $3.

Professor Burns, now in Williams College, served in recent years as legislative assistant to a congressman and in various other capacities which gave him opportunities for first-hand observation of the workings of Congress.

He begins with a photographically vivid picture of the typical representative dominated by home district considerations to the detriment of his devotion to either his national party's concepts or the welfare of the nation. He recites Congress's difficulties of getting on with business, the feebleness of leadership and its dependence on the president to bring results from chaos. Much of the complaint is, of course, long familiar but here comes freshly documented.

The remedy which the author leads up to, with an undertone of hopelessness, is to reorganize our parties into some likeness to the British parties with their dominant central committees whose right to select and discipline candidates from all parliamentary districts even includes power to expel from party membership.

Neglecting to question the workability of that setup in so vast, far-flung and diverse a population as that of the United States, Professor Burns proposes that central party management here use party funds and federal patronage to enforce a requirement of central approval of candidates and respect for centrally determined party doctrines. "Real control of public policy would pass to the central party leadership. . . . The Senate and House chiefs, including committee chairmen, would be party agents loyal to the national party platform. . . . It would change Congress even further from a policy-making to a policy-ratifying body."

But in the next breath he admits his scheme might do more harm than good "unless it was coupled with participation in everyday politics by average citizens on an unprecedented scale." Thus, by a return to the practices of Boss Platt in New York State (or Hitler?), we could make congressional operations neat and orderly and swift!

But such a restoration of what Theodore Roosevelt's Progressives called "invisible government," transferring pressures and importunities to unrecorded sessions of party managers in smoke filled rooms, would be turning back the hands of the clock! And the proposal to transfer patronage to unofficial authorities so that they can at public expense entrench themselves against dislodgement is unconscionable.

Any scheme based on wholesale alteration of human nature of voters is unsound; the National Municipal League programs in state and local government are based on human nature as it is, cutting our cloth accordingly.

Let's find the solution within the constitutional structure and develop responsibility there without complicating the task by creation of an unofficial "third house!"

In 1917 I condensed my own notion of a remedy into a letter to President Wilson[1] thus:

"The president to handpick from both houses of Congress an 'executive committee' of members who are congenial politically, territorially representative, experienced and possessed of some natural leadership in Congress. This committee to meet weekly with the president, as the Cabinet does.

---

[1] See also "What's the Matter with Congress?", the REVIEW, November 1924, page 621.

"Its members would stand high in Congress by virtue of the president's confidence and backing, their inside knowledge and their ability to command expert departmental help. They would formulate the budget and the legislative program, fight for 'administration measures' on the floor of Congress, and constitute an informal ministry."

He called it "thoroughly worth thinking about" but did not move on it.

I still agree with myself as then expressed, although I know less than Professor Burns does about Congress!

R.S.C.

Municipal Finance Administration. Published for the Institute for Training in Municipal Administration. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1949. xiv, 491 pp. $7.50.

This fourth edition includes four revised chapters exhibiting the best known practices of controlling municipal revenues and expenditures. The volume is one of eight on municipal administration, constituting a massive contribution to the practical information which this association makes to the art of government.

Check List on How Cities Can Cut Costs. Practical Suggestions for Constructive Economy in Local Government. By Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1949. 52 pp. $1.

This pamphlet contains 542 practical ideas for constructive economy in local government, based largely on suggestions by some 50 municipal officials and specialists in fields of municipal activity. Each suggestion takes the form of a question which indicates a generally accepted standard, procedure or method. Questions are arranged according to municipal activities to enable department heads to make ready use of the list. The police list, for instance, has 50 questions which can be used to appraise the police department by adding up the yeses and noes.

The guide is not only one which municipal officials will find most useful but also can be of aid to citizen groups interested in ascertaining the efficiency of their local government.

Constructive Government in Ohio. The Story of the Administration of Governor Myers Y. Cooper 1929-1930. By Harvey Walker. Columbus, Ohio, History Press, 1948. 249 pp. $3.

Superintendent of the budget during Governor Cooper's administration, Dr. Walker was well prepared to write the biography of Ohio's 51st governor. The book is not only a history of the administration but also an analytical study of state government which in most aspects has not changed since that time. As such it is the only detailed account of Ohio's present governmental structure. Weaknesses are revealed and reforms suggested.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Accounting

Application of Cost Accounting to Budgeting. By Gerald D. Brighton. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1949. 8 pp. 50 cents.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Education

Education for Veterans' Children. Albany 1, New York State Education Department, Bureau of Publications, 1949. 15 pp. illus.

The State Education Department—Organization, Services, Functions. Albany, University of the State of New York Press, 1949. 8 pp. chart.

Housing

Houses for Canadians. A Study of the Housing Problems in the Toronto Area. By Humphrey Carver. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1948. xiv, 156 pp. $2.50.

International Relations

International Human Rights: Parts I and II. By Arthur N. Holcombe, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., and others. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University, School of Law, *Law and Contemporary Problems,* Summer and Autumn, 1949. 132 and 105 pp. respectively. $1.25 each.

Legislation

Colorado Laws Passed in 1949 of Interest to Cities and Towns. Boulder, Colorado Municipal League, 1949. 54 pp.

Planning

Chicago Rebuilds by Plan. The Role of the Chicago Plan Commission in Redevelopment and Housing. By Carl L. Gardner. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* November 1949. 6 pp.

Taxation and Finance

State Tax Legislation in 1949. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* November-December 1949. 28 pp. 25 cents.

Text Books

Bates and Field's State Government (third edition). By Oliver P. Field, Pressly S. Sikes and John E. Stoner. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949. ix, 692 pp. $4.50.

Documents of American History (fifth edition). Edited by Henry Steele Commager. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949. xxiii, 759 pp. $5.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. February Theme: **Know and Obey Traffic Laws;** March Theme: **Motor Manners.** Chicago 6, National Safety Council, 1950. Variously paged.

Building Traffic Safety into Residential Developments. Chicago 6, National Committee for Traffic Safety, 1949. 40 pp. $1 (discounts on quantity orders).

Transit

Wings for the Transit. Maps by Aerial Photogrammetry. Brooklyn 2, New York, Lockwood, Kessler & Bartlett, 1949. 12 pp. illus.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 103)

days taken by the council count and the five subsequent days taken by the school committee count. The day previous to the election it urged its readers to be sure to vote. "The next two years in the economic life of the city of Lowell are going to be just as important as any other two-year period," it said.

Toward the end of the count, in an editorial titled, "The Long, Anxious Wait," the *Sun* commented: "While the suspense may be nerve-wracking, all candidates realize that the P. R. method of counting is the most precise there is, leaving no room for error. It is in sharp contrast with the method used under the other charters which the people and candidates of Lowell, from past experience, remember as being fraught with errors, inaccuracies and, on many occasions, violent protests."

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

ARCH 1950 VOLUME XXXIX, NO.

161

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.
PERIODICAL DEPT.

Where Caucus Is Still King .... *Editorial*
Maine Has a New Export .... *T. E. Murphy*
Long Machine Foiled Again .... *Bryan Bell*
Small Manager Cities Thrive .... *Stuart A. MacCorkle*
Efficient Service Not Enough .... *Edwin O. Stene*
Broad Reorganization Urged in Connecticut 140
Cuyahoga County Commission Organizes 146
Presidential Election Change Passes Senate 149
New York Transit Revenues Drop 154
How One City Got a Manager Charter 157
University Service to Governments Grows 161

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR
ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.,
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
JAMES K. COLEMAN, *South Carolina*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
JAMES GIRAND, *Arizona*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN, *Maryland*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
HAROLD W. SANFORD, *New York*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
JAMES P. TAYLOR, *Vermont*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
HARVEY WALKER, *Ohio*
YORK Y. WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *President*
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J., *Vice President*
J. W. Clise, Seattle, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York, *Treasurer*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
John E. Bebout, *Assistant Secretary*
George H. Hallett, Jr., *Associate Secretary*
William Collins, *Finance Chairman*

COUNCIL

Richard S. Childs, New York, *Chairman*

William Anderson, Minneapolis
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
Frederick L. Bird, New York
Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati
William Collins, Yonkers, N. Y.
L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Mo.
James A. Cunningham, Chicago
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
C. A. Dykstra, Los Angeles
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
B. H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Clarence Francis, Bronxville, N. Y.
Arnold Frye, New York
Lloyd E. Graybiel, San Francisco
Harrison S. Hires, Berwyn, Pa.
Robert W. Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
John S. Linen, New York
Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis
Mrs. Thomas H. Mahony, Boston
D. K. Pfeffer, New York
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Walter M. Phillips, Philadelphia
Lawson Purdy, New York
Harry W. Schacter, Louisville, Ky.
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Henry L. Shattuck, Boston
George S. Van Schaick, New York
Richard Weil, Jr., New York
A. C. (Jack) White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXIX, No. 3 **Total Number 397**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for March 1950

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS 118

EDITORIAL COMMENT 119

MAINE HAS A NEW EXPORT .... *T. E. Murphy* 121

LONG MACHINE FOILED AGAIN .... *Bryan Bell* 125

SMALL MANAGER CITIES THRIVE .... *Stuart A. MacCorkle* 130

EFFICIENT SERVICE NOT ENOUGH .... *Edwin O. Stene* 136

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 140

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 146

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ...... *George H. Hallett, Jr., and Wm. Redin Woodward* 149

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 154

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 157

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 161

BOOKS IN REVIEW 166

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Index to Legal Periodicals,* the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Copyright March 1950 by
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

County Manager Charter Digest

The League has published a 65-page loose-leaf mimeographed book containing (1) a review of the permissions available in seventeen state constitutions for adoption of county manager structure, (2) a digest of the *Model County Charter* of the National Municipal League, (3) texts of the permissive constitutional provisions, synopses of the optional laws in seven states, (4) digests of the charters of fifteen counties in eight states with county managers recognized by the International City Managers' Association, and (5) digests of six county charters having appointive executives with inadequate legal powers.

The *Digest of County Manager Charters,* to which new pages will be added as the plan spreads, follows the precedents of Beard's *Digest of Short Ballot Charters* and Crane's *Digest of City Manager Charters* which are now out of print but which played a useful part in the early days of the municipal council-manager movement. (Price: $2.00.)

Model City Charter in Japanese

The League's *Model City Charter* has been translated into Japanese by Kuraji Ogura, executive secretary of the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research, and published serially in the October, November and December issues of *Local Government,* magazine of the Local Autonomy Research Institute.

Forbes in U. S. Purchasing Post

Russell Forbes, secretary of the League from 1928 to 1933 and authority on governmental purchasing and supply, has been appointed deputy administrator of the General Services Administration, U. S. Office of Public Information and Reports.

Mr. Forbes was leader of the Hoover Commission task force which made a study of government purchasing and supply practices, the work of which resulted in creation of the General Services Administration. In announcing his appointment Jess Larson, administrator of General Services, described him as "the best qualified man in the United States to take on this assignment."

Following his service as League secretary, Mr. Forbes served in 1934-1941 as the first commissioner of purchase for the city of New York, saving vast amounts of money in organizing and directing every phase of the supply problem for all city, county and borough agencies. From 1941 to 1944 he was vice president and general manager of Air Cargo, Inc. Prior to assuming this position he organized the Government Requirements Branch of the Office of Price Administration. For the last several years Mr. Forbes has been engaged in consultant work.

Peel Heads Census Bureau

Roy Victor Peel, former director of research for the National Municipal League when the League collaborated on the establishment of the Institute of Politics at Indiana University, has been appointed director of the Bureau of the Census. The directorship has been vacant since the late J. C. Capt retired last

(Continued on page 139)

PERIODICAL DEPT.

Editorial Comment

Where Caucus Is Still King

IN THE January number of the REVIEW attention was called to the trick rules by which minority dictatorship controls Tammany Hall. Another striking example of minority dictatorship is afforded by the Republican caucus in the New Jersey State Senate.

Party caucuses in legislative bodies are common and the rule that on selected measures members not excused for special reasons are bound by vote of the majority of the caucus is not uncommon. The New Jersey rule, however, is a much more efficient device for insuring control by a very small minority in a legislative body. Here is how it works.

The New Jersey Senate consists of 21 members, one elected from each county regardless of size. There are fourteen Republican and seven Democratic senators. Passage of bills and confirmation of appointments require eleven votes, a majority of the whole number of senators. Under the self-imposed rule of the Republican senators no bill or name can be reported to the floor of the Senate by a committee unless released by affirmative vote of eleven Republican Senators in a secret caucus. This means that no bill or nomination by the governor opposed by four Republican senators can be acted on by the Senate. The seven Democrats and dissenting Republicans, possibly ten of them (or a total of seventeen) simply don't count.

In view of the wide variations in the populations of the counties 15 per cent of the people can elect a majority of the senators. The effect of the caucus rule this year is to enable four Republican senators, representing counties with about 3 per cent of the population, to veto any action, however strong the support may be from the governor, the Assembly or a majority of the Senate.

Of course, so drastic a veto power has more than negative importance. As a bargaining weapon it enables the minority to force the governor and a majority of its colleagues to go along on appointments or measures it wants as the price for withholding the veto on other vital matters.

The new state constitution was based on the theory that the governor should be the responsible chief administrator. It provided for the reorganization of state administration in not more than twenty principal departments and contemplated that the heads of departments through the governor's appointing and removal power would be responsible to him. However, the constitution provided for advice and consent of the Senate for appointments.

When legislation to carry out administrative reorganization ordered by the constitution was framed, the Senate insisted on advice and consent not only for department heads but also for many subordinates as well, thus breaking the lines of responsibility between department heads and those under them.

Moreover, advice and consent of the Senate has been twisted into giving *individual senators* an affirmative share in the appointing power. This is accomplished by the caucus rule and by the old device of senatorial courtesy, which denies confirmation to an appointee "personally obnoxious" to the senator from his county. Because of the caucus rule, the governor was unable last year to get confirmation of his reappointment of the highway commissioner despite reliable reports that a substantial majority of the senators were prepared to vote for him if his name ever reached the floor. The handful of small county senators who blocked the name did so because they wanted to force appointment of someone who might be more "cooperative."

The constitutional provision giving 15 per cent of the people control of the Senate would seem to be a sufficient safeguard for rural or small county interests without reducing the base of control to 3 per cent or even less by private party arrangement. Statesmanship would seek to minimize, not exaggerate, the undemocratic effects of constitutional inequality of representation. The basic principle of our system is the right of the majority to govern, subject to certain restraints in favor of the rights and essential interests of minorities.

We look with abhorrence on the trickery by which Russia, behind an elaborate facade of "representative" bodies, puts ultimate power in the hands of a few who act in secret and are often not clearly identified. What is the essential difference between the Russian system and a system whereby any four out of fourteen senators, without identifying themselves to the public, can in secret session control the making of laws and appointments?

Slow Progress in Counties

WHERE is the noble discontent that should lead the natives of "the dark continent of American politics" toward modern county government?

New York has been offering its counties a bewildering array of choices of ready made forms for fifteen years but only one, Monroe (Rochester), has stirred. In Ohio no county has successfully taken advantage of the 1933 amendment permitting homemade county charters. The right of Maryland's counties to adopt new charters lay unused from 1915 to 1948.

Even though counties have been much slower than cities to set their governmental houses in order, there has been some basic progress toward simplified and unified structures. Four states—Missouri, North Dakota, Oregon and Washington—have adopted permissive amendments in the last decade, bringing the total number of counties which, with or without legislation, could adopt the manager plan to 1,303 out of 3,050.

Basic materials to guide citizens and officials toward the improvement of county government are scarce. The League's new *Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws,* described on page 118 of this issue, will be of some help in providing a short-cut knowledge of what some forward looking counties have accomplished.

Maine Has a New Export

University sets up course to meet rapidly increasing demand for trained men to run towns and villages.

By **T. E. MURPHY**[*]

THERE is a mild but definitely Yankee revolution going on in the state of Maine. This frugal and conservative state is kicking over tradition by abolishing politics in town government. There are now more than 100 Maine towns and cities that are managed by technicians instead of by selectmen chosen at the polls and the number is growing by the month.

Furthermore, Maine is not leaving it to happenstance to find the trained people to take over the reins. The University of Maine has started a complete four-year undergraduate course, leading to a degree, to turn out men steeped in the ABC's of building roads and filter beds, collecting taxes and administering public relief. It is the first of its kind in the country. Fifty students are taking the course. So far the demand from villages and towns for these trained youngsters far exceeds the supply.

Maine's notable break with the tradition of local politics stems from the Down Easter's well known hatred of waste and tender regard for the tax dollar. Uncollected taxes, unpaid bills, unpaved roads and a Pandora's box full of troubles are the usual lot of a new town manager so that, as Professor Edward F. Dow remarked, he might better be called "receiver" than "manager."

Maine had always shown more than a passing interest in the council-manager form of local government, so that there was a favorable climate when in 1945 a bunch of veterans, looking at their home towns with new, frank eyes, suggested to Governor Horace Hildreth that something be done toward training managers.

Professor Dow and associates got their heads together and devised a curriculum that combines both the arts and technologies—four or more years of hard work that includes training in everything from double-entry bookkeeping to how to get along with a die-hard selectman who doesn't like managers.

The first graduate of the course was Paul Hermann of Brookline, Massachusetts, who immediately became the first town manager of Bethel, Vermont.

Hermann, like all other aspirants, had to do a great deal more than classroom work to qualify. Each must serve a period of internship under a town or city manager and must initiate and complete a major civic project during that time. Hermann served in Houlton, Maine, and his major project was the preparation of traffic and zoning ordinances. Other municipal interns have made complete revision of town ordinances, charted streets and sewers, completed economic surveys and even written the town's annual report.

---

[*] Mr. Murphy has been editorial writer for the Hartford *Courant* since 1945. Previously he did public relations work and was for several years editor of the *Journal* of the Connecticut State Labor Department. He has written for various national magazines, including *The Reader's Digest, Saturday Evening Post* and *Coronet.*

In his freshman year in college the incipient manager studies trigonometry, algebra and geometry, as well as languages and the social sciences. As a sophomore he gets a good bit of accounting, surveying, chemistry, statistics and American government. As a junior he plunges into bacteriology, highway construction, sanitary engineering, personnel management and public opinion, among other things.

In his final year he concentrates on sanitary engineering, public administration and government.

At the end of four years each of these young men has more know-how about running a town or city than a barrelful of mayors and aldermen.

Take Warren Knowles of Berwick, Maine, as an example. Warren is 26 and got his degree in civil engineering last year. He still looks like a high school student and it is easy to imagine the raised eyebrows of the town burghers of Berwick when they got their first look at this slight youth with the high forehead and the humorously tolerant mouth.

But they knew a bargain when they saw it. Where else could you get a road builder, tax expert, accountant, sanitation engineer, all in one package, and for less than $5,000 a year? They snapped at Warren and he's been running the town of Berwick, population 2,100, since then.

Now Berwick is like Boston, Butte and Buffalo. Any differences are in degree, not kind. So young Mr. Knowles faced in miniature the kind of housekeeping mess that exists in most American towns and cities. If anything, in Berwick, things were probably a little worse. More than 30 per cent of the real estate taxes were uncollected and some tax bills had the dust of fourteen years on them. Water bills were ignored by a good proportion of the town's residents. Welfare funds were being distributed on a good-time-Charlie basis, the valuations on real estate in the town were weirdly out of line with real values and the town was within $1,000 of its legal debt limit.

Topping the whole mess was the unhappy fact that three of the town's selectmen were bitterly "anti-manager," three were in favor of the new government, while the seventh straddled the fence.

One Man's Accomplishments

Knowles took off his coat. Before the end of the year more than $5,600 of the $7,300 back taxes had been dragged into the town treasury. When the laggards learned that the new manager meant business they paid their water bills too.

Selectmen, or some of them, had the habit of bringing people in off the street and ordering the payment of relief funds. "Here's Bill Smith; he could use ten dollars to tide him over." It was great for the selectman's personal popularity but tough on the town budget.

Knowles started to investigate all cases and found that a good proportion of reliefers were residents of other towns and even other states. He got refunds.

The town had an appropriation

for a new road. Knowles planned it and built it without outside help. He made an agreement with the neighboring town of South Berwick to pool "cold patch" manufacture, cutting the cost of this road building material in half. When the town hall needed a coat of paint he sent out for competitive bids and got the job done for $155 less than the original estimate.

Town food orders were being filled by one grocery. Knowles shopped around and saw that the business was distributed to all groceries that charged reasonable prices.

Then he set out to revamp the police department. Conditions had been so disorderly at dances held at the town hall that state police had threatened to revoke the license for dances. A new crop of officers cracked down on the trouble makers and trouble from that score ended.

A local attorney representing an estate came to the selectmen and made a deal. The testator owed the town $2,100 on back taxes. The lawyer offered $1,000 to call quits and the selectmen, or a majority of them, were ready to say yes.

Knowles would have no part of it. "The estate owes $2,100 and it's going to pay $2,100. I'm turning it over to the town's attorney for collection."

The $2,100 was collected and went into the treasury.

In the first ten months of administering the town's affairs Knowles has already saved triple the amount of his salary. The town is slowly crawling out of the red and plans are now being made for a new water filtration plant.

Already a good proportion of the town's 2,100 people are on Knowles' side. One well informed townsman writes a weekly letter to the local newspaper exposing the chicanery of the politicians and pointing out the good work that is being done.

The troubles that Warren Knowles has bumped into managing the town of Berwick are not precisely typical, but they are common enough for the university to take cognizance of them in training managers.

Managers Relate Experience

Each year experienced managers come to the university and sit down with students and tell them the practical facts of public life. This is no academic discussion but a down-to-earth recital of the seamy and unsavory situations that must be faced.

"What are you going to do when you find the first selectman is renting his truck to the town?" one of them may ask. "That's a situation I had to face and here's what I did about it."

Or, "You'll probably run into a case where the powerful citizen in town is getting all the hardware contracts. Here's the way to block that—."

In addition many of the students sit in once a year at the so-called Ridley clinic, conducted by Clarence E. Ridley, director of the International City Managers' Association. Here they learn through case studies why city manager governments have sometimes succumbed to political assaults. Recently Ridley told them: "The essentials of a good manager are knowledge, experience, intelligence, self-confidence and skill in human relations."

New managers frequently bring their own problems back to these meetings at the school.

Before the imprimatur of approval is put on a student, telling the world he's competent to run a town, he's got to crawl through a gruelling examination. He may, for example, be called on to set up an organizational chart for a complete revamping of the mythical town of Metro. Or he may be called on to spend on paper some seventeen million dollars for a new bridge and must tell who should draw the plans, decide on the material, the location of the structure. When he has done that he will have to submit complete details on financing.

Here is a sample question, verbatim: "The city has reached its debt limit. What policy would you follow in financing current expenses and still provide for the additional outlays which you have advocated?"

Graduates in Demand

No wonder these well trained technicians are in demand. Two of them, 25-year-old Bernard Marsh of Old Town and 22-year-old Vance Dearborn, even started managing towns before they graduated. Both were war veterans and by arrangement with college authorities they spent part time at their studies and part time straightening out town affairs.

Several graduates are managing two communities, or three, or a town and the village government within it, where insufficient funds and population make a full-time manager for each impractical. All of them report back to the university and the refrain is identical: "Not enough hours in the day."

Many of them are on the go from seven in the morning until midnight. In the summer they supervise road construction and repairs, attend civic meetings. In the winter they have the job of snow removal. And winter and summer their evenings are usually taken up with people looking for poor relief or people with complaints.

As one manager wrote to Professor Dow recently: "I am close to people, on a first-name basis. The one thing you can't do is pass the buck. You can't delay making decisions or ignore the taxpayers. You've got to make your own decisions and make them fast."

In this respect as in many others these college trained managers are not unlike practical politicians. There is this essential difference though: problems are decided on the basis of knowledge and experience, and not by the hoary method of favoritism. One manager recently listed 82 distinct activities in which he is engaged as part of his regular job.

Like most professors, Professor Dow is conservative in estimating the impact of this training school. "The requirements are so rigorous that a flood of applications is not anticipated," he says. "Of course it is evident that not all graduates will become or will remain managers. But the course is not so highly specialized as to preclude entry into business pursuits or professions such as law. It is our hope, though, that

(Continued on page 129)

ODICAL DEPT.

Long Machine Foiled Again

New Orleans voters overwhelmingly frustrate governor's grab for power by reelecting Morrison and his ticket.

By **BRYAN BELL***

ON JANUARY 24 the citizens of New Orleans flocked to the polls to reelect their young reform mayor, deLesseps "Chep" Morrison, by a crushing two to one majority. Over 90 per cent of the registered voters cast their ballots, setting a new record—20 per cent greater than that of any previous election—and reflecting the intense spirit generated by the current political situation in the south's largest city.

The overwhelming victory of the Morrison administration was a clear endorsement of the type of government which New Orleans has received for the last four years. An effective merit system for city personnel, development of a spectacular recreational department, the first civic building program in two decades and institution of a new budgetary and accounting system are just a few of the many changes and improvements introduced.

The election was, to a high degree, a personal tribute to the city's 38-year-old mayor. This remarkable young man has not only served as mayor during four eventful years and been the standard bearer for a political faction which threatens to disintegrate the old-line machine but he has also been prominent on a national and international level. He has served as president of the American Municipal Association and travelled through Latin America drumming up trade for the port of New Orleans. At home his personal popularity arises as much from the fact that he has gone swimming in city pools with the kids and charmed many a lady's club with effective oratory as from solid work at city hall.

Mayor Morrison and his party have offered a convincing refutation of the political aphorism that the life of a reform administration is one term.

While clearly a positive victory for the Morrison ticket, the overwhelming majority which it rolled up at the polls and the consequent small vote accorded the opposition was a definite slap at Earl Long and a public manifestation of the city's resentment of the governor.

Morrison's opponent in the mayoralty race was Charles C. Zatarain, an amiable business man whose past political record offered little ground for attack and little for praise. Zatarain, who started as an independent candidate campaigning under the slogan "Zat's right," was endorsed by the "Old Regular" faction, which dominated New Orleans politics for two decades prior to Morrison's first election in 1946 but which is disintegrating in the face of a scarcity of spoils and weak and divided leadership. He was also endorsed by the Long organization in New Orleans and although he often proclaimed his independence he became known as "Long's boy." And this for him meant predestined defeat.

---

*Mr. Bell, business man of New Orleans, is active in political and civic affairs in his city, serving on various committees of the New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research. He is a graduate of the School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton and is working at night for an M.A. in political science at Tulane University.

Voters About Face

The bitterness against the governor, now so apparent in the city, has developed only within the last two years. When the brother of the Kingfish ran for his present post in 1947 he carried the city by 40,000 votes in the second primary. But the ill-advised and unjust series of bills passed by the legislature in 1948, designed to distort and control the city's government, caused one of the most spectacular political about-faces in Louisiana history.

New Orleans, like most large cities, suffers from the antagonism which legislators from a rural area have for a metropolitan center. It has a disproportionately small number of members in the state legislature and pays a disproportionately large amount of taxes. But its greatest problem arises from the fact that the Louisiana constitution allows extensive changes and adjustments in the government of the city, no matter how unjust or damaging they may be, to be made merely on the prevailing political whims of a majority of the upstate representatives. As a result, New Orleans government has almost been forced into a state of collapse several times.

After the Civil War a carpetbagger governor required the city to put up funds to support a statewide police force which was under his personal control and, when contributions became delinquent, the power of the city to pass ordinances was revoked. Huey Long forced proud New Orleans to its knees by gaining control of the police, requiring that only those candidates he had endorsed could be put on the public payroll and reducing city revenues to such a disastrous degree that bankruptcy proceedings were imminent. But it remained for Earl Long to set a record for punitive and vindictive legislation, designed to hand the city back to the spoilsmen and imperil its economic and political progress for decades to come.

This was done by passage of more than two hundred bills covering every phase of governmental activity from the responsibility for dog-catching to the power of the mayor.[1] Revenues were reduced and mandatory expenses increased so that the city was subjected to a financial squeeze-play in the face of rising costs. It was burdened with a new administrative system, clumsy and self-contradictory. Civil service was endangered. The non-political and efficient control of port facilities was threatened. And a whole series of bills were passed which were a thinly disguised attempt to shift political control of the city to Baton Rouge; one of these, for example, transferred the custodianship of voting machines from an opposing to a friendly state official.

All these were executed, upon orders, by an obedient legislature, distinguished in Louisiana history for its yes-men. Even the powerful and skillful Huey could develop only on rare occasions the majorities which his brother consistently elicited in 1948. The Long-sponsored representatives from New Orleans joined in the rape of their own city, and the amazing spectacle of cooperation inspired the laconic political quip that all Earl had to do was yell "frog" and the legislature jumped.

---

[1] See also "The Rape of New Orleans," the REVIEW, September 1948, page 412.

Confident that he could win another victory at the polls, Long tried to gain control of the municipal courts by changing the long-standing practice of judicial appointment by the mayor to that of popular election. The fact that all the mayor's appointees were easily returned to office made the maneuver ineffective politically for the governor.

Port Authority Threatened

The second attempt at control of the city, revolving around facilities of the port, was more profound in its possible effect. For years politicians had found the Port Authority, locally known as the Dock Board, to be a fertile source of revenue from shippers who were "right" and a feather bed for party hacks. This was changed in 1940 by a series of requirements chief of which was the non-political appointment of board members on recommendation of civic and commercial organizations. Other requirements set up qualification standards for members and protected them from outside interference, political or otherwise.

The result was that the new board rendered better service with approximately 800 employees than had previously been offered with a complement of twice that many and a sizable profit appeared on the books contrasting with the previous loss. A new confidence in the port was reflected by a rapidly mounting trade.

Long proposed a constitutional amendment which sought to reopen the Dock Board as a source of jobs for loyal workers in his organization and which threatened to throw the whole operation of the port back into the political arena. On a referendum required for such an amendment, however, an overwhelming majority in the city, combined with a more moderate opposition throughout the state, slapped this proposal down and trade through New Orleans continues to mount.

Long threw out the merit system in the state but left it in operation in the city, doubtless to prevent his opposition from building a political organization. He plans to gain control of the civil service commission as a result of having appropriated the power to appoint new members when present terms expire, which in turn will allow him to dictate who the director of personnel will be.

It is doubtful, however, if this could have more than an irritating effect because the newly elected administration which takes office in April is solidly behind the merit system. So are the voters of New Orleans.

Long said he would reduce the sales tax in New Orleans. He did. He lowered it from two cents on the dollar to one cent but at the same time he increased the state tax an additional cent. The result was that people in the city had to pay the same amount of taxes but the revenues of their municipality were reduced by a full 25 per cent. In addition, mandatory expenditures were ordered by the legislature, such as increased pay for firemen, which raised required disbursements by 8½ per cent.

Despite this situation, the Morrison administration was able to carry on a program of public improvements through a well planned bond issue. It was able to add almost a million dollars worth of facilities to its recreation department as the result of an individual legacy and private contributions. With the mounting quality of performance on the part of city employees, achieved through civil service, it was possible to offer public service better than that of previous years even in the face of a reduced budget. This financial squeeze-play instead of embarrassing the administration actually redounded to its credit.

City Government Changed

The most crass political maneuver of Long against the city was that of changing the structure of its government. The charter provided for a five-man commission form of government composed of a mayor and four commissioners elected at large. Long, expecting that Morrison's popularity would allow him to carry any office elected by the city as a whole, substituted a modified aldermanic system with an eight-man council, all except the mayor elected on a district basis. The anachronistic seven municipal districts are used, the largest of which contains six times as many voters as the smallest. Because of the uneven distribution of political strength in the city Long hoped to be able to win a majority of the members of the next council.

This "alder-maniac" system, as Morrison calls it, reduces the power of the mayor to little more than being in charge of the janitorial services and interior decoration of city hall. Its main drawback, however, is that the councilmen are not only representatives from districts but they are also in charge of administrative departments. Not a single other city of the 2,013 listed in the *Municipal Year Book*[2] has a similar government.

One candidate for this council was more than half serious when he envisioned one district with every street paved, another with every tree clipped and a third with a policeman to protect every house, without any interchange of these services.

The value of this system to the governor was nullified by the recent election. So great was the popularity of Morrison's ticket and so intense was the opposition to Long's dictation that sections of the city which had been consistently Old Regular for 30 years gave majorities to Mayor Morrison. All the city-wide candidates sponsored by Morrison were elected as well as six of the seven district councilmen. The odds are that the seventh will win in a second primary. With such unanimity of feeling most of the disadvantages of the "alder-maniac" system are overcome.

---

[2] International City Managers' Association, Chicago.

Long still has one trump card. A constitutional convention is planned for this fall. Louisiana's constitution is said to be the longest and possibly the worst in the United States. Many thousands of laws normally considered statutory in nature, such as the one naming the Huey P. Long Bridge, are included in the constitution. It is anticipated that the governor will control a majority of the delegates at the convention and a highly politicalized document may result. It is reported that he plans to use the new constitution to gain power over the Dock Board and port facilities and to develop a controlling influence in New Orleans politics.

On the other hand, forward looking citizens anticipate the constitutional convention as offering the possibility of gaining a real home rule provision and freedom from the domination of Baton Rouge. Mayor Morrison plans a city-wide referendum on this point at the next general election and believes there will be a fifteen-to-one vote in its favor. Such a majority sentiment might well have a persuasive influence in the convention.

It is hoped that the citizens of New Orleans can achieve the right to set up their own governmental structure, determine its powers and fix its taxes. Only with such freedom can local government, which is closest to the people, accomplish its appointed task. And, undeniably, these are the basic rights of democracy.

MAINE HAS A NEW EXPORT

(Continued from page 124)

a majority of these able and intelligent young men will enter some phase of public service after receiving their diplomas."

There are in all 50 young men who are in various stages of training for manager jobs. Fourteen of them served their internship last summer in various local communities and are now taking over their life work. Many of them will stay in Maine, but an increasing number of inquiries makes it clear that the management of small Maine towns is a mere stepping stone for a majority of them.

Perhaps that is the reason Warren Knowles takes his man-sized job in Berwick philosophically. The hard-knocks experience he is getting now will stand him in good stead ten or fifteen years from now—in Butte, Boston, Buffalo — or wherever he happens to be taking over the reins.

Reports from the majority of the 104 towns now enjoying the manager system in Maine indicate that by far the greater number of citizens are glad that Maine has substituted the yardstick of knowledge for the political glad-hand, of competence for campaign oratory.

And as for the nibbles from far away places. Down in Maine they say, "Well, brains have always been our greatest export."

Small Manager Cities Thrive

Texas communities of 2,000–5,000 population find both finances and administration of services much improved.

By STUART A. MacCORKLE*

THE council-manager plan has been adopted by 76 Texas cities since 1913. Today Texas ranks second among the states in the number of communities using this plan. Continually more cities have seen fit to centralize their administrative activities in a manager. This is especially true of the smaller Texas cities.

In this group is Giddings, a small central Texas community of approximately 3,000. Prior to 1941 a commission form of government was used and a great deal of inefficiency resulted. This inefficiency arose from the fact that local business men were serving as administrators over matters with which they were not well acquainted.

Giddings Pays Debts

Giddings was virtually bankrupt. The general fund had only $85 in cash and more than $2,000 in notes was due. The water system also owed more than $2,000 in notes. In 1928 the city had issued bonds at 6 per cent which were callable in 1938. In 1941, $28,000 of these bonds had not been called even though at that time it was possible to borrow money at 3 per cent interest. The city's total indebtedness was $165,000.

Adding to these difficulties, delinquent taxes amounted to $14,000 and water accounts were delinquent by more than $10,000. Tax assessments were in a disorderly condition with numerous cases of double assessment and some instances where property escaped assessment entirely.

What has happened in Giddings since 1941 when council-manager government was adopted? During the first months $12,000 of the $14,000 in delinquencies was collected. Since then the rate of collection has exceeded 95 per cent of the total tax levy.

The collection of delinquent taxes and water accounts made it possible for the city to take care of urgent services without going into debt.

The rate of flow of the city water well had been falling for some time prior to 1941 and the pump needed overhauling. A new well was drilled, the old one overhauled to increase its supply by 20 per cent, and a new automatic pumping station installed. The latter improvement effected a large saving since it eliminated the need for a pumping operator. With only the old well it had been necessary to employ both a night and day operator in order to maintain a minimum water supply.

The first tangible result of the improvement, aside from the increased supply of water and the saving on salaries, was reduction of the city's fire insurance key rate. The city had been informed that the rate would be raised. With a more adequate water supply, it not only failed to go up but was soon reduced. This resulted in an estimated saving to fire insurance policy holders of about $2,000 in the first year alone.

---

*Dr. MacCorkle is professor of government at The University of Texas, director of the University's Institute of Public Affairs and a member of the city council of Austin. He has written numerous books and articles on municipal government and administration. This article is based on Dr. MacCorkle's address at the National Conference on Government, St. Paul, November 30, 1949.

During the first two years of council-manager government in Giddings the Federal Power Commission system of uniform accounts for electric utilities was installed in the electric department, and the National Association of Railroad Commissioners standard accounting system was put to use in the water and sewer utilities. Tax maps were made up and the tax billing system was improved to effect greater efficiency in assessment and collection of taxes.

By June 30, 1943—two years after the manager plan had been adopted—total indebtedness had been reduced by $32,133. The general department notes of $2,000 were paid off and the city hall and fire and police funding warrants were reduced by $7,640—and paid off the following year. By 1948 the water bonds had been reduced by $8,000; sewer bonds by $5,000 and electric bonds by $13,000. These reductions took place without any increase in utility rates. As a matter of fact, the water rate was reduced during the war period.

Although Giddings did not raise its electric rates, the utility made a net profit of $19,603 in 1948 as compared to only $4,753 in 1943. This is an increase of 312 per cent in net profit over a five-year period which was characterized by rapidly increasing material and labor costs. Also, during this period, the earned surplus in the electric utility account increased from $8,637 to $67,664 while the value of the plant nearly doubled from $68,773 in 1943 to $116,291 in 1948.

Belton Ousts Corruption

In contrast to Giddings, where manager government improved an honest but inefficient administration, Belton is an example of a city which suffered from a corrupt administration for a period of years prior to council-manager government and it is still attempting to recover from the resulting bad effects.

From 1926 to 1931 Belton built up a debt of $935,000 in principal, interest and court costs. Part of this was a $25,000 bond issue to build a new city hall, only $5,000 of which went into remodeling an old building. The remainder disappeared through the hands of enterprising politicians.

Another $25,000 bond issue had been voted earlier to remove a small island from a creek which flows through the town and which constituted a flood hazard. Again, the money was never used for the designated purpose and the flood hazard to this day reposes in its original location.

Belton adopted the council-manager plan in 1931 and by 1937 was able to refund its bonded indebtedness at $597,000. In addition there were outstanding warrants and notes sufficient to bring the total debt to $609,392. Since 1937, $256,507 has been retired so that the debt is now $352,885. Except for $15,000 borrowed to finance a new water well, the city has operated on a cash basis since the debt was refunded in 1937. This was paid off within a year.

Belton has made many other improvements under the council-manager plan. Employee security was non-existent prior to 1931 because all appointments were on a political basis. Appointments are now on the basis of merit and there is little turnover of personnel.

Prior to 1931 assessment rolls were heavily padded, properties not even in Bell County being included. This was done in order to achieve the high assessed valuation requisite to issuance of an enormous amount of bonds. Delinquencies were high and during the past six years nearly $75,000 in back taxes have been collected. The rate of collection has been maintained at 95 per cent or better during recent years.

Aside from these improvements, an intangible benefit has become apparent. This is the greatly increased interest of the citizens in their government. The people now have confidence in their city administration because they feel it is being operated on a businesslike basis. Although Belton has had a long struggle to recover from the effects of mismanagement, it is evident to citizens that they are going to see consistent progress under council-manager government.

Killeen serves as a good example of a small municipality which has had a tremendous population growth during recent years and therefore a rapid increase in municipal problems. These growing pains, attributable largely to the expansion of nearby Camp Hood, intensified the need for more capable direction of municipal affairs, and a new charter providing for council-manager government was adopted on March 3, 1949. A council was elected on April 5 and an experienced manager employed shortly thereafter so that the new government was functioning by July 1, 1949. Numerous changes have already been effected which point toward better government.

Killeen More Efficient

Administrative organization has been improved in Killeen with four departments — finance, police, fire and public works—organized under the city manager. Financial administration has been considerably bettered through institution of centralized purchasing, a more adequate accounting system and improved assessment procedures.

In an attempt to meet increased costs, the manager has secured council approval for the levy of several new revenues. Among these are various occupation taxes, a public utility franchise tax, street rentals from busses and taxicabs, various licenses and parking meters. Increased attention has been focused on city planning and zoning by passage of ordinances governing subdivisions and zoning. Expansion of city-owned utilities is being undertaken with modern machinery and methods.

Municipal government is being modernized in Killeen through the effective utilization of human and material resources under the city manager.

Georgetown, like Killeen, is approximately 4,000 population and is also located in central Texas. It has had manager government since 1944. Here the improvements have perhaps not been as spectacular as in some other Texas cities. Georgetown's government prior to 1944 was apparently adequate for the needs of the community at that time. There has never been any great turnover in personnel either before or after the advent of manager government, and financial administration has always been rather efficient.

Better Health in Georgetown

At the same time, many problems of the postwar era have been solved in an efficient and economical manner. Noteworthy among them has been the creation of better health conditions and, more specifically, eradication of a serious mosquito menace. The manager of the Chamber of Commerce credits the initiative and ability of the city manager with this accomplishment as well as numerous other improvements.

Both the garbage collection and water systems have been expanded and improved at reasonable cost and several recreational improvements have been made during recent years. Twenty-four-hour police protection has been a reality since 1947.

These improvements have been made without increase in the city's tax rate and the city's bonded indebtedness has been maintained at a low level throughout the entire period.

The fifth city, Burnet, is approximately the size of Giddings. Here manager government has existed since 1945. Under the council-manager form the city has made considerable progress toward timely and efficient rendition of local services. Financial and personnel administrations are better today than in 1945 when the new form of government was initiated.

Burnet Makes Improvements

As evidence of this, an annual post-audit of financial transactions, unheard of before 1945, is now made and a summary of the resulting audit report published in the local newspaper. A formal double-entry system of accounts has been installed and improved assessment procedures have been employed. As a consequence of this latter development, the total assessed valuation has risen from $481,000 in 1945 to $1,150,000 in 1949. Annual property tax delinquency has been reduced from 15 to less than 5 per cent and utility bill collections have been improved through adoption of a strict but equitable policy with regard to delinquents.

In the personnel field the city carries workmen's compensation insurance on all employees except policemen. A group hospitalization policy is carried on all employees at no cost to them. Now, the city has taken steps to join the statewide retirement system for municipal employees, so that in the near future the nineteen city workers will be assured of retirement security on a sound basis.

Like Georgetown, Burnet has been able to effect utility improvements at a reasonable cost. The city has procured a large amount of needed machinery from the War Assets Administration at a fraction of its original cost. The initiative of the manager in making these timely purchases has made many improvements possible.

While it is apparent that the experiences of cities thus far treated have been rather favorable to the council-manager plan, it must not be assumed that all municipalities using this form of government make such excellent laboratories for analysis. In fact, two of the small municipalities visited during a recent study offer evidence of the difficulty of making evaluations as to the effectiveness of council-manager government with the forms preceding it.

Progress in Hearne

Hearne is a small city of some 7,000 population which adopted manager government in April 1943. The city had been governed by a commission with most of the administrative work handled by the city secretary. The present manager served as city secretary from 1939 until he was appointed manager in 1943, and has spent his entire career in the employ of Hearne.

From all indications, the citizens have enjoyed sound and economical government both before and after the institution of manager government and it would not be far wrong to say that the ability of the present city manager has been instrumental in attaining this situation. History attests to several decades of governmental progress in Hearne under both the commission and council-manager forms of government.

College Station, a small community comprising the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College and its immediate environment, was incorporated in 1939. According to one of the first city officials, incorporation was prompted by a desire to prevent the college from being annexed to the adjacent city of Bryan and to secure lower fire insurance rates.

College Station New City

At the beginning a "business manager" was placed in charge of administrative affairs. Although this title was changed to city manager on April 13, 1944, for all practical purposes the city has operated under the manager plan from its inception. It is therefore impossible to make any comparative evaluation of the accomplishments of manager government as compared to other forms.

From all indications citizens are being rendered services at reasonable cost. Among other things the city has a rigid system of planning and zoning and a comprehensive street improvement program is under way which will result in all streets being either gravelled or topped with asphalt. The municipality has operated on a balanced budget during the past ten years and now enjoys a low tax rate of $1.00 for each $100 of assessed value.

So far as could be ascertained, the only disturbing feature in College Station is a wholesale lack of citizen interest. This is illustrated by the fact that only some twenty votes were cast at the April 1949 election in which three councilmen were elected. Citizen interest has not developed to that point where a truly

PERIODICAL DEPT.

strong and responsible government exists.

Our final city is Lampasas which has employed a city manager only since 1946. Formerly a city secretary handled office matters and a water superintendent took care of all business outside the office. The system was loose and inefficient with no clear-cut definition of responsibilities. Officials were completely honest but perhaps not too efficient.

Lampasas Utilities Pay Off

After the city manager assumed his position in 1946 the city purchased its electric plant from the Lower Colorado River Authority. The number of electric accounts increased from 1,200 to 1,700 in 1949. Along with this increase there was a rapid increase in the net profits of the utility. In 1947 this was a little over $10,000; the next year it had risen to $16,930; and in the year ending March 31, 1949, it was $22,663. Through the purchase of its electric utility, the city is reaping substantial benefits.

The water utility was in poor condition prior to 1946 with 250 dead water meters and severe losses because of an inefficient billing system. Since 1946 water revenues have increased from $9,300 to $46,023 annually. As a result the utility has shown substantially increased net profits: $13,415 in 1947, $19,690 in 1948, and $21,407 in 1949.

The present city manager of Lampasas is placing much emphasis on public relations in order to arouse the interest of the citizens. An excellent annual report is published in addition to small leaflets which are issued periodically to explain particular problems. Personnel management is also emphasized—the city was first to join the Texas municipal retirement system. This has enabled the city to employ and retain competent personnel.

Lampasas is a good example of a city which had not had dishonest government and was not in a state of financial crisis, but which nevertheless has shown consistent and substantial benefit from the council-manager plan.

Regardless of the circumstances which cause a city to change its governmental machinery, adoption of council-manager government has resulted in efficient, competent and less costly government in the majority of cases under consideration. Financial and personnel administrations have been greatly improved, and the public has secured an expanded group of public improvements and services with a minimum of expense.

Good service at minimum cost seems to have sold the council-manager plan in each case. It seems reasonable to conclude that small cities anxious to better themselves will do well to give manager government a fair trial.

Efficient Service Not Enough

Study of council-manager operations in Holton, Kansas, reveals that sound public relations play important role.

By **EDWIN O. STENE***

PUBLICATION of the story relating the operation of council-manager government in Holton, Kansas,[1] had its beginnings in three somewhat independent yet related factors. The first was the desire of the University of Kansas' Bureau of Government Research to do something to interest more cities and more citizens of the state in manager government, the second was the development of case method teaching, and the third was the fortunate appearance of a case almost at our doorstep.

The university staff has been interested in encouraging expansion of council-manager government, yet a brief examination of cities in Kansas reveals that any substantial increase in adoptions of the plan means adoption by small cities.

There are only three cities in Kansas with more than 50,000 people. The largest, Wichita, has had manager government for more than 30 years. Kansas City rejected the plan three years ago and probably will not try again for a time. That leaves Topeka as the only possibility in the next few years.

Kansas has three cities between 25,000 and 50,000 population, all operating under the council-manager plan. On the other hand none of the three cities between 15,000 and 25,000 has manager government. In the population range of 5,000 to 15,000 manager government has a slight edge. Fourteen cities have the manager plan, while thirteen operate under the older plans, mostly commission.

Manager government has reached approximately the halfway mark among all cities over 5,000. Eighteen retain the older types of government and three of these have rejected council-manager proposals at recent elections.

That leaves the cities between 2,000 and 5,000, and here the number is larger. While cities under 2,000 can adopt the manager plan, and four of them have, pay is necessarily low, management opportunities are few, and a professional outlook does not seem to make its appearance, especially since local men have been appointed.

Of the 53 cities between 2,000 and 5,000 seven now operate under the manager plan. That leaves a field of 46 cities in which new adoptions may be considered. Certainly those are the cities to which we must speak in Kansas, and incidentally they are the cities in which a young man

---

*Dr. Stene is professor of political science at the University of Kansas and research associate of its Bureau of Government Research. He is author of various publications in the public administration field and a contributor to the *American Political Science Review*, *The Annals* and other publications. This article is based on Dr. Stene's address at the National Conference on Government, St. Paul, November 30, 1949.

[1] *It Works in A Small City*. Bureau of Government Research, University of Kansas, Lawrence, 1949. 28 pages.

might well seek to enter the profession. Holton, Kansas, falls into this group with a population of about 2,700.

The second factor in the Holton study was development of the case method of teaching. The University of Kansas has a human relations program by which it hopes to help students develop skills in dealing with people and an awareness of the human problems of public administration, business or community associations. Case method teaching is used exclusively in the first course in public administration and case studies, with a human relations turn, are emphasized in several other courses, both graduate and undergraduate.

This method of teaching demands a constant search for source materials, and consequently every opportunity is taken to learn about specific situations. Teacher, researcher and student alike acquire a curiosity to learn how people react to new systems or new methods, and why they react as they do.

Holton Study Made

It was partly for the purpose of seeking possible sources of case material and partly to extend an invitation to a city manager's school that I drove to Holton to meet the new manager there. I soon found myself reading news clippings, examining financial reports and listening to the manager's accounts of what had been done in the short time he had been at Holton. At a Rotary Club luncheon I observed a like enthusiasm on the part of residents. Here might be a story with which to interest other cities of the 2,000 to 5,000 population class in the possibilities of council-manager government.

Within two weeks the study was under way. Four graduate students spent several days in Holton, going from store to store and asking questions, talking with city and county employees and searching the files of local newspapers. The reports seemed almost unbelievable, yet the four boys went to different places and came back with accounts that were surprisingly uniform. Holton had adopted council-manager government by a narrow margin of 48 votes out of about 800, but within a year opposition to the plan seemed to have virtually disappeared.

Such complete change of sentiment is unusual even in a small city—though it is often true, of course, that council-manager government gains support after its adoption. The next task, therefore, was to determine why the new system won popular favor so quickly.

We found that physical improvements had been made in streets, in the park, in traffic control and in other ways but these were not highly dramatic. Financial savings through budget planning and purchasing controls were likewise commendable but not spectacular. These improvements helped to win support for the new city government but by themselves they could hardly have produced the overwhelming approval that the inquiries disclosed. Attention was turned, therefore, to other aspects of the government.

Holton was fortunate in the kind of public relations established by the new government. From the first meeting of the new city commission (council), when employees, most of whom had opposed the new system, were assured of their jobs as long as they performed their work satisfactorily, the city was on the way to a new interest in itself, a new feeling of mutual confidence. The old city commissioners had fought among themselves; they had been at odds with the Chamber of Commerce and with other citizens' organizations. Employees had been divided into factions that often would not work together. Now the new commission sounded its first note of unity by offering security to employees and inviting them to serve the city.

Employee Relations

This word of assurance was further supported by the commission's refusal to act upon what seemed to be strong popular support for a local managerial candidate—a man who was reported to have named several officials and employees whom he would dismiss when he became manager. Some of the men marked for removal were unpopular in the city, and several voters may have hoped that adoption of the manager plan would be a step toward their removal. Yet the offer of security by the new commission seemed to be welcomed as a symbol of unity.

The new manager took over the policy of unity and security where the commission had left it. From the beginning he worked with the employees as one of the team, a player-manager so to speak. He made it a point to assure the employees that their tenure of employment was not at stake unless they failed to cooperate in carrying out the principles and the program of the manager government.

The second important factor in the success of the new system was the improvement of public relations. The manager made it a point to become personally acquainted with the citizenry as quickly as possible. He encouraged people to visit the city hall, to ask questions concerning the city government and to make their complaints known to him. He also instituted a routine of handling complaints so that grievances would be cleared as quickly as possible.

Above all, his personal manner, his attitude in dealing with employees and with the public, seemed to permeate the entire organization. Employees felt that they were important to the city; in return they became interested in the public's problems and were courteous in dealing with the citizens. A new atmosphere was present and all who had dealings with the city, directly or indirectly, seemed pleased.

It was our conclusion that, despite the tendency of researchers to measure the success of an administrative organization in terms of costs and services, the primary factor in public acceptance is the kind of experience that people have in their direct contacts with the agency's personnel. The success of council-manager government depends in final analysis, therefore, upon the relationships that are established with the public.

This conclusion holds even though the number of people who have personal contacts with the administration is relatively small, for the attitudes that are instilled by these contacts spread easily from person to person. At times the attitudes and actions of public officials may be reported by newspapers in such a way as to produce sympathetic reactions; but these reports will have little effect if they are not supported by personal experiences or by favorable reports about experiences by close friends.

Partly as a result of this study of Holton the University of Kansas staff is of the opinion that further studies should be made of the public relations and employee relations aspects of council-manager government. Are city managers, city councils and supporters of manager government fully cognizant of the need for a feeling among employees that they are important to the city, and a feeling among citizens that their voices are heard and that they are recognized as a part of the city? For the small cities, especially, such studies of manager government might well center around the question: To what extent and in what ways should a city manager assume responsibility for making democracy work in his community?

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from page 118)

July. Dr. Peel is currently professor of government at Indiana University. Prior to his service in Indiana he taught at New York University and other institutions. During World War II he was in the Scandinavian countries for the Office of War Information.

League Loses Valued Friends

Mrs. G. A. Tawney, Illinois civic leader and for many years an active member of the National Municipal League, died in Urbana on December 31. Mrs. Tawney listed the League as one of the beneficiaries in her will.

Lyle R. Chubb, formerly a member of the staff of the League's Consultant Service, died suddenly in Atlanta February 7 at the age of 40. Mr. Chubb, who assisted Thomas H. Reed in an administrative survey of Atlanta and Fulton County in 1937, remained in that city to help carry through the survey recommendations.

Lessing Rosenthal, 81, an active League member and prominent civic leader for many years, died December 20 at his home in Chicago. He was interested in election and civil service reform and was a trustee of the Brookings Institution and of Johns Hopkins University.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Broad Reorganization Urged in Connecticut

Study Group's Report Calls for Constitutional Revision

THE Connecticut Commission on State Government Organization, appointed last year by Governor Chester Bowles by legislative authority, has issued an eleven chapter summary report to the legislature and the governor. It was made public, chapter by chapter, during February.

In order to effect recommended changes that cannot be made by legislation the commission has drafted a proposed new constitution and urged the legislature to submit it to popular vote at the November 7 election.

The initial chapter of the report is of general character. Chief among the broad findings in this: "The management of the functions of the state government is so decentralized and so illogically divided among nearly two hundred separate departments, boards, commissions and agencies as to lead to uncontrolled state expenditures, without any means under this system of producing an efficient and economical government. This results in confusion and waste. Savings can be attained on a significant scale only by effective central management. Given that, they can be secured, we are confident, without jeopardizing the employment security of any competent state employee or the morale of the state service."

The first group of detailed recommendations deals with financial management, greatly confused at present. The existing setup is called "a bewildering patchwork," the results of which "thwart intelligent management within the executive branch" and "defy intelligent understanding by the legislature and public."

A single finance department under a commission appointed by the governor is recommended. An annual budget (biennial at present) should be prepared in an office attached to the governor, on a "performance" basis.

A new accounting system is urged "to provide comprehensive central accounts and controls, dovetailed with detailed but standardized accounts maintained in the several departments and institutions."

Personnel management is the topic of the third chapter, and the present division of personnel is called a stepchild of the finance department, whereas it should have coordinate rank among the principal service agencies that work with all departments. Its role is characterized as negative, and the general governmental attitude toward the personnel problem as one of indifference.

The commission recommends establishment of a new Office of Personnel Services headed by a commissioner appointed by the governor, and a professional personnel unit in each department. This personnel setup would be charged with the duty of positive recruitment efforts as well as supervising examinations. A reclassification and salary study is specified, together with development of performance standards, training programs, grievance procedures and employee welfare services.

For the executive branch it was recommended that the functions of the numerous present agencies be grouped in fourteen operating departments, bringing related activities together under a manageable setup. To these departments would be added three central service agencies — personnel services, general services and public works services. The heads of departments and agencies would be appointed by the governor without legislative confirmation, and serve for an indefinite period at his discretion. One exception is made—the education commissioner would be appointed by the governor from a panel of at least three names proposed by the Board of Education and would be removable only after consultation with the board and upon a written statement of reasons.

For departments with quasi-judicial functions it is recommended that administrative adjudication boards of three members be appointed by the governor and confirmed by the Senate for six-year overlapping terms. The departments would take over the administrative duties of existing boards with mixed functions, the adjudication boards to act independently of them.

To provide for fuller citizen participation in state affairs it is suggested that a citizens' advisory council of five or more members be established for each department and office. They would be appointed by the governor for five-year overlapping terms, without confirmation or compensation.

The report urges the short ballot, with the governor and lieutenant governor as the only elective executive officers. The comptroller, treasurer, attorney general and secretary of state are now elected. The duties of the first two would be transferred to the proposed finance department, the attorney general would be attached to the governor's office and the functions of the secretary of state would be distributed to appropriate departments.

As the town (township) rather than the county is the unit of local government in Connecticut and the counties' few functions can be transferred to the proposed state welfare and corrections departments, it is recommended that counties be abolished. The elective sheriffs, now chosen by counties but paid from state funds, would also be abolished.

A brief chapter on local government emphasizes the mass of special local bills that confront each legislative session. The commission recommends passage of two constitutional amendments—one prohibiting special legislation and another guaranteeing to municipalities the power of home rule under alternative governmental forms to be provided by legislation.

The report recommends that legislators be nominated by direct primaries, that they be better paid and prohibited from dual office-holding. The commission could not agree on a basis of reapportionment but proposed a reduction in the house membership from 272 to 169 by giving each town one member. Some towns (not necessarily the larger ones) now have two.

It is recommended that constitutional amendments, which must now originate in the House, may be effected by popular initiative and referendum.

An office of Legislative Services, to combine legislative and financial research, bill-drafting, office management, etc., is proposed.

A complete revamping of the judiciary system, with local courts largely superseded by state courts, is recommended.

Governor Chester Bowles has announced a special session of the legislature for March 9 to consider ten bills embodying the recommendations.

The commission consists of five members, headed by Carter W. Atkins, executive director of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council. It is to complete its duties by January 1951.[1]

---

[1] See the REVIEW, May 1949, page 241.

Ohio Program Commission Studies State Constitution

The first committee to be established by the Ohio Program Commission, created by the 1949 legislature, is one to study the advisability of a constitutional convention. The commission will hold a public hearing March 27 at Columbus to discover whether citizens are interested in constitutional revision.

The Program Commission consists of 21 members; they include the president of the Senate, administrator of the Bureau of Unemployment Compensation, director of welfare, director of highways, director of public works and the tax commissioner; the president pro tempore of the Senate and five members of the Senate appointed by its president, two of whom shall be members of the minority party; the speaker of the House of Representatives and five members, two of whom shall be of the minority party, appointed by the speaker; and three members appointed by the governor.

Governor Lausche on November 4 appointed Arthur S. Flemming, president of Ohio Wesleyan University, Frazier Reams of Toledo (former director of the Ohio Welfare Department), and Howard White, Miami University.

The act provides that "the Program Commission shall gather all available pertinent data and information relative to the problems which will confront the state of Ohio and its inhabitants, so far as they are foreseeable." The commission met and organized on November 14, electing Senator Clingan Jackson of Youngstown as chairman and Speaker John F. Cantwell, also of Youngstown, as vice chairman. Senator Roscoe R. Walcutt of Columbus, chairman of the former Postwar Program Commission, was elected secretary.

At the commission's second meeting on November 28, committees were authorized for study of the following subjects: (1) the employment situation in Ohio; (2) a new building code for Ohio and housing facilities generally; (3) highway costs, distribution of revenues, parking, etc.; (4) advisability of a state constitutional convention when question is submitted in 1952; (5) conservation and shore erosion and a new department of natural resources; (6) school consolidation and economy in school construction and administration; (7) committees on agriculture, aviation, state office space, penal administration and institutions, and institutions for mentally ill; (8) reorganization of state executive and administrative agencies; (9) use of funds raised from insurance companies and appropriated to fire marshal's office.

Howard White

Miami University
Oxford, Ohio

Forest Fire Protection Aided by Compact

The Northeastern Interstate Forest Fire Protection Compact has been officially ratified by Massachusetts and Connecticut as well as by Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and New York, which approved it about a year ago. Copies of the ratifying documents have been filed with the national Department of State. A Fire Compact Commission composed of three representatives from each member state will be organized in the near future.

Loyalty Laws Invalidated in Three States

State laws dealing with loyalty of public employees have been declared unconstitutional recently in Maryland, New Jersey and New York, according to the Civil Service Assembly. At least eight states are reported to have passed laws since 1947 requiring loyalty oaths of employees or barring members of subversive organizations from employment or from holding office. Previously 41 states had laws covering subversive activity, especially sedition and incitation to law-breaking.

In New Jersey the Supreme Court declared four acts requiring oaths by state office-holders and office-seekers unconstitutional, saying that the state constitution already prescribed an oath and that the 1949 legislature had exceeded its authority in defining another one. The majority opinion was that "the legislators, officials and citizens were bound in their allegiance to the state even in the absence of an oath."

The Ober loyalty law enacted by the 1949 Maryland state legislature, which required oaths from all public employees and provided fines and imprisonments for membership in subversive organizations, met defeat in its first court test. The court ruled that the law violated the freedoms guaranteed by the first and fourteenth amendments. The state plans to carry the case to the Maryland Court of Appeals and possibly to the U. S. Supreme Court.

In New York the Feinberg law, which directed the State Board of Regents to purge the school systems of Communists or members of organizations declared subversive, has been held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the Third Judicial District. The court said that the law constitutes a bill of attainder in violation of the state and federal constitutions and that it contravenes the "due process" clauses of both. The case is being carried to the Court of Appeals, the highest court in the state.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Danville, Virginia, (1940 population 32,749) voted at a special election on February 7 to adopt the council-manager plan. The unofficial vote was 2,585 to 2,241—a margin of 344. A similar proposal was defeated in 1947, 1,647 to 1,582. The nine council members will be elected in June, to take office September 1. With the accession of Danville all Virginia cities of more than 10,000 population will have the council-manager plan.

By a more than three to one majority, voters of **Newton, North Carolina,** (5,407) amended their charter on February 8 to provide for the council-manager plan. The vote was 779 to 246. The plan is scheduled to go into effect on July 1, the beginning of the city's fiscal year.

Arlington, Texas, (4,240) which adopted an amendment to its charter on June 7, 1949, making appointment of a city manager by the council permissive, is now operating under the plan.

In **Nebraska** on January 31 **Sidney** (3,388) voted for the manager plan, 665 to 338. It will go into effect May 1, under a council of five. On January 30 **Gordon** (1,967) balloted 204 to 80 for the plan, to take effect April 10.

The town of **Old Orchard Beach, Maine,** (2,557) voted 718 to 618 to adopt the manager plan at a special town meeting on January 31. The town of **Machias, Maine,** (1,954) has also adopted the plan recently.

At a recent special town meeting in **Bar Harbor, Maine,** which has had a town manager plan since 1947, a revised charter was adopted by a vote of 248 to 242. Whereas the voters have heretofore elected annually five selectmen, a member of the school board, fire chief, assessors, auditor, tax collector and town clerk, under the new system only the selectmen and school board will be elected by the people, and the selectmen will be elected in rotation with staggered terms. Other officials will be appointed by the selectmen or the town manager.

Efforts are being made in **Livermore Falls, Maine,** to obtain a vote on the town manager plan at the annual town meeting.

Pittston, Maine, rejected a town manager proposal, 109 to 84, on February 4.

Petitions to place the question of adopting Plan E (manager and P. R. council) on the ballot in **Lynn, Massachusetts,** were placed in circulation in mid-January. A bill has been filed in the legislature to permit a vote in Lynn this fall at the state election instead of waiting for the city election in 1951.

The Plan E Committee of **Methuen,** Massachusetts, is seeking to have the town meeting moderator appoint a committee of seven to study forms of town and city government including the manager plan, and to recommend a plan at the next town meeting for submission to the legislature. The proposal was discussed on January 21 before the Methuen advisory committee, which will make a recommendation thereon at the March 15 town meeting. The chairman of the advisory committee expressed opposition.

In **Reading, Massachusetts**, the Citizens' Town Manager Committee was formally organized on January 23 with the immediate purpose of serving as a source of information on the town manager plan proposed for Reading. The Reading League of Women Voters was instrumental in the formation of the committee.

Town manager government for **Brookline, Massachusetts,** will be considered at the annual town meeting in March. Through a petition of a group of voters a proposal will be voted on calling for appointment of a committee of five to study operation of the manager plan and submit a report with recommendations.

In **Belmont, Massachusetts,** the directors of the Winn Brook Improvement Association are asking that the annual town meeting on March 13 consider appointment of a committee on reorganization of the town government. A spokesman for the group urged that the town manager plan be included in the study.

North Andover, Massachusetts, will vote on appointment of a manager study committee at the annual town meeting March 18.

In **Newport, Rhode Island,** the Charter Revision Commission created in December 1947 made public on January 19 majority and minority reports to be submitted to the city council. A majority of six members recommended a strong-mayor charter, while a minority of three favored the council-manager plan with the strong-mayor type as an alternative choice for the voters. If a referendum on either or both plans is held, enabling legislation by the state legislature will then be needed. The legislature in the past refused to allow a council-manager charter for Newport although approved by the voters three to one. It has, however, approved a strong-mayor charter for Providence.

In **Bristol, Rhode Island,** former Councilman F. J. Murphy has announced that he will introduce a resolution at the annual financial town meeting in March, calling for appointment of a committee to study various forms of town government and to report at the next annual town meeting.

A revised charter for **Martinsville, Virginia,** was presented to the state legislature in January; it continues the manager plan, instituted in 1949, but makes various changes including reduction in size of the city council from eight to five, the councilmen to choose the mayor from their own number.

A special election will be held March 7 in **Martinsburg, West Virginia,** on adoption of the manager plan.

Petitions for a referendum on adoption of the manager plan have been circulated in **Evansville, Wisconsin,** and it is claimed that more than half the 880 eligible voters signed. A referendum is expected in April.

The Village Manager Association of **Franklin Park, Illinois,** has been formed to foster the manager plan for that community, where an attempt to obtain adoption last spring did not succeed. The next election is in 1951.

A citizens' committee in **Lawrence, Kansas,** filed petitions with over 1,300 names on February 8, asking for a popular vote on adopting the manager plan at the election in April. Initiation of the movement is credited to the League of Women Voters and the Business and Professional Women's Club.

On March 14, **Coleman, Texas,** will vote on a proposed council-manager charter.

Drafting of a council-manager charter for **Ogden, Utah,** got under way in January with the permanent organization of the charter commission authorized at the November election. Several committees were set up and a budget request was prepared for submission to the new city commission, the outgoing one having turned down such a request.

Seattle Mayor Asks for Administrative Assistant

The city council of Seattle, Washington, has placed on the ballot for the March 14 election a charter amendment to provide an administrative assistant to the mayor. This action had been recently requested of the council by Mayor Devin. Such a position was recommended last summer by the budget and finance committee of the Municipal League of Seattle after a study of practices in other cities. The committee found that the mayor needs such an assistant to relieve him of minor duties and to perform research dealing with departmental efficiency. He would also take over the duties of the Civic Promotion Commission established last year.

Municipal Governmental Surveys in Maryland

Two surveys of municipal governments in Maryland have recently been completed, according to the Maryland League of Municipalities.

In Baltimore an extensive survey of the city's operations has been made under the auspices of a committee of citizens appointed last year by the mayor. The committee employed Public Administration Service of Chicago to make the study and recommendations concerning many of the city's services and activities; it has worked closely with the committee and the city's budget bureau in preparing the city budget for the ensuing year.

A survey report on government in Silver Spring has been prepared by Dr. Joseph M. Ray of the University of Maryland, who is executive secretary of the League of Municipalities and former director of the university's Bureau of Public Administration, which released the report.[1]

Philadelphia Parking Authority Created

The city council of Philadelphia adopted an ordinance in January to establish a city parking authority as authorized by the 1949 legislature. The five members have been appointed, effective June 1. It will be a municipal corporation empowered to issue bonds, select sites, construct garages and lease these to private operators.

39 Active State Leagues of Municipalities

A busy year was experienced by state leagues of municipalities in 1949, ac-

(Continued on page 153)

---

[1] For a review see page 148, this issue.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Cuyahoga Charter Commission Organizes

Sets Up Five Principles as Guides to Its Action

THE newly elected Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Ohio, Charter Commission has held its organization meeting and elected former U. S. Senator Robert J. Bulkley as its chairman. It also elected a vice president, secretary-treasurer and executive secretary. The chairman has expressed the desire to appoint also a director of research.

The commission has drafted a budget for $40,000 but this sum has not as yet been appropriated by the county.

It has approved a report of its plans and program committee, headed by Dean Eleanor F. Dolan of Western Reserve University, which resulted in adoption of the following principles:

1. The proposed charter will be one which will best serve Cuyahoga County without regard to whether this will result in encountering the four referendum hurdles of (1) a majority of votes cast in the county, (2) a majority cast in the largest city of the county, (3) a majority cast in the county outside the largest city and (4) a majority in a majority of the townships and municipalities in the county;

2. Representatives of civic, social and welfare organizations as well as all local officials will be invited to present proposals;

3. The proposed charter will be drafted by June 15;

4. All sittings are to be open to the public; and

5. Consideration will be given to the organization of county administrative departments, methods of election and administrative procedures such as budgeting, personnel, etc. The commission will also consider vesting the county with certain types of municipal power. For this purpose, it will appoint standing committees on legal powers, organization and form, election methods and procedures, finance, welfare and health, public works, records, sanitation and transportation. Nonmembers of the commission may serve on committees with approval of the chairman of the commission or the chairman of the committee concerned.

Virginia County Moves Toward Manager Plan

It is reported that there is no organized opposition to the movement for the manager plan in Fairfax County, Virginia, although there are differences of opinion on details. Petitions are being circulated by the Republican County Committee, League of Women Voters and the Taxpayers Advisory Association to place the strong manager plan on the ballot. A state senator, on the other hand, proposes to introduce a bill permitting the county to vote on a plan giving the manager less extensive powers. It would follow the Arlington County plan in which the treasurer and revenue commissioner are elected by the voters.

New County Created in New Mexico

The 1949 New Mexico legislature created Los Alamos County from portions of Sandoval and Santa Fe Counties. Los Alamos, with a population of approximately 9,000, is the county seat. The county was created as a result of atomic energy installations.

County Planning and Zoning Continues

The newly organized Wicomico County, Maryland, Planning and Zoning Commission has initiated a survey leading to the development of a master plan and comprehensive zoning of the area under its jurisdiction, which embraces a five-mile radius surrounding the corporate limits of Salisbury.

The survey will: (1) Measure setback of all structures along the twelve principal highways entering Salisbury; (2) determine use and type of existing structures within 500 feet of the highways; (3) obtain population densities and topographical data; (4) prepare an enlarged map of Wicomico County showing each structure; (5) establish preliminary building lines and zoning limits for commercial, agricultural and residential uses; (6) study utility requirements for the specified areas; (7) make provision for off-street parking, "spotted" recreational areas, new highways and other improvements; (8) formulate building and plumbing codes and other sanitary ordinances; (9) develop forms for building permits and building occupancy; and (10) establish side and rear guard requirements including height restrictions.

Durham County, North Carolina, on the other hand, is zoning in close cooperation with the city of Durham but its zoning jurisdiction extends over the entire county. Several years ago a joint committee was appointed by the Durham city council and the board of commissioners of Durham County to study the need of enabling legislation. It was found necessary and desirable to prepare legislation for consideration of the two bodies. The result was passage of enabling legislation in the 1949 session permitting all Durham County to be zoned.

The county board immediately appointed a zoning commission responsible for preparing a comprehensive zoning plan and ordinance. In February 1945 the city of Durham organized a planning department as one of its regular functions. Its services were engaged to prepare the county's zoning plan and ordinance under general direction of the county zoning commission but subject to final approval of the county board of commissioners. The field and office work on the preliminary portion of the work is now completed. A tentative outline of proposed zone classifications with permitted land uses proposed in each is being drafted for study by the county zoning commission.

Nebraska and Texas Approve Rural Fire Districts

Under a law passed at the 1949 session of the Nebraska legislature, rural areas may now organize and operate their own fire fighting districts. The purpose of the law is to encourage property owners in rural areas to provide "the same type of protection of their lives and property against loss or destruction by fire as is available to residents of incorporated cities and villages."

Under the statute 60 per cent of the rural property owners in an area equivalent in size to one or more townships must petition the county clerk to call a meeting on the organization of a rural fire district. A majority of those present must approve its establishment. They may arrange for mutual aid among themselves or contract with adjacent cities and fire departments.

By a vote of 153,252 to 145,298 last November, the electorate of Texas approved a constitutional amendment permitting the legislature to provide for rural fire prevention districts.

Three other proposed constitutional amendments relating to Texas counties, however, were defeated. The proposal for retirement and disability pensions for county employees failed by a vote of 205,424 to 95,280. That permitting the merit system in counties of 75,000 population and over failed by a vote of 163,971 to 134,703. That authorizing creation of city-county health units was defeated 180,633 to 119,357.

Silver Spring, Md., Advised to Stay under County

The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Maryland has recommended to one of the largest urban unincorporated areas in the country, Silver Spring, Maryland, that it would not be advisable to incorporate. The report[1] was prepared by Joseph M. Ray, consultant to the bureau and executive secretary of the Maryland League of Municipalities. It urged that the community continue to secure the administrative services of Montgomery County.

The report describes the structure of government under the new Montgomery County home rule charter as well as the operations of the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission and the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission.

The author discusses at length the alternatives which might be open to the Silver Spring suburban community: (1) inclusion of the area in the District of Columbia, (2) incorporation of the entire Maryland area suburban to Washington into one city government; (3) establishment of a metropolitan city for Montgomery County, and (4) incorporation of Silver Spring as a separate city. He dismisses the first three possibilities as being entirely outside the realm of practical action.

As to the fourth alternative, after listing some of the advantages that have been put forward for such a step, the study comments: "The major functions of education, health and welfare are purely county functions. . . . The city could hardly get more services for the money expended than are now being provided by the county government, and there would be much duplication of expense. . . . The goal for Montgomery County should be to reduce the number of governments rather than to complicate it further by the creation of new governments. . . . We are forced to conclude, therefore, that it would be practically impossible to establish and operate a city of Silver Spring within the framework of Montgomery County on an economical basis."

The report concludes: "The resolution of the governmental problems confronting Silver Spring offers one further alternative, continuation of the present unincorporated status in Montgomery County. . . . The charter government has brought many improvements. . . . The resident of Silver Spring need not shudder at continuing to cast his lot with the government of Montgomery County. The county is, and was before the charter, one of the best governed counties in Maryland. His obligation, as a citizen of the county, is to work for the continued improvement of his government."

New Jersey Taxpayers Study County Finances

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association has issued a statistical study of county finances "to encourage a general extension of such [taxpayer] interest . . . as a fiscal introduction to the study of county government."[1]

The text and tables analyze the revenues, expenditures and indebtedness of New Jersey counties. They reveal

(Continued on page 168)

---

[1] *Improving Government in Silver Spring,* by Joseph M. Ray. College Park, Maryland, 1949. 44 pages.

[1] *County Finances.* Trenton, New Jersey, 1950. 24 pages (mimeo.). $1.

Proportional Representation • • *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Presidential Election Change Passes Senate

Lodge Amendment Would Apply P. R. to Electoral Votes

A PROPOSED amendment to the U. S. constitution, to provide that the electoral votes of each state be credited to presidential and vice presidential candidates in proportion to the votes they actually receive, has passed the Senate.[1] Sponsored by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Republican of Massachusetts, the amendment would abolish the Electoral College but preserve to the states their present electoral votes.

The February 1 vote on the amendment was 64 to 27, three more than the two-thirds necessary for adoption of an amendment. Before it can become effective the House of Representatives must concur in the proposal, likewise by at least a two-thirds vote, and the amendment must be ratified by at least three-fourths of the 48 states. By the terms of the amendment such ratification must take place within seven years from the date on which Congress completes its action and submits it to the states.

Under the present system all members of a state's delegation to the Electoral College are those pledged to the presidential and vice presidential candidates receiving the highest vote. Electoral votes for each state are the sum of the total number of representatives and senators to which it is entitled.

Senator Lodge's proposal was amended in the Senate to provide that if no candidate receives at least 40 per cent of the electoral vote, none should be elected directly. The election would then be by the Senate and House of Representatives, in joint session, from among the two candidates having the highest number of electoral votes, and would be determined by majority vote. Senator Lodge accepted the amendment.

Several amendments or alternative proposals were offered and defeated. Two amendments proposing election of the president and vice president by direct popular vote were defeated by votes of 63 to 28 and 60 to 31 respectively. An amendment to limit the allocation of electoral votes in each state to the two candidates receiving the highest popular vote in such state was defeated by a vote of 67 to 23. An amendment which would have nullified the chief purpose of the proposal by awarding all of a state's electoral votes to the candidate receiving the largest popular vote in the state was defeated by a vote of 71 to 20.

President Truman has expressed his personal approval of the proposal. Although he has no official role in the adoption of a constitutional amendment, this approval, although not given as indicating party policy, may influence the action of the House of Representatives. The vote in the Senate crossed party lines, although there was some correlation with party alignments: 46 Democrats and 18 Republicans voted for the amendment whereas 23 Republicans and four Democrats voted against it.

---

[1] See also the REVIEW, June 1948, page 334; January 1945, page 42.

Worcester's Plan E Off to Good Start

For the next two years the destiny of Worcester, Massachusetts' second largest city, will be in the hands of nine men elected at large by proportional representation.

Their record in office is bound to have considerable bearing on the success or failure of the Bay State's ten-year-old council-manager movement. Known as Plan E—one of five standard municipal charters authorized by the legislature—it has been under constant and varied attack by entrenched political machines.

Chief target is the charter's most essential feature, the politically baffling proportional representation election system. Despite the attacks, however, six of the state's 39 cities are operating under the charter's provisions. Besides Worcester they are Cambridge, Lowell, Medford, Revere and Quincy.[1] Two more—Somerville and Gloucester—adopted the charter to take effect in 1951.

The change-over in Worcester was accomplished with the efficiency of a surgeon's scalpel to the bewilderment and confusion of the city's old-line political organizations.

Worcester's nine Plan E councilmen took office in a streamlined inaugural ceremony January 3 after a record shattering election in November. They replaced a 101-year-old, 41-member city government that was second in size only to Chicago's cumbersome and politics-ridden system.

The new council got off to an auspicious start. It augurs well for the city's future despite threats of an increased tax rate to meet debt requirements and overloaded payrolls inherited from the old administration.

Andrew B. Holmstrom, the only councilman elected by a smashing surplus over the P. R. quota, was unanimously selected as the council's presiding officer and ceremonial head of the city. Mayor Holmstrom, vice president of Norton Company, an international abrasive manufacturing concern, like three of his colleagues never before held elective political office. Under the charter Holmstrom also is chairman of the city's school committee likewise elected by proportional representation.

For vice chairman the council elected another newcomer, Thomas C. Sweeney, a 29-year-old engineer.

Seven weeks after the inauguration the council, after interviewing 40 applicants for the $15,000 city manager's post—several of whom are directing the affairs of other cities—finally persuaded Everett F. Merrill, another industrialist, to remain as the city's executive head. Merrill, former president of the Chamber of Commerce and president of Merrill and Usher, Inc., steel fabricators, originally had been chosen on a temporary basis. He had agreed to serve as city manager until the council found a permanent man for the post.

Merrill, who has a prodigious capacity for long working hours, was the council's unanimous choice after the members were unable to agree on an outsider. He has named as his assistant another non-professional in city administration, Francis J. McGrath, who obtained a leave of absence from his duties as principal of one of the city's elementary schools.

Currently Merrill's biggest problem is whipping the more than $20,000,000 municipal budget into shape for action by the city council. He is on record as saying that no essential service to the city's 200,000 population will be cut, yet at the same time he is striving to hold the anticipated tax rate increase to a minimum.

---

[1] The town of Saugus operates under a similar charter.

Although the new council and the manager have moved rapidly in effecting a smooth working city organization—standing committees have been cut from 22 to eight—they have had their troubles, too. Perhaps the greatest loss to date was the retirement of City Clerk Malcolm C. Midgley early in February.

To Midgley goes a large share of the credit for the success of the November election, the city's first under proportional representation. For almost a year preceding it, Midgley spent his spare time speaking before service clubs, unions, church groups, women's organizations and other gatherings explaining the new method of voting.

With the help of George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the Citizens Union of New York, Midgley set up the election machinery which handled the greatest number of ballots ever cast in any municipal election in the city, more than 76,000. And Worcester voters established an all-American record, according to Hallett, by having the lowest number of invalid ballots in a P. R. election in this country—2.08 per cent for council and 1.45 per cent for school committee. This despite the fact there were 152 aspirants for council and 36 for school committee, another record for a municipal election.

Counting of the ballots after the November 8 election was accomplished within eleven days including a recount for the sixth school committee post. The speed and efficiency of the count, which proved to be an admitted eye-opener for many old-line politicians who had previously predicted direful obstacles, were due to the careful direction of Hallett whom Midgley retained as director of the count.

Midgley also spent long hours studying council procedure in Cincinnati, Cambridge, Lowell and other council-manager communities before drafting tentative rules for the new council. That his counsel in procedure will be missed is shown by the resolutions of commendation adopted by the council on his retirement.

A Representative Council

Council members are fairly representative of the city's population. Besides Holmstrom and Sweeney they include Allen K. Burrows, retired district manager of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company, a political neophyte; Ralph E. Duffy, president of the George E. Duffy Manufacturing Company and a former alderman; James J. Marshall, young insurance executive and a former school committeeman; James D. O'Brien, proprietor of a dairy bar and former aldermanic president; Peter D. Tomaiolo, a restaurant manager and former alderman; Emile L. Rousseau, an electrical contractor who never held political office before; George A. Wells, publisher of a monthly newspaper and former alderman at large. The council, too, is representative of the city's political complexion. It includes five Democrats to four Republicans.

Five of the councilmen were members of the slate endorsed by the Citizens Plan E Association, which is an outgrowth of the organization primarily responsible for starting the snowball rolling that resulted in adoption of Plan E two years ago by a smashing two-to-one victory. The five are Holmstrom, Sweeney, Duffy, Marshall and Rousseau.

But while their success was due in large part to the CEA's endorsement, they have already demonstrated their decisions will be of their own making. In the election of Merrill as city manager, officers of the CEA openly expressed their preferment for a professional from outside the city on the theory that he would not be subject to local pressures.

The CEA's wishes didn't prevail in this instance, but the organization's officials have stated they will continue to express opinions on the conduct of the new city government in the belief that the price of Plan E's success is having an ever vigilant electorate.

The CEA likewise was successful in electing a majority—with Holmstrom—to the school committee. Four are Democrats and three Republicans.

But thus far party differences have not cropped up to any great degree in either the council or school committee meetings. A general opinion seems to prevail that municipal services should be provided on a nonpartisan basis.

Whether this feeling will continue in the future remains to be seen. Local politicos, currently outside city hall, are already planning a comeback at the 1951 election.

Charles E. Currier
Worcester *Telegram and Gazette*

Quincy Elects P. R. Council and School Committee

The people of Quincy, Massachusetts, a city of 85,000, have scored a second major victory. In 1947, by a vote of approximately five to two, they abolished a charter providing a strong mayor with veto power and a weak council of nine members, one elected from each of six wards and three at large, and voted in Plan E, the council-manager plan with city council and school board elected at large by proportional representation.

In November 1949, at the first election under the new charter, a majority of the successful candidates for both council and school board received the support of the Quincy Civic Association, organized by the same group of public-spirited citizens which spearheaded the successful 1947 charter campaign.

The association conducted a campaign designed to educate the citizenry in the use of the P. R. ballot through the schools and by means of slide lectures. It conducted a financial campaign which netted approximately $10,000 for advertising expenses.

A Civic Victory

The Civic Association appointed a selection committee of seven leading citizens, only two of whom were directors, under the leadership of J. Brooks Keyes to interview candidates for the council and school board and make recommendations to the association. Each of the 59 candidates for the council and fifteen candidates for the school committee was invited to appear before the committee for an interview. More than 70 per cent of the councilmanic and 95 per cent of the school committee candidates accepted the invitation and discussed their qualifications for public office with the committee. From this process emerged a slate of ten council and eight school committee candidates officially endorsed by the association's board of directors. Four of them were elected to the seven-member council and five to the six-member school board.

Out of a record vote of 29,367 cast at the election, the number of invalid ballots was only 454, 1.5 per cent, reflecting the intense educational campaign that preceded the election. Candidates heading the poll on first choices were successful on the final count. The P. R. counts were completed in eight days under the direction of Joseph DeGuglielmo of Cambridge, who performed an excellent service in training 140 workers for the count.

An outstanding feature of the election was the overwhelming vote cast for Mayor Thomas S. Burgin, who headed the poll on first choices in 19 out of 35 precincts.

Several developments occurred in the campaign and election which are worthy of note: (1) the local newspaper, which had done much to put the charter over, did an outstanding public service by publishing a complete record of all candidates as compiled by the League of Women Voters, which queried the candidates by mail; (2) the league, in accordance with its usual practice, did not publicly support candidates but presented pertinent facts on them without comment; (3) an attempt to enlist the support of labor for a so-called labor ticket was without much success; (4) despite predictions that the vote would be light because of the lengthy list of candidates on the ballot, a record vote turned out, 67 per cent of the total registration and 2,000 more ballots than in the presidential election two years previously.

Following the election the council-elect, without remuneration, worked night after night on the selection of a city manager. From a large group of candidates William J. Deegan, Jr., city manager of Superior, Wisconsin, was chosen by unanimous vote and is now at work. The council, inaugurated on January 2, elected Thomas S. Burgin mayor and David J. Crowley vice mayor. Under Plan E the mayor is chairman of the school committee; A. Wendell Clark was elected vice chairman.

The usual supposition that a government such as Plan E can be sold only to an electorate which is thoroughly sated with rotten politics did not hold in Quincy because it has been relatively a clean city, the principal vice of its government being lack of a progressive outlook and ideas. Quincy is off to the best possible start under its new charter and already real progress in the conduct of municipal affairs has been achieved.

A. Greta Elz, *Secretary*
Quincy Civic Association

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 145)

cording to the American Municipal Association. A report on their activities states: "They have played a large part in shaping legislation: they have conducted annual meetings, published some particularly notable reports and handbooks, inaugurated new types of services and revamped old ones, conducted a wide variety of training programs and regional meetings and, through it all, increased membership."

The 39 leagues currently considered active are reported to have a total membership of more than 10,350 municipalities, Iowa leading with 819 members.

As 44 state legislatures met in 1949 the leagues were particularly active in the legislative field, and many are reported to be preparing for the next legislative sessions.

Public Administration Fellowships at Harvard

The Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University, has announced that the annual award of fellowships will be made on or about May 15 for the academic year beginning September 25, 1950; applications to be filed by April 15 at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Two types of fellowships are available, in strictly limited number: Lucius N. Littauer fellowships for men who have already had some experience in public service and whose academic and personal qualifications show sufficient promise and a few administration fellowships for recent college graduates.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

New York Transit Revenues Drop

Traffic Is Down on City Subway and Elevated Lines

NEW YORK CITY, last of the larger United States communities to abandon the nickel fare on bus and rapid transit lines, is seeing the higher revenues of a ten-cent fare eaten up by higher operating costs. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1950, in fact, the prospect is that revenues will fail to meet operating and maintenance expenses.

For 1948-49, the first year of the higher fare, revenues covered operating and maintenance expense but were not sufficient to cover also some $18,000,000 of budget notes issued to cover deficiencies of earlier years.

For the first six months of 1949-50, according to an analysis by Walter Lister, Jr., of the *New York Herald Tribune,* the city transit system failed by $1,468,000 to cover operating expense. For the comparable 1948-49 period, revenues had exceeded operating expense by $7,016,000. Rapid transit—subway and elevated lines—played the major role in the poorer showing, their revenues exceeding their operating expenses by only $4,082,000 in the first half of the 1949-50 year compared with $11,987,000 in the 1948-49 period. Rapid transit revenues are used in part to finance the deficits of the surface lines, which for the six months of 1949-50 amounted to $5,550,000 compared with $4,971,000 in the first half of the preceding year.

Traffic figures for the surface lines are affected by the fact that the Manhattan bus lines were owned by the city during only three of the six-months period covered in 1948-49; for rapid transit traffic showed a 4.9 per cent decline, week day passenger totals holding close to the 1948-49 level but Saturday, Sunday and holiday traffic slackening sharply.

Identical wage rates were in effect for employees during the two periods, but during the 1949-50 period payments for pensions of former employees were $869,000 greater than in the 1948-49 period and $645,000 more was paid toward employees' hospitalization insurance.

The prospective deficit for the New York City system, it may be noted, considerably understates the loss for the year as it would be measured in the majority of cities where public service enterprises are operated, at least nominally, on a self-supporting basis. This is because operating expenses for the big system do not include interest on rapid transit bonds and amortization of the capital investment in the plant. Under the New York fiscal setup transit debt is paid from tax-supported funds.

Local Borrowing Approvals Continue

With state and local borrowing now wheeling along at a rate of about two billion dollars annually, the first month of 1950 gave no sign of any slackening in borrowing intentions. According to the compilation of *The Daily Bond Buyer,* voters in January 1950 approved $38,781,000 of new municipal bonds. In the same month in 1949 approvals totaled $36,585,000.

The volume of bonds submitted but voted down was up substantially in the first month of 1950, but it was still in line with the postwar trend of approval of most proposals submitted. January

1950 rejections totaled $4,421,000 compared with $2,676,000 in January 1949.

The final compilations for 1949 showed bond approvals at elections (authorizations requiring only action by city councils or other legislative bodies are not included generally) totaling $2,217,294,115 compared with $1,449,725,477 in 1948. New issues of state and municipal bonds in 1949 totaled $2,989,972,551, compared with $2,989,731,949 in 1948. Further, as 1950 got under way, borrowing costs continued low. *The Bond Buyer's* index of yield on twenty representative municipal bonds stood in mid-January 1950 at 2.05 per cent, compared with 2.19 per cent in January 1949.

Legislative Commission Seeks Taxpayers' Advice

The Massachusetts Special Commission on Taxation, created by the 1948 legislature, queried a group of taxpayers by mail early in January 1950, asking them to "share in its earnest efforts to provide a better tax system" for the commonwealth. Enclosed with the letter was a two-color folder entitled "Memo No. 1" summarizing briefly the principal state and local taxes collected in Massachusetts and a return postcard reading, "I am interested in assisting the Special Commission on Taxation in the distribution of its materials and can use ——— copies of Tax Memo No. 1," on which the reader could request additional copies.

Illinois Equalization Program Sustained

Efforts of Illinois to provide a better equalization of assessed valuation of property received court support recently. The Sangamon County Circuit Court dismissed a taxpayers suit to enjoin enforcement of an act of the 1948 legislature abolishing the county assessors and creating a new appointive position of county assessment supervisor.

Inventory Assessment Practices Reviewed

A 1949 Michigan law permits taxpayers holding inventories of merchandise to choose either to be assessed on the inventory on hand January 1 or on the basis of their average monthly inventory. Michigan is the only state that gives taxpayers this choice, according to the National Association of Assessing Officials, although most states use one or the other of these methods.

Five states exempt inventories, as such, from property taxation. Delaware, New York and Pennsylvania exempt merchants' stock along with all other tangible personal property. Tennessee and Virginia impose an "in lieu" tax on inventories. Inventories in Tennessee are included as part of the merchant's capital invested in his business and this capital is subject to a special merchants' ad valorem tax. Inventories in Virginia are also included in the merchant's capital and are segregated for local taxation.

Twenty-two states assess inventories on the amount held on the assessment day. Louisiana and Washington, however, allow assessors to take the average stock on hand during the preceding year if the inventory held on the assessment date is not representative of the average stock.

Thirteen states provide that the assessment shall be made on the average annual inventory—Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma and Wyoming. In most of these states the average inventory is computed by adding the inventories for the preceding year and dividing by the number of inventories made during the year.

Kansas, New Jersey, Ohio and South Carolina require that inventories be figured on a monthly basis. Three states do not fall into any standard category. Idaho uses the average value of the inventories of the first three months of the calendar year. In Missouri the highest inventory between the first Mondays of January and April is used. The last previous inventory can be used in Nevada if it is made within six months of the assessment period.

Michigan Investigates State Aid to Localities

A useful pamphlet on local government has been prepared by Paul H. Wileden, of the Michigan Department of Administration, which examines the problem of state aid and its impact upon finances in selected Michigan counties.[1] After discussing its fiscal importance, its varieties and scope and limitations, the author describes the operation of state aid in education, highways, health, welfare, etc.

The author concludes that the rapid rise in state aid has resulted from an increased demand for local expenditures at a time when local revenues were relatively insensitive to rising prices and state revenues were sensitive to the trend. In the years studied, 1945 and 1946, state aid was definitely an important factor in Michigan finance. Highways received the largest amount in proportion to total expenditures followed by education, social welfare, general operation and health.

The author's indictment of state aid as presently administered is expressed in part:

"The multiplicity of units and their concomitant overlapping have contributed to inequities in taxation and excessive costs of local services; they have hampered development of a sound local tax structure and have made it extraordinarily difficult to fix financial responsibility in order to avoid local extravagance in the expenditure of state funds. . . . To the extent that state aids may subsidize the perpetuation of certain units of government they can forestall desirable reform which would permit greater benefits from the same amounts of assistance. . . .

"There is seldom enough attention paid to reducing the costs of local government through greater administrative efficiency or the elimination of unnecessary or wasteful activities. Too rarely is consideration given to the positive benefits from a serious scrutiny of the effectiveness with which revenue is raised from the local sources already in use. Even the property tax, local government's major revenue producer, has had its yield hampered by inadequacies in assessment and collection practices, by extensive tax exemptions and by a too stringent constituitional limitation of its rates."

The author's recommendations to both the state and local units are:

"Local action needs to be in the direction of (1) making the necessary organizational changes to permit more effective citizen participation and to achieve administrative efficiency and economy; (2) developing the potential yield of the local revenue sources already available; (3) adopting adequate financial recording and reporting procedures; and (4) collaborating with the state to achieve a more satisfactory system of state aid.

"The state program of action should center on (1) permitting a broadened local tax base where needed; (2) encouraging proper utilization of the local property tax; (3) adopting a policy of administrative supervision which largely would consist of service, assistance and the diffusion of information and advice to the localities; and (4) continuous evaluation of the effects and possible improvements in the state payments to local government."

E.A.M.

---

[1] *State Aid and Local Finance in Selected Michigan Counties.* Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1949. 70 pages. 75 cents.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

How One City Got a Manager Charter

Merced Voters Organized to Secure Good Government

VOTERS of Merced, California, by a two-to-one majority, adopted a council-manager charter on April 12, 1949. This did not just happen, however. Adoption of the charter was the planned second step of a valiant fight waged by a hard-hitting group determined to bring improvement in government to its community.

The work of the group did not end with its successful campaign for a council-manager charter. Its leaders, realizing that citizens sympathetic to the new form must be elected to the council to insure its successful initiation, took a third step. At the first councilmanic election under the manager charter the group supported a slate of seven candidates, five of whom were elected. Of the two additional, one was an independent sympathetic with the charter's ideals.

The movement took root in 1947 at a mass meeting of citizens determined no longer to tolerate inefficiency. From this meeting a committee was formed which received strong support from service and other civic groups. The committee created a new organization which had as its sole objective improvement of Merced's government and aptly named "Better City Government."

Donald M. Robinson, progressive local rancher with a public administration background acquired at the University of California, spearheaded the movement. He helped sell the idea that what the community needed was a council-manager system and a new charter. Obviously such a change would require a long time. A former city councilman proposed that in the interim the city adopt the council-manager plan by ordinance.

The Better City Government group, therefore, determined upon two steps: (1) to secure adoption of an interim manager plan by ordinance and (2) to elect a board of freeholders to draft a new council-manager charter. One year was devoted to the campaign in support of both moves. The result was approval of both measures by a vote of more than four to one.

Thus, the first city manager came to Merced. His row was certainly not an easy one to hoe. The old city council, a majority of its members opposed to the manager plan, was still in command. Elected administrative officers, likewise unsympathetic, extended little cooperation. City Manager Bill Richards had no delusions concerning the difficulty of the task ahead. He proceeded in a calm, deliberate and efficient manner to give the people of Merced a sample of the advantages possible under the system advocated by the Better City Government group.

Probably the soundest bit of advanced planning which went into the campaign was the care used in the selection of freeholders to draft the new charter. Having in mind the grass roots' origin of the movement, it was felt essential that all groups be represented on the board. There were only fifteen persons nominated for the fifteen seats but it was a group truly representative of the entire community.

As Mel Hodell, of the Merced *Sun-Star,* which played a strong supporting role in the movement for better government and the adoption of the charter, expressed it:

"There was a banker, a merchant, a school board president, a former mayor, a fig grower, a printer, a housewife, a high school vice principal.

"The unions were there. Shoe store and hardware store owners were there. The auto dealers were there.

"One was an Elk, another a Mason, a Women's Club member, a PTAer, a Lions member, a Rotary clubman, and church members.

"All races and creeds sat around the same table to write the charter."

During the drafting of the charter, the Better City Government group maintained its constant vigil at city hall. Whenever it felt that members of the council were interfering with the operation of the interim manager plan, it was quick to come to the manager's support.

Having accomplished the election of the board of freeholders the group remained wholly aloof from any attempt to influence its thinking.

Charter Campaign

With the filing of the charter and the fixing of the election date, the Better City Government group tightened its belt and settled down to the hard task of selling the charter. It conducted an excellent campaign, including an educational program in schools, a contest for a charter slogan —"Let's all get smarter, adopt the charter," a letter writing competition, a series of public meetings, a question box for the newspaper and the enlistment of support of civic organizations.

Letters were written to officials of other cities where council-manager governments were in operation to learn of the results achieved and replies were printed. The group also conducted a poll while distributing a simplified index to the proposed charter and the information received was used in the last minute drive before election day.

The Better City Government group feared a vigorous counterattack on the eve of election. It anticipated the probability that a mass of misinformation would be distributed, creating the fear of "dictatorship" or of "increased taxes" in an attempt to stampede the voters at the last minute. The group prudently took steps to warn the public against such tactics. The local newspaper stated that during the last week it would not publish new arguments for or against the charter unless ample opportunity was provided for a reply. As anticipated, those opposing the charter did launch a last minute blast, but it proved ineffective because of the measures already taken and because the Better City Government group was in a position to reply immediately.

The new charter provides a council of seven elected from the city at large, a mayor elected by the council from its membership as presiding officer and a city manager appointed by the council. It is one of the first charters in California to centralize all financial functions under a finance officer, who is an appointee of the manager, thereby following the recommendation of the National Municipal League's *Model City Charter*. Members of the city board of education are the only other elective officials.

The formerly elected city clerk, who had the added duties of chief accounting officer, is made an appointive officer under the council and separated from all financial functions. The treasurer's office, also formerly elective, is abolished, with personnel blanketed under civil service in the department to be headed by the finance officer. The city council appoints the city attorney, city judge and city clerk. All other officers and department heads are appointed by the manager.

With the fight for improved city government behind it, and a council sympathetic to the charter's ideals elected to inaugurate the plan, some members of the group have turned their attention to the county and are now sponsoring a movement for its adoption of the manager plan.

Louis H. Burke

Editor's Note.—Mr. Burke was legal consultant to the board of freeholders which drafted the Merced council-manager charter. He has acted in a similar capacity for other boards drafting charters for California cities and as consultant to various city councils on charter revision matters.

Citizenship Day May 21

This year Citizenship Day, proclaimed by the president as a time for the special welcoming of new citizens —naturalized as well as those reaching voting age—falls on Sunday, May 21. For communities anywhere which want to do a thoughtful job of preparation we strongly recommend *Citizenship Training and Induction for New Voters.* This organization handbook explains the Manitowac Plan of citizen induction which made that Wisconsin county the envy of its neighbors. It was prepared by the University of Wisconsin to "assist Wisconsin counties in setting up programs of training in citizenship and ceremonies of induction into the electorate for their young men and women who have become of age within the past year." Copies may be obtained without charge from the National Municipal League, 299 Broadway, New York 7.

* * *

Education for Citizenship

Columbia University has recently received a grant of $400,000 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to finance a Citizens Education Project in high schools in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Pennsylvania. The purpose of the project is to strengthen and improve education for citizenship through practical training and classroom work. Dr. William S. Vincent, professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia, which will conduct the project, is its executive officer.

Pledging his support to the study, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, president of Columbia University, commented that: "The purpose is not to impose doctrine but rather to stimulate and sustain both personal interest in the basic values of America and the realization that individual freedom and individual responsibility are inseparable parts of the same concept."

The Civic Education Project being conducted in Cambridge, under the direction of the Educational Research Corporation, has issued *A Progress Report,* which gives a resume of its objectives and work, reports on the present status of pamphlets and sourcebooks, and lists personnel and other pertinent facts. The project is under the joint direction of John J. Mahony and Henry W. Holmes, professors of education, emeritus, of Boston and Harvard Universities, respectively.

* * *

Civic Award

The $1,000 Lane Bryant Annual Award for Volunteer Service to the Community will be given "to any unpaid, volunteer group or individual who has contributed outstanding work to the community which has resulted in better living and greater happiness for the people in that community" during 1949. Lane Bryant, Inc., a department store located in New York City, is receiving suggestions on persons or groups who might qualify. The award for 1948 was given to the Citizens' School Committee of Chicago.

* * *

With the Civic Groups

The *Michigan Community News Letter* for December is devoted to "a report on the use of the self-survey technique with examples from self-surveys done in Michigan communities." Communities reported on include Vermontville, St. Clair Shores and Otsego. The *News Letter* is published by the University of Michigan's School of Education and the Extension Service "in the interest of community adult education."

State civic groups in Oklahoma have revived their 1946 organization, the Citizens' Committee for Constitutional Revision. Groups endorsing the program include the League of Women Voters, Council of Church Women, State Bar Association, American Association of University Women, State Conference of Social Work, Educational Association, Congress of Parents and Teachers, School Boards Association, Young Women's Christian Association, State Association of Social Workers, Auxiliary of American War Dads, Junior Chamber of Commerce and League of Young Democrats. H. V. Thornton, mayor of Norman and director of the Bureau of Government Research at the University of Oklahoma, is chairman of the citizens committee. *Shall We Revise our Constitution* (eleven pages, mimeographed) discusses the numerous problems which should be taken up by a constitutional convention.

The fifteenth annual meeting of the Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League heard an address by Frank M. Acton, liquor enforcement chief for the Cleveland District, on "Gambling in Hamilton County." A question and answer period followed the talk.

The Oregon League of Women Voters is making a study of the state's legislature. A study committee is compiling a report on "Legislative Procedure and Organization" for the league's information.

Recent Publications

The Citizens Committee on State Government is a voluntary group of Connecticut citizens whose job it is "to help the public get information on the present state of government affairs and to help keep the people posted on what the Commission on State Government Organization is doing." To this end it has issued *Blueprinting a Better Connecticut* (sixteen pages), describing the need for the commission, its members and their work.[1]

The Job Has Been Started—A Progress Report for the Period Ending December 1, 1949, (14 pages) has been issued by the Poughkeepsie (New York) Area Development Association. The pamphlet explains the association and how it works, its program for the past—and its first—year and its program for 1950. An appendix lists survey reports now available and those in preparation.

"A Milestone for CCCP," by Henry C. Beerits, president, appearing in the council's *News Letter* for December, describes the work of the Philadelphia Citizens Council on City Planning with a "Chronological History" from its beginning in 1940 down to date.

Teamwork Will Improve Our Communities says the New Jersey Citizens Conference in a six-page leaflet describing its work. Listed are the services which the conference supplies to local communities.

A new publication of the Citizens Association of Chicago is *Zoning News Sheet.* Undated, it is issued after city council meetings "to give citizens advance information regarding zoning changes proposed for their community from time to time." The association has also published *75 Years,* a description of its work ever since its organization July 28, 1874.

---

[1] See page 140, this issue.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Universities Serve State and Local Governments

Problems, Trends Discussed; New Developments Reported

ONE OF the significant trends in governmental research and professional training in public administration is the growth of university services to state and local governments.

A new consultation service for public officials began last fall under the auspices of the Bureau of Government Research, University of Kansas.

The Municipal Technical Advisory Service, Gerald W. Shaw, executive director, was established July 1, 1949, at the University of Tennessee.

"How Specialized Staff Assistance May Be Used Most Effectively by Municipalities," an article in the *Supplement to The Borough Bulletin* of the Pennsylvania Government Administration Service at Philadelphia, is based on three and a half years of experience of the Government Consulting Service, a special service arm of the Institute of Local and State Government of the University of Pennsylvania.

On February 1 the Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas became the Institute of Public Affairs with an expanded program of research, training and services.

An entirely new Institute of Public Affairs has been established at the State University of Iowa. The institute, which is separate from the Extension Service and the Political Science Department, intends to work closely with the Iowa League of Municipalities, according to Russell M. Ross of the Political Science Department. Mr. Ross reported on the plans of the institute at the session on "University Services to State and Local Governments" at the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government at St. Paul in November.

The St. Paul session, conducted by Professor Roscoe C. Martin, head of the Department of Political Science, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, and former director of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, was in itself a demonstration of the growing importance of university programs of research, in-service training and consultation for state and local agencies. At the session were representatives of institutions in New Jersey and Missouri interested in the possibility of developing programs in their states.

Discussion of Bureaus' Work

Professor Ernest A. Engelbert, Maxwell School, commented:

"The panel on University Services to State and Local Governments was one of the best I have ever attended at the National Municipal League conventions. The papers which were delivered were short and well presented and the participation was lively. Throughout the entire discussion a minimum of 60 persons were present. All but one of the participants listed on the program were present and made some remarks."

There was repeated emphasis throughout the discussions on the importance of gearing research and consultant work as well as in-service training to the practical needs and understanding of the public officials for whom the work is done. As Weldon Cooper, of the University of Virginia's Bureau of Public Administration, put it, "consultative and service work must be conducted for an official body" and "should be based on a nearly unanimous request from the city council, charter commission or other agency. A consultative program must not be mixed with reform; a bureau cannot employ the frontal attack of reformers although it can get reform in various amounts by indirection."

York Willbern, director of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, in a talk on "Translating Technical Know-How into Administrative Action," pointed out that if governmental agencies are "to obtain the full advantage of the store of technical knowledge which has been uncovered by research and study" it is necessary that there be "as high a degree of professionalization as is possible" among public employees. "Governmental employees of any significance ought to belong to professional associations, to attend professional meetings, to read professional journals, to insist on an ever increasing degree of education and training among themselves and associates, to develop a professional spirit and attitude."

He stressed "the value of continuing contact between a center of knowledge and the operating agency, as contrasted with the periodic or episodic survey or installation. . . . Many a survey or special study has been made and left to gather dust." Mr. Willbern spoke also of the influence of such continuous sources of information as periodicals or newsletters, stating that "the cumulative effect of information or ideas over and over, through various channels, to the operating agencies, may finally bring results."

Both Mr. Cooper and Mr. Willbern pointed out that, as Willbern put it, "influencing governmental action, even with technical information, is a political process." Much is gained, he said, if it is possible to influence "the key man," the political leader, while "work with leagues of women voters, civic clubs and study groups may be more useful in the long run than immediate consultation with administrative officials."

C. C. Ludwig of the University of Minnesota, executive secretary of the League of Minnesota Municipalities, in a talk on "The University and Local Government Organizations," discussed effects of varying degrees of university affiliation between state universities and leagues of municipalities. Mr. Ludwig held that close cooperation was appropriate and mutually advantageous since "the leagues, like the universities themselves, are 'public' agencies and have the objective of improving government and public affairs." Affiliation tends to put the leagues' leadership, research and library services on a high plane, while it gives the academic work in the universities a "practical or laboratory touch."

Leagues of Municipalities

Mr. Ludwig described as a happy one the Minnesota experience of close affiliation. The Minnesota league was organized over 30 years ago by the dean of university extension with the university's Municipal Reference Bureau providing the league with its executive secretaryship, its headquarters and "a substantial space and salary subsidy." Mr. Ludwig continued:

"Similar close affiliations exist in Oregon, Colorado, Maryland and South Dakota, and somewhat less direct relationship in Washington, Tennessee, Pennsylvania and Kentucky, and to a still lesser extent in Michigan, Louisiana, Virginia, California, Texas and Iowa. A frequent criticism of a university-league affiliation is the effect on the league's lobbying for state legislation favorable to city government—perhaps hampering the league or embarrassing the university. It must be admitted a close relationship, such as ours in Minnesota, naturally results in a less militant and more educational type of legislative program, and in greater emphasis on the research and information service aspects of the league's activities."

Albert H. Rosenthal, director of the School of Public Administration, University of Denver, discussed "Universities and In-Service Training." He examined different points of view regarding the justification for university activity in this field and defended and developed his own conviction that valid in-service training programs must have the one basic purpose of "improvement of government service by increasing the qualifications, and thus the effectiveness, of governmental employees." This, he felt, fully justifies a university in entering this field if it recognizes its responsibility for utilizing its resources "in strengthening our democratic institutions."

Training Local Employees

He continued: "One need not be an expert in international affairs to know that our democratic institutions are currently under severe attack. Government is the primary institution in the democratic way of life. Universities and colleges—more than 1,500 of them—are dispersed throughout every state in the country and that is where the job must be done. Most people think of the federal government when the term 'government' is used. Actually, from the point of view of employees, the larger public employment is at the state and local levels where approximately 4,000,000 of the total of 6,000,000 government employees are located. By assisting in increasing the effectiveness of these employees, universities and colleges throughout the country may make a real contribution to the task of strengthening our democratic institutions."

Lee S. Greene, director of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee, discussed university cooperation in the service of a region which he defined as an area comprising more than a single state. "In the Tennessee Valley . . . where the notion of river basin coordination has taken hold, the state universities have been drawn into the activity in public administration, public finance, chemical engineering, hydraulic engineering, archeology, botany, physics, industrial management and what have you."

While recognizing possible pitfalls in regional cooperation, Mr. Greene indicated his belief that it has substantial contributions to make not only in his own area where it has been most highly developed but also in other places including especially such areas as the Missouri Valley.

"One of the reasons for seeking regional activity," he remarked, "lies in the strengthening of resources of the individual institutions. . . . Regional cooperation is a useful means of bringing together diverse talents and views; it may thus provide a notion of the similarity of problems between neighboring states and provide suggestions for dealing with those problems through local effort. Regional cooperation means a closer communion among the specialists who work with local problems and may provide them with the inspiration and support essential for them to overcome local difficulties."

Among the many subjects considered in the discussion following the opening talks were relations between bureaus of public administration and other agencies in and outside their respective universities and the ever present problem of money, including especially the possibilities in private financing and fees for work done.

Others who took part in the discussion were: R. R. Renne, president of Montana State College; Christian L.

Larsen, University of Maryland; John M. Holmgren, University of Kansas; Edward W. Weidner, University of California; Edward F. Dow, University of Maine; E. G. Conroy, San Antonio Bureau of Governmental Research; Donald Webster, University of Washington; John A. Perkins, University of Michigan; Bennett M. Rich, Rutgers University; H. V. Thornton, University of Oklahoma; Elwyn A. Mauck, Maryland State Fiscal Research Bureau; Martin L. Faust, University of Missouri; D. Mack Easton, University of Colorado.

Bureau Notes

The Boston Municipal Research Bureau has expanded its activities to include a weekly radio program of questions and answers about the government and problems of Boston and of the metropolitan area as a whole. The program, presented with the cooperation of station WCOP (ABC) at 1:45 p.m. on Sundays, is entitled "Ask About Boston." The bureau has done promotional work through newspapers, civic organizations, neighborhood groups and schools. The Boston School Committee has endorsed use of the radio program by teachers of the social studies.

The League's Year in Western Pennsylvania, an Annual Report of Work Done and Tasks Ahead, has been issued by the Western Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League.

Report for 1949 of the Activities of the Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico appears in the January 1950 *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* Santa Fe.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Irving H. Beck, managing director of the Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, has recently been appointed assistant city manager in Schenectady. Emslie E. Murray is now assistant managing director of the bureau.

Thomas J. Graves, formerly with the research staff of the Senate Appropriations Committee, is now assistant director of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council at Hartford. "I am most immediately concerned," he reports, "and will be concerned for a long period with the reorganization of the state of Connecticut,[1] with appropriate interest in the reorganization activities of the Hoover Commission as they concern the federal government."

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budgets

City Budget Facts. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* January 19, 1950. 3 pp.

A Surplus Saves the City Budget. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* December 1949. 6 pp.

Debt

Background for a Debt Policy. Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* January 24, 1950. 2 pp.

County-by-county Comparison of 1949 School Finances. More Than Score of School Levies Now Authorized. School Property Taxes Near 20 Million Dollars. Helena, Montana Taxpayers' Association, *Montana Taxpayer,* December 1949. 5 pp.

Education

Education in the U. S. A. $4.5 Billion Spent Annually. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* December 1949. 10 pp. Tables. 25 cents.

Higher Education in Virginia. Some of Its Important Aspects Compared with the National Picture. (A series of newspaper articles from the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* with particular attention to the problem of the cost of out-of-state students in Virginia institutions.) By William H. Stauffer. Richmond, Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, 1949. 8 pp.

---

[1] See page 140, this issue.

Kentucky's Handicapped Children—a Problem of Public Education. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1949. 25 pp.

School Census and Attendance. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1950. 31 pp. Tables.

Teachers' Salaries in 13 Cities over 500,000 population. Chicago, Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* January 1950. 10 pp. Tables.

Municipal Government

An Outline of Philadelphia's Government—1949. The Existing Framework of City and County Organization Shown in Charts and Text. (A revised edition first issued in 1924 and most recently reissued in 1932.) By Tina V. Weintraub and Marjorie I. Apt. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1949. 111 pp. Charts.

Nuisances

Nuisances — Their Control and Abatement in the State of Washington. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with Association of Washington Cities, 1949. 148 pp. $2.

Public Housing

Report of [New Jersey] Governor's Temporary Committee on Housing. Paul Volcker, township manager of Teaneck, chairman. (Includes reports of subcommittees on extent of the problem, costs, legislation, financing and state building codes.) Trenton, New Jersey, the Committee, 1949. Variously paged.

Public Works

Public Works Reorganization. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, Bulletin, November-December 1949. 2 pp.

Retirement Systems

Compulsory Retirement of Police and Firemen Is in Public Interest. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* January 3, 1950. 2 pp.

The Pension Story. Hartford, Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers' Business,* January 1950. 2 pp.

Retirement Systems for Legislators. By Betty June Echternach. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1949. 26 pp. 50 cents.

Solved: A Pension Predicament. California Approves New Old Age Aid Bill. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Outlook,* January 1950. 5 pp.

State-Local Relations

How 1949 State Laws May Affect Taunton. (1) Soil Removal, (2) Parking Lots, (3) Vacations. Taunton, Massachusetts, Association of Commerce, *Research Brevities,* December 29, 1949. 2 pp.

Municipal-Provincial Fiscal Relations—A Report on Financial Interrelationships of the City of Toronto. **Summary of the Report of the Municipal-Provincial Relations Committee** (mimeographed). Toronto, Civic Advisory Council, 1949. 300 and 11 pp. respectively.

Per Capita State Expenditures for State Aid—1946, 1947 and 1948. Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bureau Notes,* December 27, 1949. 2 pp.

Water Rates

Water Rates and Related Data of Michigan Municipalities. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, September 1949. 43 pp. $1.50.

Books in Review

American Politics and the Party System. By Hugh A. Bone. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949. viii, 777 pp. $5.50.

Six new titles appeared in 1948-1949 providing comprehensive classroom texts on American parties and, if they are all as good as this, we are well stocked indeed. Emphasis on parties rather than constitutions and structures is a good way to get to the living human elements of our politics as distinguished from the legal. As parties sweep across all units of government, the coverage is equally complete. The emphasis on the unofficial elements of government brings the picture nearer to realities; you will come nearer to adequacy if you tell the history of New York City with Tammany Hall in the foreground than if you stay close to the city charter.

Professor Bone, accordingly, has set forth a vivid pageant of our political history and current scene with a lavish use of picturesque incidents that illustrate his points. Wherefore, after dipping into it for enough samples to inform a brief review, this reviewer found himself reading on and on and finally went back to the beginning and read all its nearly eight hundred pages of fluent English to enjoy its riches of significant objective detail about persons and occasions.

That quality of readability ought to endear the text to those students who suffer from inability to grasp a subject expressed in subjective terms unless it be promptly converted to objective terms and dramatized by use of illustrative examples.

Although the author does not hesitate to put his authority behind the soundest solutions of numerous questions as he goes along, he does it with a light touch. As to "the future of party government" (page 736) he does not attempt any major prescription; the nearest he comes to it is to say (truly): "If party government on any level is to be accepted and successful, considerable reorganization is necessary. The parties themselves must be made more responsive to the will of the membership; they must be democratically governed and controlled. Of crucial importance, therefore, is the nomination process and the process by which the party's policies are determined—and changed when need be. We have seen that this means not an extension of processes but a simplification of them as well as improvements in party organization, procedure and activity."

R.S.C.

The Town Manager Plan in Massachusetts. Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, Inc., 1949. 27 pp.

An orderly manual of the procedure available to Massachusetts towns—as distinguished from cities—for adopting the council-manager plan of government as already utilized by Norwood, Mansfield, Middleboro, Stoughton, Saugus, Danvers, Ipswich and Stoneham. Twenty-five other towns have study committees at work. Progress is bitterly opposed in the legislature by the Association of Town Clerks.

Senior Manual for Group Leadership. Dramatized Lessons in Chairmanship and Floor Leadership Which Includes the Use of the Quick Reference Manual "Parliamentary Procedure at a Glance." By O. Garfield Jones. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. 1949 (revised). viii, 133 pp. $2.25.

Many a chairman would benefit from these dramatized lessons for class instruction in Robert's Rules of

Order. They "are the product of 28 years' experience in teaching 10,000 students," says the author, adding in his "Note for Teachers," that "The best teacher of group leadership treats parliamentary procedure only as a means to achieve the desired end of group efficiency. This teacher inspires the students to have a great urge for making their group effective in a good cause."

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Cities

Local Community Fact Book of Chicago. Edited by Louis Wirth and Eleanor H. Bernert. Chicago 37, University of Chicago Press, 1950. xii, 151 pp. $2.50.

Washington Past and Present. A Pictorial History Published in Honor of the Sesquicentennial Anniversary of the Nation's Capital. By Chalmers M. Roberts. Washington 8, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1950. 218 pp. $4.50.

Discrimination

Model Municipal Ordinance on Discrimination in Publicly Assisted Housing. New York 23, American Jewish Congress, 1950. 1 p.

Handbooks

A Handbook for Iowa Councilmen. By Russell M. Ross and Max A. Conrad. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs, 1950. 39 pp.

A Handbook for Town Moderators. By Geoffrey Bolton. Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 1950. 79 pp. $1.

Intermunicipal Cooperation

A Brief History of the Inter-American Movement of Intermunicipal Cooperation. By Carlos M. Moran. Havana, Cuba, Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Cooperation, 1950. 56 pp.

Management

Production Planning and Control in Office Operations. By Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949. 80 pp. 35 cents.

Military Government

Military Government. Edited by Commander Sydney Connor (USNR) and Carl J. Friedrich. Philadelphia 4, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* January 1950. 261 pp. $2.

Planning

Airports and Community Planning. By Walther Prokosch. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* January 1950. 3 pp.

Community Organization and Planning. By Arthur Hillman. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1950. xviii, 378 pp. $4.

The New Regional Pattern. Industries and Gardens, Workshops and Farms. By L. Hilberseimer. Chicago 2, Paul Theobald & Company, 1949. 197 pp. Illus. $5.50.

North Jersey — Its Prospects and Development Problems. Addresses by Paul Windels, Howard S. Cullman, Albert F. Metz and A. H. Elder. Newark 2, Joint Council of Municipal Planning Boards in Essex County, New Jersey, 1949. 23 pp.

The Taxpayer and Long-Range Planning of Public Works. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* January 1950. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Politics

A Jerseyman's Journal—Fifty Years of American Business and Politics. Autobiography of a Businessman, Governor, Diplomat. By Walter Evans

Edge. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1948. xi, 349 pp. $5.

Traffic Safety

Here's How—to Combat Traffic Accidents with Safety Projects. A Catalogue of Proved Traffic Accident Prevention Promotional Ideas. Chicago 11, National Association of Automotive Mutual Insurance Companies, 1949. 64 pp. illus.

The Motor Vehicle Driver: His Nature and Improvement. Saugatuck, Connecticut, Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, 1949. viii, 165 pp.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion for April 1950. Theme: **Child Pedestrian and Bicycle Safety.** Chicago, National Safety Council, 1950. Variously paged.

Training for Public Service

The Work of the National Institute of Public Affairs 1934-1949. A Summary. Washington, D. C., The Institute, 1949. v, 92 pp.

Wages and Hours

What the 1949 Wage-Hour Act Means—Information About the Newly Amended Law and a Summary of Its Provisions. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Employer-Employee Relations Division, 1949. 34 pp. 15 cents each for 100 or less; 12 cents each for over 100.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 148)

that operating expenditures of the state and its subdivisions increased 60 per cent from 1939 to 1948 inclusive. County government expenditure, representing 14.8 per cent of the total in 1948, increased 57.4 per cent during that period. County debt service expenditures, however, decreased 24 per cent. As an appendix to the report, there is a table of comparative statistics on county revenues and expenditures for 1939, 1947 and 1948.

New York Studies Rural Problems

Roads and taxes are subjects of study in New York State local government. A recent study by Dr. E. A. Lutz of Cornell University for the Governor's Commission on Agriculture showed "a woeful lack in these rural roads of desirable modern characteristics and a predominance of the very features which lead to excessive maintenance both winter and summer and sap our highway resources, thus preventing the extension of a better highway system." Hearings before the commission and its subcommittees also explored the problems of finance, specifications and methods of procedure.

St. Louis County to Vote on Charter Proposal

A proposed charter for St. Louis County, Missouri, will be submitted to the voters on March 28. It provides an elective county administrator and a council of seven.[1]

As a result of public hearings before the Charter Commission its original proposal was amended to: (1) place the county on a pay-as-you-go basis; (2) reduce councilmanic salaries from $1,800 to $1,500 per year; (3) extend the merit system provided for four small departments to their directors.

The document is criticized editorially by the St. Louis *Star-Times* as failing to provide concentration of administrative authority, eliminate the long ballot or extend the merit system to a "sizable portion of county employees."

---

[1] For a brief description see the Review, February, 1950, page 98.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

APRIL 1950 VOLUME XXXIX, NO.

\161

PERIODICAL DEPT.
Public Library
Kansas City, Mo

Connecticut Raises a Standard .... *Editorial*
Strengthening Home Rule .... *Rodney L. Mott*
Home Rule for 'Whole City' .... *Joseph H. Crowley*
Court Outlaws State Aid .... *James E. Larson*
'Ireland Must Be Heaven' .... *Richard S. Childs*
More Hoover Items Submitted to Congress 189
Counties Seek Manager Plan, Home Rule 196
Australian Senate Members Chosen by P.R. 199
Pennsylvania Borrows Record Sum 202
9000 Voters Nominate Candidates by Postcard 206
Research Shows Way to Better State Government .. 211

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR

ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
JAMES K. COLEMAN, *South Carolina*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
JAMES GIRAND, *Arizona*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN, *Maryland*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
HAROLD W. SANFORD, *New York*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
JAMES P. TAYLOR, *Vermont*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
HARVEY WALKER, *Ohio*
YORK Y. WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *President*
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J., *Vice President*
J. W. Clise, Seattle, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York, *Treasurer*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
John E. Bebout, *Assistant Secretary*
George H. Hallett, Jr., *Associate Secretary*
William Collins, *Finance Chairman*

COUNCIL

Richard S. Childs, New York, *Chairman*

William Anderson, Minneapolis
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
Frederick L. Bird, New York
Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati
William Collins, Yonkers, N. Y.
L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Mo.
James A. Cunningham, Chicago
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
C. A. Dykstra, Los Angeles
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
B. H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Clarence Francis, Bronxville, N. Y.
Arnold Frye, New York
Lloyd E. Graybiel, San Francisco
Harrison S. Hires, Berwyn, Pa.
Robert W. Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
John S. Linen, New York
Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis
Mrs. Thomas H. Mahony, Boston
D. K. Pfeffer, New York
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Walter M. Phillips, Philadelphia
Lawson Purdy, New York
Harry W. Schacter, Louisville, Ky.
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Henry L. Shattuck, Boston
George S. Van Schaick, New York
Richard Weil, Jr., New York
A. C. (Jack) White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXIX, No. 4 Total Number 398

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for April 1950

EDITORIAL COMMENT 170

STRENGTHENING HOME RULE .... *Rodney L. Mott* 172

HOME RULE FOR 'WHOLE CITY' .... *Joseph H. Crowley* 178

COURT OUTLAWS STATE AID .... *James E. Larson* 182

'IRELAND MUST BE HEAVEN' .... *Richard S. Childs* 186

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 189

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 196

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ...... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 199

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 202

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 206

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 211

BOOKS IN REVIEW 217

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Index to Legal Periodicals,* the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Copyright April 1950 by
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Connecticut Raises a Standard

EVER since the convention of 1787 the country has been indebted to Connecticut for the "great compromise" bearing its name which reconciled large and small states to a central government strong enough to maintain a powerful and prosperous union.

Now Connecticut again puts the country in its debt. This time it is for *The Report* of the Commission on State Government Organization, Connecticut's "Little Hoover Commission." *The Report* may prove to be a turning point in the history of our federal system.

In a simpler age Jefferson pointed out that strong state governments were the only barriers to encroachment by the federal government. This is even truer today when many activities require cooperation among federal, state and even local agencies. A typical state government with a lumbering, ineffective legislature, with an essentially headless state administration and with local governments deprived of the power to stand on their own feet, is at an almost hopeless disadvantage in dealing with Washington.

The natural advantages of the state—closeness to the people and superior agility in adjusting programs and meeting changing needs—have been largely sacrificed to outmoded structure, self-imposed restrictions and inadequate research and planning. As a result the federal government is often ahead of the states in understanding and meeting needs for which they are responsible.

But if Connecticut will take the prescription of its commission, and if other states will follow suit, the balance will surely become more favorable to state and local self-government.

The report itself and the commission that produced it are in the tradition of the statesmanship that founded the republic. Here is the historic setting of the report as the commission sees it:

"This report comes at the midpoint of a century of profound changes. In our studies of today's needs we are mindful that the century has half its course still to run. We aim to build an enduring structure.

"We have full faith in the American genius for self-government and in the strength of American political traditions. Better government begins at home. To enable the state government to carry its responsibilities effectively, and so to avoid where possible the concentration of responsibility in Washington, greater efficiency at the state level is needed."

In order to achieve "an enduring structure" the commission proposes the most comprehensive attack on basic problems of form and structure yet undertaken by any state. The ten explanatory chapters of *The Report* are models of clear, persuasive exposition and application of tested principles.[1] The text of the ten acts to accomplish the program, including a complete new state constitution, are equally well conceived.

---

[1] For a description of these proposals see the REVIEW, March 1950, pages 140-141.

Since the need for the reconstruction of state government is equally great in most of the other states the reasons for the outstanding quality of the report are worth noting.

As the commission points out, it was authorized to "study all the functions of state government." It soon found that the more effective state government which it was directed to seek called not only for "stronger management in the executive branch" but also "for strengthening the General Assembly and the courts, and for new controls in the hands of the citizens." It also noted:

"No test of the sincerity of our political beliefs, no test of the fitness of the machinery of our state government is so crucial as the success of the state in enabling the citizens in their own communities to handle for themselves the governmental problems that properly belong to them for solution. Local self-government is our oldest political institution, and it should be the most vigorous. That way lies the avoidance of unnecessary centralization, whether in the state capitol or in Washington."

These objectives all pointed to the need for constitutional revision.

So, the first reason for the distinguished performance of the commission is the breadth of its mandate and its own fearless acceptance of all its implications.

Second, the commission, with an appropriation of $125,000, was better financed than most state reorganization commissions, and this appropriation was supplemented by a great deal of expert service at no expense to the state.

Third, the commission assembled the most impressive array of talent ever engaged in a state survey. More than 120 specialists, working on 22 teams, put in nearly 3,000 man days.

Fourth, the commission stands firmly on the findings of its research and its own clear understanding of fundamentals of organization and government. While determined "to keep all the foundations and superstructure existing that are serviceable for building a better government," the commission declined to fritter away its moral authority by pulling punches or offering weak compromises with expediency, prejudices or entrenched interests. This will mean opposition from the selfish and the shortsighted but the commission pins its hope "on cooperative action in which partisan views and vested interests are laid aside for the common good."

This is the course of wisdom and the only one by which Connecticut and the other states can hope to play the role that they must if our system is to remain healthy and truly democratic. It took heroic and fundamental measures to establish the union. Its preservation demands no less of this generation.

Connecticut is fortunate in the caliber, devotion and exceptional competence of its Commission on State Government Organization. Its chairman, Carter W. Atkins, and his associates, Oliver B. Ellsworth, G. Keith Funston, James Lee Loomis and James G. Rogers, Jr., have raised a standard not only for their own state but also for all others as well.

Strengthening Home Rule

If federalism works between nation and states why not a similar relation between states and cities?

By **RODNEY L. MOTT***

LESS than half the states give their cities the essential tools for democratic self-government. In most states local governments are under direct control of state politicians, whose frequent meddling in municipal affairs has been upheld by the state courts on the theory that legislative powers over cities are "plenary," "supreme," "absolute" and "unlimited."

Cities are not only unable to choose the services they will render their citizens, they continually find it necessary to beg the state for funds to pay for the services which the state permits or requires them to undertake. If the states had deliberately set out to destroy the grass roots of democracy, they could hardly have invented a more effective device for doing so than the system of legislative tutelage which many of them employ.

The people of a score of states have attempted to protect local democracy by giving the cities "home rule"—that is, the power to frame, adopt and amend their own charters. In these states city dwellers have been "empowered to determine their local affairs and government" and to make ordinances "relating to their municipal concerns." Some states have even granted them "all powers of local self-government." But the powers which the people have granted the courts have taken away. In decision after decision municipal powers have been whittled down until one can count on the fingers of one's hands the states which now give cities reasonable freedom to decide what services to undertake.

As early as 1913 the Ohio Supreme Court warned against this "embezzlement of municipal powers" by the state. Unfortunately, this warning was not heeded in most of the states, or indeed by the Supreme Court of Ohio itself a few years later. As a result the courts have assumed the task of deciding if a city can build a hospital, empound stray dogs, license ice cream peddlers, regulate local bus fares or establish a reserve fund—a task for which judges have neither the training, knowledge nor political skill.

If terms like "municipal concerns" or "local affairs" had a precise or fixed legal meaning, the court might be able to apply them. But these phrases are ambiguous and political rather than definite and legal. As a result, the decisions interpreting them have piled distinctions without differences on each other until the law of municipal powers is in utter confusion and local officials cannot tell how far their authority extends.

---

*Dr. Mott, formerly with the University of Minnesota and the University of Chicago, is professor of political science and director of the Division of Social Sciences at Colgate University. He was a member of the Governor's Commission on Non-competitive Civil Service in New York State from 1939 to 1941 and is author and co-author of various books and articles in his field. This article is based on his address before the National Conference on Government at St. Paul, November 29, 1949.

Nor are the courts entirely to blame for this result. We have given them an impossible task to perform. The question of which level of government should provide a given service is essentially a political one and should be determined by the political agencies of government.

Politics vs. Judiciary

Policy making by judicial hairsplitting is bad for the courts and bad for the cities. It has increasingly perverted judicial functions into political ones, consuming time and energy which should be devoted to legal problems. It has forced the cities to plead questions of policy before judges who often have little appreciation of the problems of municipal government. Two cases will illustrate how unsympathetic the courts frequently are.

One of the reasons for adoption of home rule in Ohio in 1912 was the resentment caused by the attempt of the state to take over control of the Toledo police force. Nevertheless, the Ohio Supreme Court held, 32 years later, that the grant of "all powers of local self-government" did not give Cincinnati full control of its police department.

In like contempt for municipal interests, the New York courts have held that a local law reorganizing a board to license local plumbers does not relate to the "property, affairs or government" of the city of Binghamton. The court's theory was that health is an affair of state concern, plumbing is related to health, plumbers are necessary for plumbing, the board licenses plumbers, therefore the membership of the board does not relate to the city government.

If cases like these were unusual they would not cause great concern, but the fact is that cities in every state are forced to wage a continuous legal war for the privilege of serving their inhabitants. The people of California found it necessary to amend the state constitution eight times before they convinced the courts that they meant what they said when they gave the cities authority with "respect to municipal affairs."

The key to successful home rule is not to be found in the particular wording of the constitutional formula conferring powers on the cities. It is rather to be found in the ability of the cities to bring powerful political forces to their aid in their struggle for local democracy. In spite of frequent amendments to the California constitution, the cities of that state achieved effective self-government only after they had secured a system of legislative apportionment which insured fairer urban representation in one house of the legislature.

In states like Michigan, Wisconsin or Minnesota, alert and aggressive leagues of municipalities, ready to fight for the rights of the cities, have given local self-government a better chance of success. In states like Oregon and New York, where political interest and participation runs high and where the political parties are fairly evenly divided, the cities have been able to minimize the evils of state interference.

The chief value of the constitutional grants of power has been to furnish a rallying cry for the political forces favorable to local democracy. Without the support of those political forces the cities have found constitutional clauses weak barriers against inroads on local rights.

What is really needed to protect the foundation of our democratic system of government is a revolution in our political thinking. We recognize that the states are equal partners with the national government but cling to the idea that the cities are but creatures of the states. If the federal principle is useful for the nation, why should not a similar relationship between cities and the state be desirable? While federalism is not a complete protection against the encroachments of centralization, it has given the states much stronger protection than home rule clauses have given the cities. This is largely because the federal principle itself protects the political influence of the states, whereas most home rule provisions leave the cities in an inferior position. A grant of home rule is still a grant from a superior to an inferior whereas local federalism recognizes the cities as the political equals of the state.

The theory that the city is but the stepchild of the state is by no means sacrosanct. Indeed, it did not obtain wide acceptance until the last quarter of the nineteenth century when Judge Dillon foisted it upon us. The judge was an eminent legal scholar and was well versed in the judicial decisions of his day. So great was his influence that his doctrine that municipal corporations are "simply agencies of the state that creates them" and "are subject alone to the control of the legislature" supplanted the principle of the inherent right of local self-government which had been tentatively espoused by Judge Cooley in Michigan.

Rise of Dillon Theory

Dillon's theory was not based on a study of the traditions of American political life. Nor was it conceived as part of any fundamental theory of democracy. Had the Iowa judge studied either history or political theory, instead of immersing himself in the decisions of his brother judges, he might have tempered his statements somewhat.

Dillon, like many other northern judges in the post Civil War period, was greatly influenced by two factors: (1) fears of localism which that conflict had generated; and (2) the abuses of slovenly local government on the frontier of an expanding country. Those conditions are no longer with us, but the prejudices they inspired live on to plague our political life.

There is no theoretical justification for a national federalism which does not equally support local federalism. The adoption of federalism in the nation and the acceptance of centralism in the state were both merely accidents of history. Indeed, the argument for local federalism may be stronger than that for national federalism. The states are no longer charged with such overriding duties as national defense or the integration and control of our economy, duties which perhaps can only be performed by a centralized government.

Furthermore, the dramatic char-

PERIODICAL DEPT.

acter of the services provided by the nation focuses public attention on them much more sharply than it is focused on prosaic state functions. Because national services are in the limelight, they are likely to be performed the way the public wants them. On the other hand, local governmental officials are much closer to the people than are state officers and the influence of the public on them is much more direct and powerful. Unless there is an imperative need that a service have statewide uniformity, it may be presumed that local agencies will perform it with greater public satisfaction, if not indeed with greater economy.

Local Federalism?

The constitution of the United States gives the national government a limited number of specified powers with which to perform the services considered of national importance. All other powers are left to the states or to the people. On the other hand, state constitutions, as interpreted by the courts, have centralized the residual powers of the state in the legislature, with the localities having only those which the lawmakers see fit to give them. There are tremendous advantages in trying out new services on a small scale before providing them for an entire state. Under the traditional practice of state centralism a city can only experiment if the legislature permits it to do so. Thus uniformity is promoted in the very cases where diversity would be desirable.

A genuine federalism in our states would by no means destroy state governments. Indeed, it might strengthen them in the same way that federalism has strengthened the national government. There are numerous services which must be handled by units larger than cities or counties. Provision of highways, care of the insane and administration of justice form but the beginning of a substantial list. Nevertheless, the list is by no means interminable. It is probably shorter than many people assume. It should be possible to specify in the state constitution the services which are of statewide importance and the powers which the legislature is given to provide them. One has but to look at the powers of the cities as specified in a typical municipal corporations statute to see that a specification of state powers would certainly be no more difficult than a specification of municipal powers.

The most serious objection to local federalism is that it would tend to freeze the present distribution of powers between state and city, preventing shifts of services in the future as need may develop. Because a service is well performed by the locality in one age, there is no assurance that it would not be better performed by the state in another. During the past generation we have seen a transfer of the provision of highways from counties to the states. A dynamic society demands some arrangement by which the functions of government may be transferred from one level to another, and any constitution which does not permit this is doomed in advance. If the constitution is easy to amend, this transfer can be accomplished by the adoption of a constitutional amendment. In most cases, however, the process of amendment is extremely difficult and it is necessary to look to other arrangements for flexibility.

Cities have suffered so much from legislative interference that they have developed a phobia of all legislative action. The basic difficulty, however, has not been that the state has taken over functions which were formerly performed by the cities. It is rather that the states have prevented the cities from developing new services, have dictated the way existing services should be conducted, and have imposed on the cities the costs of providing services for the state.

Where the legislature acts on matters of genuine state concern, where the law applies uniformly to the entire state and where the intention of the legislature to take over a service is clearly stated, the dangers of legislative abuse or of excessive centralization are greatly reduced. If further safeguards are needed, the constitution might require the state legislature to finance the cost of all services it undertakes to centralize.

Such an arrangement would give much greater flexibility than the normal home rule provision. At the same time it would place the cities in a much stronger political position in four important respects: (1) The presumption would be against the desirability and legality of a proposal to centralize a local service; (2) centralization could only occur if the service were one which could be handled throughout the state on a uniform basis; (3) the legislature would have to take full political responsibility for centralization instead of hiding behind vague judicial pronouncements or ambiguous statutory provisions; (4) if the state were required to finance each service it attempted to control, there would obviously be much less demand for state centralization.

Cities Pay the Bills

The extent to which the state legislatures, while seizing control of local services, have transferred to cities the cost of paying for them is little understood by the public generally. This is a field in which there is genuine need for a careful investigation by trained accountants and statisticians. We take for granted a system whereby the enforcement of state laws, the maintenance of state courts and the collection of the state property tax are done by the localities for the state without charge.

If the imposition of state burdens on cities were to stop with law enforcement, there would be little ground for serious complaint. But it has not stopped there. Cities have been required to provide airplane ground markings for the benefit of planes in intercity or interstate traffic. They have been required to install the expensive sewage treatment processes which the state thinks will protect the health of other districts. They are required to furnish water and light to state buildings, to transport school children from areas outside the city and to pay for reformatories, asylums and roads beyond the needs of the municipalities.

Recently, the states have mandated the pay of local officials and employees, the hours they may work and the pensions which must be paid them upon retirement. One state even prescribes the number of policemen a city must hire and several specify the number of shifts the fire department must have. The standards prescribed by the state are often desirable but they are generally higher than many communities feel they can afford. If the states insist on luxurious city government they should be willing to pay for it.

Many state constitutions prohibit the legislature from levying a tax on the local units, but complacent courts have generally held that the imposition of duties on cities or the prescription of expensive procedures or standards are not taxes though their financial burden may be even greater. If a legislature were to levy a tax directly on the cities the public objection would be tremendous. But when a police pension bill is before the legislature the opposition may not be able to make itself heard. The policemen's organization maintains a powerful lobby and the public usually fails to see the effect of the law on the local budget. Furthermore, the legislature by passing this bill can please a special group of voters without being required to levy the taxes necessary to pay the costs. Sound public finance requires that the same agency which orders the expenditure be responsible for raising the money.

Postwar legislatures have been surprised to discover that many cities have not the financial resources to meet the onerous burdens laid on them. They are caught between the upper millstone of constitutional tax limitations and the lower one of an ever-increasing load of mandated expenditures.

What Is Solution?

Apart from local federalism, there are only two possible solutions for this dilemma—neither of them very good. Cities may beg the legislature for additional funds and, if the lawmakers feel in a generous mood, they may get them through a system of state aid. This, of course, has the evil effect of permitting local officials to dodge responsibility for raising taxes to pay for municipal expenditures. On the other hand, if the state is too stingy to pay its own way, it can give the cities additional tax sources. Neither of these solutions requires the localities to take the blame as well as the credit for local government. In either case city officials are relieved of their financial responsibilities.

It is time to recognize that our cities have come of age, that they are equal partners in the gigantic business of government in America, and that our democratic institutions can be strong only if our local communities are given full responsibility for managing their own affairs. Cities need the right to serve their citizens through an organization of their own choosing and the power to pay their own bills. The extension of the federal principle to state and local relationships offers the best hope of meeting those needs.

Public Library

Home Rule for 'Whole City'

Official proposes the county as logical area to take responsibility for operation, management of services.

By **JOSEPH H. CROWLEY**[*]

OUT of the industrial revolution came the great concentration of population in the urban areas and the growth of cities. With the development of the automobile and other means of rapid transportation began the migration of the city dweller to the countryside and creation of the fringe communities which have brought many vexatious problems to beset the governments of our metropolitan cities.

Not only was there an outward movement of population but, more disastrous to the economic life of the central city, there was also the relocation of industry in the perimeter area of cheap land and unregulated use. Inevitably retail business with its shopping centers and branch department stores followed establishment of the suburban community.

While World War II checked this trend of decentralization for a time, high speed transportation, superhighways and the rapid expansion of utilities are "exploding our cities" at a rate to make us pause and realize that this is truly the atomic age. We are fast dissipating the economic urge which developed the compact city and gave reason for the central location of trade and industry. We have in fact created a new economic area transcending the boundaries of the central city and its satellite suburban cities and villages, demanding a reexamination of our local governmental machinery and a fresh and vigorous attack upon the challenging problems presented.

For more than 50 years the cities have looked to home rule as the hope of the solution of all municipal ills. Home rule in essence is simply the power and authority of a city to regulate its own affairs. In most states such power is not considered an inherent right residing in the people but rather a power derived either directly from constitutions or indirectly through the legislature created by the constitutions. An outstanding difficulty to achievement of home rule has been the confusion over the definition of what constitutes a city's own affairs. As Professor Austin F. Macdonald said:[1]

> What are a city's own affairs? What matters are purely local; what matters are of statewide concern? Are there, in fact, any affairs worth mentioning that do not affect the people of an entire state—or at least the people of several communities—to a greater or less extent? The public health activities of every municipality are of profound interest to its neighbors. . . . The sewage disposal methods of every city are a matter of more than local concern. . . . And so it is with police administration, poor relief, finance, utility regulation, elections. . . . The real

---

[*] Mr. Crowley is chief counsel in the Department of Law of Cleveland. This article is based on his address before the National Conference on Government, St. Paul, November 29, 1949.

[1] *American City Government and Administration,* third edition, 1941, page 79.

> test is not whether the state or the city has an interest in the matter, for usually they both have, but whether the state's interest or that of the city is paramount.

Home Rule Whittled Down

Too often the battle for home rule has ostensibly been won only to be lost because little remains after the hacking away process of the state legislature and the adverse interpretation by the courts.

Mayor J. Woodall Rodgers of Dallas, Texas, addressing the American Municipal Association in New Orleans in 1947, said:

> Home rule—the very soul and fiber of democracy itself—is likewise flagrantly violated by state legislators, and chartered powers once granted to cities are being gradually whittled away, stifling local government as the state legislators flatter their egos in the exercise of undue powers, attempting to sit on city councilmen and regulate the internal affairs of people who live in the cities.

The principle of home rule—remembering that home rule is not an inherent right—has nevertheless long been recognized in this country as one of the most important features of our political system. A democracy which derives from the people rather than from a form of government imposed upon the people by a higher authority depends for its vitality upon the intelligent and effective action of its citizens in our cities and villages.

David Wood, speaking before the American Public Power Association, made this observation:[2]

> I am a strong believer in local government because my study of governmental systems has convinced me that the only way in which a nation of continental proportions can be governed democratically is through the medium of what might be characterized as a confederacy of small governments. My strongest objection to centralization of government is that it is fatal to personal liberty. The democratic form of government is the best guarantee of personal liberty that we have discovered, but it is the most difficult of all systems of government to operate. Democracy cannot be imposed from the top. It must well up from the bottom and, to be successful, it must be constantly practiced in every city, town and hamlet in the country. It must be a part of your daily life, a part of the air you breathe.

The founding fathers dearly learned the lesson that, the nearer officials are to the people over whom they exercise control, the more easily and readily are reached the evils that result from political corruption and the more speedy and certain the cure. Home rule, which recognizes that in the spotlight of local attention local affairs can best be administered, is a necessary concomitant of a democratic form of government which cannot long survive lethargy or apathetic acquiescence in abject surrender of local affairs to the state and national government, farther and farther away from the governed.

Local home rule, therefore, is basic to our system. The $64 question is, "Home rule for whom?" With our metropolitan cities exploding and pouring over ancient boundary lines, merely municipal home rule is not enough.

To be sure, community pride in

---

[2] "The Effect of the Saratoga Springs Decision upon the States and Municipalities." Memphis, Tennessee, May 9, 1946.

civic achievement and active interest in the administration of local affairs are fostered by the intimate acquaintance of the suburban resident with his local officials, often his next door neighbor, and their mutual problems. Unhappily these are often lost in the very bigness of a large metropolitan city.

Metropolitan Home Rule

Yet neither the suburb nor the central city can solve all its own problems of water supply, sewage disposal, mass transportation or even police protection by itself. Such problems do not respect boundaries set in the horse-and-buggy age. The citizen of suburbia is by definition also a citizen of metropolis. If home rule is to be meaningful it must, therefore, be metropolitan home rule not simply or solely municipal home rule. The two are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

A generation or so ago the expansion of the central city by annexation or absorption may have seemed to be the answer. But metropolitan growth has, in most areas, far outdistanced annexation, which has been likened to the effect of a pebble dropped in a placid pool—the serenity of the political scene, like the pool, is disturbed and, like the ever-widening ripples, the effect is annexation upon annexation.

Voluntary cooperation of municipalities for mutual solution of problems has met some needs, partially and temporarily, but it partakes too much of a marriage dissoluble at the whim of either party. It lacks the stability necessary to effective operation. Consolidation, like annexation, may result in mere bigness at the expense of loss of interest and participation in government and is subject to the law of diminishing returns.

Where, then, shall we turn? Shall we look to the state? No, the battle for home rule has been waged to free cities from the shackles of legislatures predominantly rural in composition, in the selection of whose membership the vote of the city dweller counts for only one-fourth as much as his rural neighbor. When 59 per cent of the nation's population lives in cities and these eighty-four million city dwellers elect only 25 per cent of the state legislatures, while sixty-six million rural residents choose the other 75 per cent, little relief may be expected from this source. As Richard Maher of the Cleveland *Press* comments in his study of Ohio,[3] its government is "less representative than when the state was created."

Shall we look to the legislature to create new authorities—the discredited commission driven out of our city government at the turn of the century — under new and fancy names — appointive, not elected — complicated machinery, not simplicity in government—oligarchies, not democracy—created by and subject to the whims of the legislature? No —obviously the authority is not the answer. Where, then, shall we turn?

In most states the county has been a long recognized unit of local government—its officials elected and their functions well understood. What more apt machinery when

---

[3] In *Our Sovereign State,* by Robert S. Allen. Vanguard Press, New York, 1949.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

geared to the engine of home rule! True, the average county government is a relic of the ox-cart days, but it has been responsive to our democratic theory. It can and should be made responsive to home rule. Certainly those services required to be furnished by the urban city whose tax valuations and financial resources are being diminished by the decentralization trend while it is unable to shrink its services or operating costs in relation to its decline in income, can well be supplied on a county-wide basis. Transportation, airports, public halls and stadiums, zoos, parks, recreational facilities, public health, water supply, sewage disposal and, lest we forget, poor relief, are all services which benefit and protect all the inhabitants of the area and serve their needs. All should bear equally the burden of their operation and management.

Adapt the County

County government must be made flexible enough to adapt itself to the changing needs for rendering those local services which extend beyond municipal boundaries through the same home rule principle and power applicable to municipalities. Otherwise the various units created by the legislature to meet the demand for agencies to take care of metropolitan area functions will continue to develop ad nauseam, or metropolitan government will become the "dark continent" of the administrative system of a nation which can remain great only when its local governments are efficiently administered in harmony with democratic principles.

The explosion of the central cities and the concentration of government in the national and state capitals portend the destruction of our cherished traditions of government and present a challenge which no thoughtful person can escape. History demonstrates the easy path of public indifference upon which speeds the insatiable desire for power leading to the destruction of sacred institutions and to human liberty itself. From concession to concession is the path to slavery—from city to state to national government—from local responsibility to state socialism, regimentation and, ultimately, totalitarianism.

Home rule, then, is the right to manage local affairs locally.

For whom? For the inhabitants of the *whole city*, of a natural local economic and governmental area no matter how cut up by municipal lines.

For what? For those local needs and services essentially metropolitan in nature.

This does not preclude some autonomy for smaller units within the area. In fact, metropolitan home rule is necessary if the smaller units of metropolis are to survive with any degree of useful self-government at all.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Court Outlaws State Aid

Grants are declared unconstitutional in West Virginia, forcing cities to seek new taxes or reduce services.

By **JAMES E. LARSON***

THE increasing flow of dollars from state capitols to the fiscal backwaters of the local units is recognized as one of the major developments in state-local relations of the last few decades. Either through the device of the shared tax or the grant in aid the states have attempted to stabilize the precarious fiscal position of local governments.

Census Bureau figures show that total state aid to local units increased from $764,000,000 in 1932 to over $3,000,000,000 in 1948. Much of this aid is accountable to the unrelenting pressure of the cities—the "poor relations" in the governmental family—on the state legislatures for assistance in meeting their multiplying and more costly obligations.

While the merits and demerits of state aid are loudly debated by public officials and others, the fact of aid remains and will continue so long as the states remain superior taxing jurisdictions and the local units continue to provide the majority of services.

West Virginia cities, like all others, are living with this problem. Until recently they had enjoyed modest success with the legislature in securing state aid. In June 1949, however, the West Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals, in a decision without precedent among the states,[1] declared state grants in aid to be unconstitutional.

Since 1932 the cities of West Virginia have survived more through tenacity and native stubbornness than by any other cause. A depression-born property tax limitation amendment added to the constitution that year sheared revenues more than 40 per cent. This "weaning measure" was a staggering financial blow. Services were discontinued temporarily and salaries were reduced or neglected while the emergency was acute. Readjustments were made only with difficulty, the cities eventually turning their attention to the capitol in Charleston for aid.

Expenses, indifferent to constitutional tax limitations, moved upwards while revenues remained as unchanging as the solid and often unproductive land upon which they were based. The result, inevitable in West Virginia as elsewhere, was that the state moved to the aid of the municipalities. In 1941 the governor proposed that $600,000 of surplus profits from the state liquor monopoly be returned annually to the cities on a population basis. The legislature was in agreement and the plan was adopted.

From 1941 until 1949, $600,000

---

*Mr. Larson is research associate of the West Virginia University's Bureau of Government and a teacher in its Department of Political Science. A graduate of the Institute of Public Administration of the University of Michigan, he was formerly research assistant of that institution's Bureau of Government.

[1] *State ex rel. City of Charleston* v. *Sims*, 54 S. E. 2d 729. See also page 203 this issue.

was made available annually for direct assistance to the cities. This money came to constitute a sizable proportion of the revenues of the small cities, but for the major municipalities it was far short of providing a solution to the revenue problem. For Huntington, West Virginia's largest city, the liquor revenues constituted but 3 1/3 per cent of total revenues in 1947-48. It is not surprising that agitation for more aid to the cities continued.

Auditor Refuses Payments

The legislature recognized the urgency of the situation in 1949 by raising the annual appropriation from liquor profits to $1,000,000 for the biennium of 1949-51. Whatever anticipatory pleasures the cities may have enjoyed at the prospects of this action were short-lived, however. On March 30, 1949, the state auditor refused to honor the next quarterly allotment of liquor profits for distribution to the cities. Unexplainably, questions of constitutionality which had been lying dormant since 1941 were suddenly raised.

This development was a double blow at the cities, for the prospect loomed not only of losing the $400,000 "bird in the bush," but the original $600,000 "bird in the hand" as well. The fears of the cities were well grounded. A writ of mandamus seeking to force compliance with the legislative appropriation act by the auditor was denied by the Supreme Court of Appeals in June 1949.

This court decision, of grave consequences for the cities, prohibits the state from extending financial aid to its political subdivisions under article X, section VI, of West Virginia's 1872 constitution:

> The credit of the state shall not be granted to, or in aid of, any county, city, township, corporation or person; nor shall the state ever assume, or become responsible for, the debts or liabilities of any county, city, township, corporation or person; nor shall the state ever hereafter become a joint owner, or stockholder, in any company or association in this state or elsewhere, formed for any purpose whatever.

Upon consideration of this provision, and while not wishing to be understood as being indifferent to the financial problems of the municipalities, the court declared it could do no other than hold that diversion of state funds to local units was in fact an extension of state credit prohibited by the constitution.

The cities were the only local units to suffer a loss by the decision. School districts enjoyed the protection of their carefully drawn constitutional provisions. The counties had surrendered the major functions of highway and welfare to the state during the troubled days of the 30s and had since been favored in the allocation of rates among cities, school districts and counties under the property tax limitation law.

Basically, the position of the court was that any interpretation of the section of the constitution above which sharply distinguished between the extension of credit and a direct appropriation for grants in aid would serve to open wide the door to the state treasury; that it was the intent of those who drafted the constitution in 1872 to forestall this as well as other dangers to the solvency of the state.

While "original intent" often beggars accurate definition, historically it is more correct to ascribe the motivating force behind the no credit clauses found in many state constitutions drawn in the 1860s and 1870s to the single fear that the states would be saddled with the burden of municipal railroad aid debt. There was no intimation that the nice balance between municipal tax structures and municipal revenue needs which obtained in the rural nineteenth century would be overthrown in the urban twentieth century. It is difficult, therefore, to hold that the question of direct grants to cities was at all a factor in the minds of those who wrote the prohibitions against the extension of state credit in the constitutions of the time.

The clear and single intent of these provisions is generally regarded as that of safeguarding the states against the incurrence of debt arising from direct or indirect participation in expansionist commercial ventures. In view of the present day necessity that the states be permitted the widest prerogatives for effective relations with the local units, it is unfortunate that in West Virginia the action of the court constrains rather than widens the powers of the legislature in this area.

In the aftermath of the judicial death blow to aid for municipalities, the cities demanded that the governor immediately call a special session of the legislature. The legislature had adjourned in March following its regular 60-day biennial session and would otherwise not meet again until 1951.

The cities, represented by the West Virginia League of Municipalities, looked to the governor for an extra session to consider a program of legislative action directed at: (1) revision of state laws to enlarge the taxing powers of the cities, (2) increasing the present city sales tax of 2 per cent on liquor sales to 5 per cent, (3) revision of state law to permit all cities to levy service charges for special services, and (4) submission of a constitutional amendment authorizing the legislature to share liquor revenues with the municipalities.

No Special Session

The ultimate decision of the governor not to call an extra session was conditioned by the opposition of many legislators and by the preliminary report of two legislative committees then occupied with a study of municipal finance.

The attitude of the legislators was reflected in the words of one of their members. "The legislature has made an earnest effort to help solve your [municipal] financial problems. . . . To be frank, the legislature has almost exhausted ways and means of granting additional financial assistance in the face of our state constitution. . . . The state's municipalities will have to assume more of their own financial responsibilities."

The two legislative committees, the Joint Committee on Government and Finance and the Commission on Interstate Cooperation, also influenced the governor against an extra session. These two committees had been at work for several months by means of a subcommittee, inquiring into the financial facts of West Virginia's 215 incorporated cities. The preliminary report of the subcommittee weakened the case of the cities for immediate legislative action.

Several of the subcommittee findings are noteworthy in that they indicate the cities are not exploiting present tax powers to the fullest. An examination of municipal budgets for 1948-49 disclosed that somewhat more than 25 per cent of the cities were not levying the permissible maximums under the property tax limitation law. Those cities, however, were typically the smaller units. Revenue needs of the small units are ordinarily less pressing, and apparently there was no real incentive for them to master all the complexities of the property tax law necessary to realize the legal maximum.

In several other areas the committee noted negligence on the part of the cities in taking full advantage of existing revenue sources. Only within recent months have the cities shown interest in levying a sewage fee, although many cities are empowered to do so. Also, it was pointed out by the committee that the licensing powers of municipalities held promise of considerable revenue under a recent court decision which held that fees for licenses were subject only to the restriction that they must not be prohibitive. Previously it was believed that state fees for similar licenses were controlling.

The committee noted further that a 1947 legislative grant of power to levy business and occupation taxes (gross sales tax) had been incorporated into the tax structures of 30 of the larger cities, but that the rates were generally low. Actually, under the impetus provided by the cutting off of state aid there already has been some upward adjustment of rates as well as the adoption of this tax by additional cities.

Cities Want Program

The immediate effect of the court decision among the cities was to produce either a reduction of expenditures or an increase in taxes. In the present fiscal year, 1949-50, the reaction of the cities has varied. Fairmont reduced its budget $25,000. The steel city of Weirton cut its budget by $18,000. Parkersburg trimmed its budget by $70,000 over the opposition of those groups anticipating reduced services. Morgantown countered the loss of state aid by adoption of a sewage treatment fee and an increase in the rate of the gross sales tax. Huntington similarly aims at neutralizing its revenue loss by higher gross sales taxes and the initiation of an amusement tax. The legality of the latter tax is now before the courts.

Attention in West Virginia is now centered on a permanent program to enable municipalities to meet their financial problems. The two legislative committees are continuing their study of municipal finance with the view of presenting their recommendations to the 1951 session of the legislature. Short of a constitutional amendment, or the possible assumption of selected municipal functions by the state, financial relief must be found primarily in legislation permitting wider taxing powers for the cities.

'Ireland Must Be Heaven'

But an on-the-spot look at the country's widespread use of the council-manager plan raises some questions.

By **RICHARD S. CHILDS***

IN EIRE there are no elections except for president and representatives on the municipal, county and national legislative bodies. All those bodies are chosen by proportional representation. All the five cities except Galway, all the 26 counties and all the separate towns have managers. The county and city jurisdictions do not overlap except in Dublin where, however, the same manager serves both.

The county managers are, *ex officio,* the executives for other special elective or appointive boards set up for special functions—water supply, milk regulation, etc.—within their respective counties; when such boards work in more than one county the central government puts one or the other county manager in charge of all employees. County functions are not judicial but relate to public works, roads and health.

To one versed in the teachings of the National Municipal League, this looks like a Utopian pipe dream of structural simplification. Moreover, the authors of the local government arrangements acknowledge that they borrowed from its *Model City Charter* and American experience.

So I went to Eire in June 1949 to see this civic heaven!

This REVIEW for over twenty years has covered the story competently, the principal contributor being John J. Horgan of Cork who began agitation for the council-manager plan there in 1920. One of his articles and another by Arthur W. Bromage describe a situation which continued unaltered in 1949.[1] So, there was really no need for me to investigate. I had good company on twelve days of motoring in bright weather through good, winding, narrow and almost empty roads, saw romantic ruins and kissed the Blarney stone—didn't need to, but I was right there, so why not?

I saw among others the city managers of Limerick and Cork and the county manager of County Limerick—able citizens all—the secretary of the Department of Local Government, the chairman of the Local Appointments Commission and a departmental travelling auditor of county and municipal finances. They were all proud of the condition and traditions of their offices in the last two decades and, I think, with good reason. Their disposition to keep local administration on a merit basis was resolute enough to suit any political reformer and has survived changes of party control at Dublin.

Here's the catch! Eire is smaller in area than Maine, smaller indeed than some American counties. Intervention from Dublin in municipal administration is so easy and intimate as not to invite all the irresponsibilities of remote control which lack of home rule brings to American cities. At any rate, city and county managers and their principal technical subordinates are not picked by the local elective councils but by an impartial system of civil service examination and selection at Dublin. The Local Appointments Commission, created in 1926 in the Department of Local Government, has been headed for seventeen years by the speaker of the Dail, a neutral chairman.

---

*Formerly president of the National Municipal League, Mr. Childs is now chairman of its council and, since his retirement from business, a full-time volunteer member of its staff.

[1] "Irish Manager Government Extended," by Arthur W. Bromage, the REVIEW, October 1940; "Growth of Irish Manager Plan," by John J. Horgan, June 1945.

As local appointments are for life, vacancies are not frequent. When one appears the commission creates a special interview board of experts headed always, however, by a lay chairman of extensive business experience. The list of members of the interview board is held secret until its first meeting. It sifts the applications, conducts written and oral examinations and reports the top man to the secretary of the commission, which does not interview either applicants or board members or their friends. The Local Appointments Commission habitually confirms the selection.

Thus the city or county council is provided with a local manager—or health officer or whatever—by the central government, with a tenure running to the age limit, 65, and removable only by a two-thirds vote of the council if confirmed by the Minister of Local Government. The ministry has power to suspend local councils and has repeatedly done so, which may temper the disposition of councils to offer captious complaints. For several years the city manager of Cork was thus left to constitute the entire government! So, as a manager told me, "It's like married life—we're tied together and have to get on together." The manager has to get his money and ordinance projects from the council and so must cater successfully.

But the laws and the practice whereby councils may not choose or remove managers compels the conclusion that Eire has managers but not our council-manager plan![2]

Large Councils

Councils are larger than here, 21 in Cork, 45 in Dublin, and are described to me as frequently mediocre. Their limited powers do not attract able men but they are important schools of public affairs and good political figures develop there. What could happen is shown in a case of rate collectors, the only staff officer chosen by councils. The Cork County council chose from 82 candidates last June. It seemed to be a rare circumstance and a scandal that the posts should be filled by a succession of polls of council members with ample opportunity for members to follow "the colour of a man's coat," i.e., his party allegiance.

I found agreement in my observation that councils should be smaller to enhance the importance, conspicuousness and attractiveness of

---

[2] The International City Managers' Association has recently removed Cork, Dublin, Limerick and Waterford from its official list of council-manager cities.

Public Library

the post of councilman but was told that the drift of sentiment is toward still larger councils to make room for more men with political leanings. There is insistent pressure of councils, also, for more power over spending officers and less control by national officers. It is easy to forecast that, if large local councils obtain freedom to choose managers as in America, the present capable managers will be victimized by mediocre council members intriguing for patronage and favoritism on petty matters and protected in doing so by their own inconspicuousness as members of a large body. American experience shows that a small powerful board of directors is protected from contamination by the concentrated limelight of public scrutiny.

The P. R. system in Eire is the same as that used in American cities and all informants agreed that it is solidly established despite the difficulties involved in using it for selecting as many as 21 obscure councilmen at large at one time.

Nominations are by deposit. In 1944, 252 candidates ran for 137 seats in the Dail and 45 forfeited £100 deposits because the highest number of votes credited to them during the P. R. count did not exceed one-third of the quota.[3]

* * *

Irish cities in their central commercial sections are to an American strikingly neat in appearance; the difference is in the complete absence of oversized, gaudy, sprawling advertising signs and in the custom of keeping even the proprietors' names within panels that are architecturally consistent with the respective facades of the shops.

* * *

The city manager of Limerick was building several hundred low-rent homes a year on a program of demolishing and replacing all substandard ancient stone slums in another five years. He had joint local and national funds and was building with direct municipal labor without contractors!

* * *

Police in Eire are all national; councils and managers have no jurisdiction over local law enforcement.

* * *

A couple of managers introduced me to the Minister as "the man who invented city managers." The Minister's genial response was instant—"May God forgive you for that, sir!"

---

[3] See "Deposit Simplifies Election Procedure," by Richard S. Childs, the REVIEW, May 1949, page 229.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

21 More Hoover Items Submitted to Congress

Would Complete Nearly Half Reorganization Plan

ON March 13 President Truman laid before Congress 21 proposals on governmental reorganization, based on the recommendations of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. These are in addition to seven other proposals based on the report of the commission, headed by ex-President Hoover, submitted to the last session of Congress. Six of these have been adopted.

Of the 21 proposals the first six would transfer to the heads of the Departments of Treasury, Justice, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor those powers of subordinate officials by which some can now by-pass the department head and deal directly with the president or Congress. One "administrative assistant secretary" or more would be provided for each of these departments, to be chosen from the career civil service.

Proposals seven to thirteen would make the chairmen of various commissions responsible for executive or administrative direction; these include Interstate Commerce, Federal Trade, Federal Power, Securities and Exchange and Federal Communications Commissions and the National Labor Relations and Civil Aeronautics Boards. The president would name the chairmen. The general counsel of the NLRB would no longer be an independent officer; his functions would be transferred to the board and its chairman.

Fourteen and nineteen would transfer the Bureau of Employees Compensation from the Federal Security Agency to the Labor Department and also make the latter responsible for coordinating enforcement of wages and hours legislation affecting federal or federally financed contracts.

Fifteen, eighteen and twenty would transfer certain functions to and from the General Services Administration, which was created last year as suggested by the commission.

Proposals fifteen, sixteen and seventeen would transfer public works functions in Alaska and the Virgin Islands to the Interior Department, place assistance to school districts under the Federal Security Agency and give the Housing and Home Finance Agency, instead of the GSA, control of advance planning of non-federal public works and the management and disposal of war public works.

Number 21 would place the functions of the Maritime Commission in the Commerce Department and create a Federal Maritime Board, headed by a maritime administrator. This board would have regulatory and subsidy determination functions, but subject to the secretary of commerce. Other functions of the present Maritime Commission would be performed by the Commerce Department itself. There would also be a new under-secretary of commerce for transportation, to deal with activities of the latter nature in the department.

The plans become effective in 60 days unless disapproved by the Senate or House. In transmitting the plans to Congress, President Truman stated, "When these plans become effective we shall have acted on almost half the proposals made by the commission on organization. I expect to transmit additional plans . . . in the present session."

The proposed plans are criticized in some quarters as going beyond the Hoover Commission recommendations in some respects, particularly in making the Maritime Board completely subject to the Commerce Department and in abolishing the office of general counsel to the NLRB, instead of returning part of his authority to the board but keeping him an independent prosecutor.

South Carolina Legislative Reorganization Partly Effected

The legislature of South Carolina, in its current annual session (which began January 10) and in the 1949 session, adopted several important recommendations of its Joint Committee on Reorganization. The committee's report, rendered in January 1949, contained three main recommendations on subjects prescribed in the joint resolution that created it:

(1) reduction of the number of committees, regrouping of their functions and revision of the legislature's rules of procedure; (2) establishment of a Legislative Council for research, reference and bill-drafting service; and (3) reduction of local legislation by revision of the state constitution to permit county matters to be handled at the county level and by development of an improved system concerning local legislation.

The committee recommended that the number of standing committees in the House of Representatives be reduced from 24 to eight and in the Senate from 31 to six, with a provision that no legislator shall serve on more than one such committee, except that any senator may serve on the Committee on Interstate Cooperation. The House adopted the recommendation; the Senate still has it under consideration.

Recommended rules of procedure have been substantially adopted by the House but not as yet by the Senate. The Joint Committee on Rules has also adopted a change to the effect that no appropriation bill may be materially altered in conference.

The 1949 legislature established a Legislative Council of the nature recommended by the committee but of different composition; it consists of the president of the Senate, the speaker of the House, and the code commissioner, whereas the committee had suggested five members chosen from each house.

As to local legislation the committee found that approximately 84 per cent of the laws enacted are local in character, thus greatly burdening the legislature and lengthening its sessions, but that substantial reform in this situation called for revision of the constitution. The committee decided that it should work in collaboration with the State Constitutional Revision Committee in this respect. It urged the legislature to declare in favor of constitutional authority "to provide for the transaction of all purely county business at the county level by the counties themselves," and also to foster plans for "an improved system for handling local legislation."

New Jersey Commission on Local Government Revises Plans

During the past year the New Jersey Commission on Local Government, headed by B. H. Faulkner, has been considering suggestions of local officials and others regarding the proposals it made public last year. A number of revisions to reconcile points of view have been made in a new report to the governor and legislature.

Disagreement between the commission and local officials remains concerning two major points: (1) the previously recommended mandatory local referendum on the question of electing a charter commission if a given locality has not acted by a certain date (the commission now says 1959) and (2) the question of adding commission government to the three preferred forms — council-manager, mayor-council and small municipality plan recommended by the commission (which has removed its former prohibition as to choice of that form). These questions will be left to the legislature.

The revisions include variations in the three basic forms, thus expanding the area of local choice of form and structure. The new report states: "A community may choose, within reasonable limits, the number of councilmen it may deem best suited to its needs, select either concurrent or overlapping terms, determine whether it will have some ward representation or at-large representation alone, or have partisan or nonpartisan elections." It points out that about half the voters in New Jersey vote in partisan elections and the other half in nonpartisan elections.

Ward representation would be available only under the council-manager and mayor-council plans and would be combined with election of some councilmen at large. The maximum size of council would remain at nine.

The number of signatures required on petitions for change of government is somewhat increased.

The original report contained a proposal outlining qualifications for appointment of officials to "key positions" in local government and defining their tenure of office. This has been revised to the effect that no outside state agency should pass on qualifications of original appointees, that the state agency passing on qualifications for acquiring tenure should include municipal officials appointed by the governor, that political activity not be barred and that the entire proposal be optional.

The commission proposes to continue work for another year, particularly to help improve and refine any program the legislature may adopt, to the extent indicated by experience.

Connecticut Legislature Studies State Reorganization Plan

A special session of the Connecticut legislature convened on March 9 to consider the plan of governmental reorganization worked out by the Commission on State Government Organization.[1] In addition to a concise report, made public by installments during February, the commission has submitted proposed legislation in the form of ten bills to effectuate its recommendations. One of these includes a complete draft for a new constitution, with a provision for its submission to the people at the November 1950 election. As this method of constitutional revision is not specifically authorized in the present constitution, which dates from 1818, the proposed act includes a provision for a ruling by the Supreme Court of Errors as to the validity of the proposed method.

Governor Bowles, a Democrat, has called upon the legislature (with a Democratic Senate and a Republican House) to put aside partisan difference and unite in giving Connecticut a modern system of government. State Republican leaders have already expressed opposition to various phases of the plan, especially some to increase the effectiveness and responsibility of the governor, as by appointing department heads without legislative confirmation.

A Citizens Committee on State Government, including Republicans, Democrats, businessmen, labor and religious leaders, etc., has been formed to mobilize citizen interest in the report. Operating statewide, with support of local groups, it has arranged mass meetings and other means of publicity and discussion.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, March, page 140.

Missouri Statutes Thoroughly Revised

In Missouri the Committee on Legislative Research, a continuing interim research agency, finished in 1949 the most complete revision of Missouri statutes since the revision of 1865, according to the Council of State Governments, which says that intervening decennial revisions required by the state constitution have been chiefly recompilations.

The committee was authorized by the 1947 legislature to undertake the task, which has been accomplished by the adoption of some three hundred bills, half of which were introduced in each legislative house. At the end of the 1949 session the legislature approved continuous revision, with a complete code to be printed at least every ten years and supplements printed after each legislative session.

Hawaii Shows Deep Interest in Proposed Constitution

Primary elections on February 11 in the Territory of Hawaii, to choose prospective delegates to a constitutional convention, brought out 73 per cent of a registration of 117,000. The territory's population is estimated at over 540,000. The convention was arranged for in anticipation of admission of Hawaii to the union.

At the primary eighteen candidates received enough votes to constitute election as delegates; 90 others were selected to run in a general election on March 21. The total field of candidates in the nonpartisan primary was 243. The winners included many men and women new to politics as well as various people prominent in public life. The convention is in progress in April.

The Hawaii Statehood Commission, which has led the fight for admittance of the territory to the union, has had committees working on a model constitution to be presented as a guide to the convention when it convenes.

Roll Call Machines Used by Eighteen Legislatures

With the installation of electric roll call machines in Mississippi's House of Representatives, in time for its 1949 special session, eighteen states now have push-button voting in one or both houses of their legislatures, according to the Council of State Governments.

In addition to the advantage of accuracy, the machines are found to save a large amount of time in determining quorum calls and results of contested issues. It is reported that in New Jersey's 60-member Assembly it takes from 30 to 60 seconds for a quorum call or to pass a bill, instead of at least three minutes as formerly. At the same time the vote of each assemblyman and the result are flashed on huge illuminated duplicate rosters on each side of the speaker's rostrum. An unlimited supply of copies of record votes can be had from a machine on the clerk's desk.

Electrical roll call systems are in operation in both houses of the legislatures in Louisiana, Minnesota and Virginia as well as the unicameral legislature of Nebraska. Lower houses using the machines, in addition to those of Mississippi and New Jersey, are Alabama, Arkansas, California, Florida, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Texas, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

Iowa Municipal Statutes Undergoing Restudy

The Municipal Statutes Study Committee, established by the 53rd Iowa legislature to make a thorough study of existing municipal statutes, has been engaged in this work in cooperation with an advisory committee appointed by the League of Iowa Municipalities. The latter invited all municipal officials in the state to submit their opinions and suggestions as to desirable changes in existing municipal law. The study committee has been directed to recommend to the 54th legislature needed changes in the municipal statutes.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

At a special election in **La Grange, Georgia,** (1940 population 21,983) a charter amendment permitting the mayor and council to employ a city manager was approved by a vote of 318 to 106. The amendment had previously been authorized by the legislature, and was supported by the mayor and all but one councilman. The manager, when appointed, is to exercise administrative control over all regular city departments and functions except those under boards or commissions. He is not to appoint department heads, however, but merely to recommend persons to the mayor and council for appointment by them; such department heads are to appoint employees with the manager's approval.

Palo Alto, California, (16,774) has adopted a council-manager amendment to the city charter by a vote of 2,562 to 1,036. **El Cajon** (1,471) has also adopted the plan.

At its annual town meeting on March 7 **Bennington, Vermont,** (7,628) restored its town manager system. The vote, 1,533 to 1,330, is believed to be the largest in the town's history. Bennington originally adopted the manager plan in 1942, voting it out in 1947.

Ipswich, Massachusetts, (6,348) adopted the provisions of a special town manager law at its town meeting March 6 by a vote of 1,418 to 1,035.

By a vote of 534 to 398 on March 14, **Coleman, Texas,** (6,054) adopted a new charter providing the council-manager plan of government. Appointments are made by the manager "with the advice and consent of the council (such appointments to be made upon merit and fitness alone)"; the manager "may at will remove any officers or employees appointed by him."

Winter Park, Florida, (4,715) on December 6 voted to accept the council-manager alternative provisions of the charter which was adopted in June 1949.

The borough council of **Clarks Summit, Pennsylvania,** (2,691) adopted an ordinance on February 15 to establish the office of borough manager, who will have control of all municipal departments, including appointment and removal of personnel in accordance with civil service law.

Cobleskill, New York, (2,617) voted 265 to 132 for the village manager plan on March 21.

Salem, West Virginia, (2,571) adopted the council-manager plan two years ago, on April 6, 1948.

Milbridge, Maine, (1,318) at its annual town meeting on March 6 adopted the town manager plan, the selectmen being authorized to hire a manager.

Referenda on the council-manager plan were held in numerous **New Hampshire** town meetings in March. **Ashland, Meredith, Newport** and **Derry** voted to continue the plan; the last named town, which adopted it a year ago after a bitter battle, cast a vote of two and a half to one in its favor.

Littleton and **Bethlehem** voted to discontinue the manager plan. **Gorham,** voting on the matter for the first time, turned the manager plan down.

Montpelier, Manchester and **Bethel, Vermont,** have all voted in town meetings to continue use of the council-manager plan.

Voters of **Readfield, Maine,** decided against adoption of the council-manager plan.

On March 9 **Newport, Rhode Island,** making a three-way choice on the form of government it prefers, voted 3,197 for the council-manager plan, 848 for a strong mayor plan and only 382 for the present charter which provides for a board of aldermen and a representative council, with no centralized control. The proposed charter must now be submitted to the legislature.

James A. Finnegan, chairman of the Democratic City Committee of **Philadelphia,** has transmitted a 9,000-word statement to the City Charter Commission to the effect that the Democratic organization opposes adoption of the council-manager plan.

The Richland County delegation to the South Carolina legislature has secured adoption of an amendment to the new council-manager charter of **Columbia,** providing for election of the mayor by popular vote. The new charter, authorized by the legislature in 1949 and approved at a local referendum by a two-to-one majority, had provided for the mayor's election by the council from among its own members. The amendment was supported by the legislative delegation despite vigorous opposition of the League of Women Voters, the City Manager Committee, and numerous other groups in hearings before the delegation and otherwise, reports Raymond Uhl of the University of South Carolina. It had the support of the present city council but was opposed by all Democratic ward meetings.

Petitions have been circulated in **Delaware, Ohio,** in an effort to sound out local support for a change to the council-manager plan.

Mayor W. A. Burke of **Beckley, West Virginia,** is seeking to have the city council take steps leading tc council-manager government, including the holding of an election for a charter commission. The manager plan was a plank in the Democratic platform upon which Mayor Burke ran.

Martinsburg, West Virginia, has rejected a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan, 2,698 to 2,253.

In **Kansas, Sterling** has voted to retain the council-manager plan but **Wellington** voters turned down a proposal to adopt it.

A proposal for council-manager government was defeated in **Marceline, Missouri,** by a vote of 380 to 420 at a special election on March 1.

Advantages of the manager plan have been discussed by the Rotary Club of **Fairbury, Nebraska.**

The council-manager plan was unanimously approved on February 10 by the home rule charter convention of **Sterling, Colorado.**

A tentative draft of a proposed council-manager charter for **Pueblo, Colorado,** provides for a council of eleven—seven elected by districts and four at large. The manager would appoint assistants and employees without council interference.

San Antonio, Texas, is expected to vote May 9 on twenty charter amendments, including manager proposals of opposing groups.

Dallas, Texas, by a vote of 7,626 to 6,216, has changed its council-manager charter to provide direct election of the mayor at the polls in place of the present system under which the city council chooses him from its own members.

The city council of **Colton, California,** has directed that a council-manager ordinance be prepared in conformity with recommendations of a study committee appointed several weeks ago. It was proposed to submit the ordinance to popular vote at the April city election.

Members of the Chamber of Commerce in **Winnipeg, Canada,** are giving consideration to the manager plan.

Mayor McCallum of **Toronto, Canada,** has recently revived a modified manager plan proposed several years ago. Other municipalities reported by the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities as having the manager plan under consideration are **North Bay, Sydney, Ottawa, Hamilton, Fort William, Rossland, Wolfville** and **New Glasgow.**

The city council of **Halifax, Nova Scotia,** has decided to hold an election in October on the council-manager plan. A committee is planning an educational campaign for its adoption.

The International City Managers' Association has removed **Cairo, Georgia; Clare, Michigan; Midvale, Utah;** and **Osborne, Pennsylvania,** from its official directory for failure of the city councils to appoint managers during 1949. The Irish cities of **Cork, Dublin, Limerick** and **Waterford** have also been removed because their managers are selected by special boards appointed by the government of Eire, and must be accepted by the local councils.

Recent state meetings of city managers include **Michigan,** at Ann Arbor on January 26-27 with 37 managers in attendance; **North Carolina** at Pinehurst on February 4-5, including managers from **Virginia** and **South Carolina** also; **Wisconsin** at Milwaukee on February 1, with all thirteen managers present, organized as the Wisconsin City Managers' Association; **Ohio** at Dayton on February 17 with 20 of the 25 Ohio managers; **California** at Santa Barbara on February 17-19 with an attendance of nearly 100; and **Oregon** at Portland on February 24-25, with all 22 Oregon managers and one Washington manager present.

103 Municipal "Authorities" Operate in Pennsylvania

With the establishment of 37 additional municipal "authorities" in Pennsylvania in 1949—more than in any other year since the Municipal Authorities Act was passed in 1935—the total number organized in the fifteen-year period was brought to 218. Of these, 103 continue to operate and now have 113 projects under way. They include 72 water and 27 sewer developments, also school buildings, airports, factory buildings, traffic control centers, theater buildings, municipal buildings and flood control projects, according to the Institute of Local Government at Pennsylvania State College.

Kansas City, Missouri, Has Training Course for Supervisors

The director of personnel of Kansas City, Missouri, has instituted a training course for supervisors to develop constructive aspects of an effective personnel program. The course, which employs the conference method of small group discussion, consists of a minimum of six one-hour sessions. Subjects included are: (1) operations of the merit system and central personnel agency, (2) certification and appointment procedures, (3) orientation of new employees, (4) human relations, (5) service rating practice and procedure, (6) counseling service and grievance procedure and (7) discharge procedure and problems involved in

(Continued on page 201)

Counties Seek Manager Plan, Home Rule

Civic Groups Discuss Means of Securing Good Government

WIDELY separated counties in the United States continue to evidence great interest in the county manager plan, home rule or both.

A plan to provide the manager form of government has been proposed for Onondaga County, New York, by the Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau.[1] Its report declares that the county needs a plan which will give effective and responsible management for its rapidly growing activities. Evidence of need for the change is found, according to the report, in the lack of executive leadership, although from necessity the chairman of the board of supervisors has developed a minimum amount of such leadership.

Major features of the proposed plan are these:

1. Executive and administrative supervision over most county departments would be transferred from the board of supervisors to a full-time county manager, who would be appointed by and responsible to the board.

2. The manager would be given all necessary power, including that of appointing department heads and preparing the budget. He would be free from interference in administrative matters.

3. The plan provides for unified financial administration including accounting control, purchasing and contracting, budgeting and treasury functions.

4. The proposal would reduce the number of elective officials and streamline and simplify the present structure.

The plan would establish three county departments — finance, public works and public welfare. The director of finance would supervise accounting, purchasing, treasury functions and budgeting. The report recommends that the manager serve as director of finance. The positions of elective auditor and treasurer would be eliminated. The plan requires the board of supervisors to provide an annual post-audit of county financial affairs, but this would be separated from the pre-audit function.

The department of public works would assume the functions of the highway department and the court house superintendent. The department of public welfare would perform the duties of the present county welfare department and the county home and hospital.

Manager Plan Studied

In Colorado the Golden Chamber of Commerce is studying the advisability of recommending a manager plan for Jefferson County.

The Cook County, Illinois, League of Women Voters has studied county government for the past year. It comments, "The league has long been cognizant of the fact that a county organization consisting of a board of fifteen commissioners and 64 other elected officers is lacking in effective centralized authority." It is investigating the manager plan as a possible solution.

The Milwaukee chapter of the American Society for Public Administration, in conjunction with the local League of Women Voters, recently sponsored a joint dinner meeting on home rule for Milwaukee County. As

---

[1] *Executive Management for Onondaga County*. Syracuse, New York, February 1950. 26 pages.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

guests they had members of the County Home Rule Committee, which, through three subcommittees, is studying county home rule, municipal home rule and repeal of the constitutional county uniformity provisions.

Steps have been taken recently to make Baltimore County the second home rule county in Maryland. A constitutional amendment was introduced in the 1950 Maryland legislature to effect reforms in the county's governmental structure but it failed to pass. Subsequently, the chairman of the Board of Baltimore County Commissioners announced that a committee of interested citizens would be formed immediately to circulate a petition for a home rule charter. The head of the county taxpayers' association has been invited to serve as chairman.

At least 10,000 signatures are necessary to place the question on the ballot in November 1950. If a successful vote is secured, Baltimore County will follow the procedure of Montgomery County which secured its charter in 1948, and of Baltimore City (not a part of the county), which obtained a home rule charter under the same provisions of the constitution many years ago.

Manager Plan Makes Progress in Anne Arundel County, Md.

The Citizens Committee for the reorganization of the Governmental Structure of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, has issued a report on how the manager plan, adopted November, 1948, has fared in that county. Originally appointed in 1946, the committee had recommended the manager plan and worked for its adoption. The report had been requested by the League of Women Voters, the press and many interested citizens. Its primary points include:

"The committee feels that the county business manager and the county commissioners have made considerable progress in installing this new administrative system in the county, although many more months will elapse before its full benefits will be felt.

"There has been some friction, and for the time being there will continue to be, but this appears to be diminishing. . . .

"There is a growing consciousness on the part of the county employees that the performance of their duties is at all times being supervised and evaluated. . . .

Rumors Refuted

"It is untrue that the county business manager or any member of his family is related to 'a prominent politician,' or in fact to any one in the county. . . .

"The misimpression that many new employees have been added may have arisen because of reclassification of jobs and titles.

"It is untrue that the county business manager has made a practice of going outside of Anne Arundel County to secure new employees. . . . On the contrary it has been the practice of the county business manager to promote employees already within the system where practicable.

"It is true, as complained, that to secure even a lead pencil an order must be signed. . . . Such requisitions are common practice in well managed industrial plants and large business institutions.

"The committee believes that the public will be interested in the initial accomplishments under this system:

"1. The installation of a system of inspection and buying of materials;

"2. Consolidation of road districts;

"3. Division of road work into construction and maintenance crews;

"4. A county-wide plan for road construction and maintenance is now being drawn for 1950;

"5. Payment for oil, asphalt and tar for road surfacing is now being made upon temperature control basis, thus assuring the county that it is not at times paying for 'swollen' material;

"6. A new method of road patching is being undertaken which, if successful, will result in radical reductions in the cost of that operation;

"7. Reorganization of the county road garage, with better control of personnel and resultant economies;

"For the maximum success of the plan the Board of County Commissioners and the business manager are each earnestly urged to recognize their functions and abide strictly thereby, i.e., the Board of County Commissioners sitting as directors of a $120,000,000 corporation . . . determining the general policies of the departments of the county and holding the business manager accountable for carrying out these policies. By the same token they should not interfere individually with the employees under his direction and the work which he has laid out for these employees.

"On the other hand, it is the duty of the business manager of such a corporation to submit constructive proposals and pertinent data to his board, to employ competent help, to discharge incompetent and unneeded help, and to . . . support his board in carrying out those policies which it establishes.

"The committee is more firmly convinced than ever that its recommendations were sound and are already bearing fruit. It sincerely hopes that every candidate for office will be required to state in no uncertain terms his attitude toward the county manager plan of government and that, unless he is prepared to support it in every way, the voters of the county reject him on the ballot regardless of his politics or his personal popularity."

Local Government Commission Reports on Fulton County

The Local Government Commission of Fulton County, as directed by the 1949 General Assembly of Georgia, has submitted its report on Fulton County, Atlanta and other municipalities located wholly or partly in the county.[1]

The report outlines the problems of the area, sets forth the commission's recommendations and explains the probable effects of the proposed reorganization. In brief, the recommendations are as follows:

1. Extend the city limits of Atlanta to include heavily populated unincorporated areas of Fulton County adjacent to the city. These are the unincorporated areas needing municipal services and now getting them from the county government. Also set up a procedure for "automatic" extension of the city limits in the future.

2. Wipe out duplication between the Atlanta and Fulton County governments by far reaching regrouping of functions. So far as possible each function should be furnished by only one of the two governments. Consolidate municipal functions under the city government, area-wide and rural functions under the county government. Leave the schools and public works programs under both governments, at least for the present.

3. Keep the present political forms of both governments during the period in which the shifts in administrative responsibilities are being made. Provide, however, for a definite vote in 1954 to determine the wishes of the people on possible political changes at that time (such as consolidation of the governing bodies).

4. Readjust taxes to take account of

(Continued on page 205)

---

[1] *Plan of Improvement for the Governments of Atlanta and Fulton County, Georgia,* Atlanta, 1950. 104 pages.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Australian Senate Members Chosen by P.R.

Results Inconclusive Since Overlapping Terms Provided

THE first election of the Australian Senate by proportional representation took place on December 10, 1949.

Because the terms of eighteen senators elected in 1946 continue for another three years, the Senate will not consist entirely of members elected by P. R. until July 1953.[1]

The Representation Act of 1948, which introduced the P. R. feature, also increased the number of senators to ten from each state, instead of six, so that seven were chosen by each state in December, four to serve immediately and three to be seated on July 1, when the terms of senators elected in 1943 expire.

Of all those senators elected and re-elected in December, the winning group (a coalition of Liberal and Country parties) obtained 23 and the opposition (Labor party) obtained nineteen, whereas at the same time the voters elected a House of Representatives by transferable vote in single-member districts consisting of 74 members of the winning coalition and 47 of the opposition (exclusive of two non-voting representatives of territories not included in the six states of the commonwealth).

The percentage of valid first-choice votes obtained by the two groups was 50 per cent for the Liberal-Country coalition in both houses and 45 and 46 per cent for the Labor party in the Senate and House respectively. Results of the senatorial election, therefore, were considerably closer to the division of popular votes between government and opposition groups than were the results in the House.

So far as regional rather than party issues are concerned, however, the Senate apportionment is far from proportional. All states, including Tasmania where 155,000 voted and New South Wales where 1,848,000 voted, elect the same number of senators. In this election the votes were fairly evenly divided between the winning coalition and the opposition in each of the six states, which were polled as separate units.

The election ended an eight-year rule of the commonwealth by the Labor party and resulted in Robert Gordon Menzies, who was prime minister between 1939 and 1941, replacing Joseph B. Chifley as head of the government. Some 96 per cent of the eligible voters participated in the election.

The percentage of invalid ballots was much higher in the Senate election (10.8) than in the election of representatives (2). Since the preferential ballot (single transferable vote) was used in both cases, the difference was doubtless the result of the illogical requirement of the electoral law that each voter must indicate seven choices in the Senate election (seven were to be chosen from each state but each ballot could count for only one under the usual Hare system principles). This result had been predicted by opponents of this uncalled-for provision.

---

[1] While the Liberal and Country parties (government) together secured a majority of the senators at the recent election, the Labor party still retains a majority in the Senate since all holdover members belong to that party.

In the senatorial election the major parties took the unusual step of instructing their constituents as to the exact order of preference in which they should vote the party ticket. They thereby succeeded in defeating one of the aims of the Hare system—that of permitting the individual preferences of the rank and file of the party to determine the relative success of the party's candidates. In Tasmania, where several decades of P. R. in state elections had made the voters aware of this advantage, the voters refused to yield individual preference and to accept such artificial uniformity of expression. Elsewhere, the submission to instructions was made evident by the piling up of large surpluses of votes in favor of the designated top candidates, requiring transfers and retransfers of votes which lengthened the counting procedure while gaining nothing for the party organization at considerable disadvantage to the free choice of the voters.

Massachusetts Houses Divide on P. R. Restoration

The Massachusetts House of Representatives on March 2 passed a bill to restore voting by proportional representation as originally provided in the state's optional Plan E form of council-manager charter. The action overrode an adverse committee report and constituted a reversal of last August's action intended to eliminate P.R. from Plan E except for cities that had already adopted it—Cambridge, Lowell, Worcester, Medford, Quincy and Revere.[1]

On March 13, however, the Senate defeated the proposal by a vote of twenty to eighteen. The vote was along party lines, the measure being supported by most of the Republican senators. Almost half the Senate membership took part in the debate on the measure.

House action to restore P.R. was by a 116 to 110 roll call vote, a larger portion of the membership being in attendance than in the case of the contrary action at the end of last year's session. In the vote on March 2 sixteen Democrats, the majority of them from cities governed by Plan E, joined the Republicans, all but eight of whom voted for the bill, to carry the measure.

The hearings in the House produced considerable comment when a former Democratic state committee chairman, who appeared in opposition to the bill and in favor of a wider abolition of P.R., stated that he did not believe in minority representation in government, that he favored limiting opportunities for independent voters.

Organizations appearing in support of the bill included the Plan E State Association, Worcester Citizens' Plan E Association, Massachusetts Real Estate Association, Quincy Civic Association, Massachusetts League of Women Voters and the Massachusetts Civic League.

The Boston *Herald* noted the effect of the proposed measure on Somerville and Gloucester, which adopted Plan E since last summer's legislative modification, observing editorially, under the caption "Trust the Cities":

> The action of the House this week was in effect a vote of confidence in the citizens of Somerville and Gloucester. It announced that the

---

[1] Last August's legislation is of somewhat uncertain effect because the law failed to refer to the proper section of the previous law. Its validity is now before the courts. See the REVIEW, September 1949, page 409; October 1949, page 461.

legislature henceforth would trust them with the same democratic free choice accorded Worcester and Cambridge voters. If P.R. is a bad system, they will be allowed to find it out the hard way and not through the tutelage of an all-knowing legislature.

Actually, the dangers of the P.R. system are greatly exaggerated by its opponents. There is practically no chance that its adoption by Bay State cities will result in the election of Communists, as so frequently charged, because P.R. reflects the real political complexion of the community and there are not enough Communists concentrated anywhere here to qualify for election under it. P.R. might, however, as Representative Piemonte has pointed out, result in added recognition for such legitimate minority groups as the Italo-Americans.

But these are not questions for the legislature to decide. At the moment it is asked only to record itself for or against home rule by the cities. The answer should be an unequivocal affirmative.

Saugus Holds Its Second P.R. Election

On January 16 the voters of Saugus, Massachusetts, used the Hare system of proportional representation for the second time to choose its five-member board of selectmen and five school board members. The total vote of 5,247 was the largest ever cast in the town's history. Four of the five selectmen chosen were members of the outgoing board. The fifth, making his first bid for office, received the second highest number of first choices.

The count was conducted by Robert H. Wood of Worcester, who had been assistant director in his city's first P. R. election last fall.

At the organization meeting of the board, one of the reelected selectmen made public a statement in which he protested a bill filed in the state legislature at the behest of a few citizens to eliminate the P.R. feature of the town's special manager plan charter. He stated that the move was made without consideration by the town's governing body and asserted that the proposal was unfair to all the voters of the town. Later the town meeting went on record as opposed to the bill.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 195)

employee appeals. Over 160 supervisors enrolled in the course.

City Council Advised by Postcard Ballots

Confronted with various controversial proposals, the city council of Snohomish, Washington, has resorted to an advisory postcard ballot in an attempt to obtain majority opinion. A double postcard was sent to every registered voter in the city (population 3,116); one half of the card comprised a ballot on which a voter could freely express his opinion for the enlightenment of the council. A total of 1,979 cards were mailed out, according to *Western City.*

Mayors to Meet in New York in May

The 1950 annual conference of the United States Conference of Mayors will be held May 11-13 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City. One meeting will be at the United Nations' headquarters.

Police Chiefs to Meet in Colorado Springs

The 57th annual conference of the International Association of Chiefs of Police will be held October 7-12, 1950, in Colorado Springs, Colorado, with headquarters at the Antlers Hotel.

Public Library

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Pennsylvania Borrows Record Sum

Sells $375,000,000 Bonds for Veteran Bonus Program

THE commonwealth of Pennsylvania has set a new record for borrowing by a unit other than the United States government. In mid-February it issued $375,000,000 of its bonds to provide funds for its soldiers' bonus program. The first offering of an authorized total of $500,000,000 approved by the voters last November, the issue was the largest ever sold by a state in a single block.

The Pennsylvania veterans' compensation bond issue is unusual also in that the bonds are full faith and credit obligations of the state. In contrast, many of the World War II state bonus issues have been made payable from specifically limited revenues, as the cigarette and tobacco taxes in New York and beer taxes in Louisiana.

In addition to pledging its revenues without restriction to payment of the bonds, Pennsylvania used for the initial offering serial bonds maturing in two to fifteen years. The bonds were sold with coupons of 1½ per cent, on a bid of 100.19, the terms representing a net interest cost to the borrower of approximately 1.4775 per cent annually.

Because of the size of the issue, the usual competing groups of banks and investment firms combined to form a single syndicate. In all, about 390 houses participated in the underwriting, which resulted in the rapid resale of the bonds at yields of from 85/100 of 1 per cent for bonds of the first (1952) maturity to a 1.55 per cent yield basis for bonds due in 1965.

Kentucky Half-Year Revenues Up

Tax collections of Kentucky's general and road funds both reached record July-December levels during the first half of the 1949-50 fiscal year, according to a recent report of the Kentucky Department of Revenue. General fund tax collections for the period at $26,352,478 were 4.4 per cent above the first half year collections of 1948-49, while road fund collections were up 10.8 per cent to $22,195,353.

An important factor in the general fund increase, according to the analysis of the department, was a rise in individual income tax payments of about $700,000. This reflected both the record income levels of 1948, on which the 1949 income tax was based, and special enforcement efforts by the state. Another factor was the clearing up of inheritance tax cases which increased inheritance tax collections nearly $500,000 over the first half of 1948-49.

In the road fund, gasoline and other motor fuel tax receipts rose about $1,500,000 or 9.2 per cent, while the motor vehicle usage tax was up $500,000 or 24.6 per cent over the first half of the preceding year. Other highway revenues showed more modest increases.

Not all taxes yielded more than in the preceding year's corresponding period. The tax on distilled spirits declined $400,000 or 20.4 per cent, while the franchise property tax was down $300,000 and a modest decline was shown in cigarette tax collections.

College Makes in Lieu Payments to Hoboken

Although the New Jersey Supreme Court has specifically ruled that the

Stevens Institute of Technology as an educational institution is not subject to ad valorem property taxes, the institute recently paid the city of Hoboken, New Jersey, where it is located, $20,000 in lieu of taxes for former years and indicated that it expects to continue payments on an annual basis.

The institute trustees have voted, according to press reports, to make payments to the city as "gifts" to reimburse the city for fire and police protection and other municipal services. The school at one time paid the regularly levied property taxes amounting to as much as $55,000 annually, but stopped when the courts held it exempt. The $20,000 paid earlier this year was half for 1948 and half for 1949 services, with an indicated payment of $12,000 to be made for 1950.

Courts Invalidate Local Tax Laws

Among recent court decisions affecting local revenues, the cities have fared none too well.

Efforts of the city of Philadelphia to extend its so-called income tax to include unearned income and returns from investments and corporate earnings were frustrated by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court which, in mid-February, upheld a taxpayers protest. The tax was held to be too "vague and uncertain" to be enforced.

The effort to extend the city income tax was made in connection with an increase in the tax rate from 1 per cent to 1.25 per cent. The income heretofore taxed has been that from salaries and wages, and the court's decision did not affect the continuation of that tax.

The Montana Supreme Court, in the case of *Lindeen* v. *Montana Liquor Control Board, et al.,* ruled on June 18, 1949, that the liquor excise tax of 6 per cent, adopted by the legislature in 1949, is unconstitutional. The basis for the decision was section 4 of article 12 of the Montana constitution, which prohibits the state legislature from levying taxes for purely local purposes.

Under the law (chapter 15) the Montana Liquor Control Board was directed to "charge, receive and collect" a tax of 6 per cent of the retail price on all liquor sold and to apportion the tax to the treasurers of the counties according to the amount of liquor sold by the board to the purchasers in each county. The counties, after giving the cities and towns their proportionate share, would retain the balance in their own general fund. No limitation was made on the use which counties, cities or towns might make of the money so received.

Portland, Oregon, was upheld by the Oregon Supreme Court in its right to impose a business and occupational tax based on gross receipts. The court in the same decision reaffirmed that the state's 6 per cent tax limitation applied only to ad valorem property taxes. (The tax levy in any year, except for debt service and specifically voted purposes, may not exceed by more than 6 per cent the levy in any one of the three preceding years).

Yonkers Sells Million of Realty

Budget estimates for 1949 that the city of Yonkers would be able to realize something over one million dollars from the sale of foreclosed real estate were more than fulfilled, according to press reports. The estimate had led to extended public criticism of some officials and a political battle which is said to have been responsible for the resignation of the city manager.

The budget anticipation for the year which started all the fuss had been $1,175,000. According to preliminary figures gross sales in 1949 actually amounted to $1,316,627, and net sales, after exclusion of deals which were not closed for one reason or another, amounted to $1,104,917, from which an income of $1,256,505 was accrued. Sales of the property were possible because of "bulk foreclosure" actions taken under the recently enacted state law permitting tax foreclosure by actions *in rem.*

Virginia Bill Exempts Radio and Video

A bill to exempt radio and video stations from municipal license taxes was before the Virginia House of Delegates late in February, after favorable Senate action, according to newspaper reports. Sponsors of the bill reportedly argued that the stations should be exempt from license control on a "freedom of the press" basis. The city of Martinsville, which imposes a radio license tax, opposed the bill.

Legislatures to Seek Fewer New Taxes in 1950

Programs now before state legislatures indicate there will be a determined effort to hold the line against new or increased taxes this year, according to a forecast of 1950 legislation by the Federation of Tax Administrators. This is a reversal of the situation last year when more than half the states raised tax rates.

Of the fourteen legislatures now sitting, passage of major revenue legislation seems likely in only two. The Texas legislature convened in special session on January 31 to provide funds for an expanded program for hospitals and state institutions. The problem of financing long range highway improvement programs is receiving major attention in Mississippi's regular session.

The lawmakers' opposition to new or increased taxes was attributed to a general aversion against increasing an already heavy combined federal-state-local tax burden.

Seven legislatures — Georgia, Kentucky, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island and Virginia —either were charged by their administrations to hold the tax line or were presented with budgets which could be balanced without additional revenue measures. New taxes in South Carolina were considered a possibility only if state finances took a sudden turn from a condition of surplus to one of deficit.

Tax reduction measures seemed likely in Maryland where the governor called for cuts in income and property levies amounting to $3,800,000. Maryland expects to end the year with a surplus of $7,200,000. In Idaho the governor asked the legislature to consider a reduction in the income tax.

Special legislative sessions in Maine and South Dakota are concerned with appropriating additional funds for welfare and education and matching federal funds for highways, respectively.

Cities Spend More for Planning

Planning expenditures for eleven of the country's thirteen cities over 500,000 totaled $2,000,000 in 1949—an increase of 10.9 per cent over 1948, according to the International City Managers' Association. All but three of these eleven cities spent more for planning last year than in 1948.

Philadelphia topped all others, nearly doubling its 1948 appropriation to $516,434. That city also had the largest per capita expenditure for planning purposes, 26.5 cents per person. Runners-up were San Francisco, 24 cents; Los Angeles, 19.2 cents; Milwaukee, 16.8 cents; Cleveland, 13 cents. Boston and New York had the smallest planning budgets of cities of comparable size per capita—Boston's expenditure was 4.3 cents per capita while New York's was 4.9 cents.

Here's the rank of other big cities' 1949 planning expenditures: Los Angeles, $346,867; New York, $328,205; Chicago, $225,000; Detroit, $162,076; San Francisco, $198,259; Cleveland, $129,430; Milwaukee, $98,462; St. Louis, $49,900; Boston, $33,675 and Buffalo, $28,546.

Special grants augment planning budgets in some of the major cities. Chicago's planning commission, for example, will receive about $100,000 from housing and land clearance agencies for studies in addition to those scheduled under its regular budget.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 198)

shifts in governmental responsibilities and equalize taxes as between individual taxpayers and groups of taxpayers. Revise city and county millage rates in terms of expanded city functions and curtailed county functions. Undertake a thorough, scientific appraisal of all taxable property in Atlanta and Fulton County.

City-County Cooperation in the News

Terry County and the city of Brownfield, Texas, are cooperating in the construction of a health center. Each is contributing one-fourth of the cost, the federal government supplying the remainder.

Cleveland County, North Carolina, may have to provide fire protection for its residents because the new fire truck purchased by the city of Shelby may be too heavy for many county bridges. At present more than five hundred county residents have deposited $100 each with the Shelby fire department as a guarantee of payment in case it is called.

Wisconsin County Treasurers Hold Institute

The Bureau of Government of the University of Wisconsin has published a summary of the speeches presented at the second annual institute on administrative procedures for the treasurers of Wisconsin Counties.[1] Also included are a list of additional questions submitted by county treasurers for general consideration at the institute and an appendix containing copies of statutes, forms and other material useful to Wisconsin county treasurers.

Baltimore County Makes Business Survey

The Baltimore County, Maryland, Trade Commission, an official agency of the county commissioners, has initiated a survey of 1,875 corporations and other business firms in the county. It is designed to gather basic reference information, develop leads for opportunity development and bring to light complaints as to neighborhood problems that may be deterrents to business and industry.

Interest in the activities of the Trade Commission is extending beyond Baltimore County. Recently a group of twenty business leaders in Anne Arundel County met to study the need for establishing a trade commission as well as a planning commission within the county government.

---

[1] *Second Annual Institute on Administrative Procedures for the Treasurers of Wisconsin Counties 1950.* Madison, Wisconsin, 1950. 53 pages. $1.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

9000 Voters Nominate Candidates by Postcard

Grand Rapids Selects a Slate in Dramatic Poll

CHALKING up another victory, after its recall proceedings against Mayor George W. Welsh and other city councilmen,[1] the "Citizens Action" group of Grand Rapids, Michigan, on February 20 elected its candidate for mayor and three of its four candidates for ward councilmen, all by overwhelming votes. The fourth candidate won the nomination but must face a run-off election in April.

An especially significant part of this story of civic fury is the manner in which the group nominated its candidates. In December the 27,000 voters who had signed recall petitions were sent letters by Citizens Action, asking suggestions for candidates. In January, the names of those most frequently suggested, and found to be qualified, were sent to the 27,000 signers—all considered members of the organization—on a double postcard. "These men have not been asked for permission to use their names on the card," said the message. "The man receiving the highest number of votes for each office will be the man we shall seek to run for that office with Citizens Action support." The return cards, marked but unsigned, were delivered directly to a well known firm of certified public accountants.

When the returns were in and tabulated it was discovered that the winner for each office in the poll secured a clear majority on the 9,000 cards which were returned. Paul Goebel, the successful nominee for mayor, was supported by more than 5,000 of the cards, and he had little choice but to accept the nomination. This was true in similar proportions for each of the ward nominees.

Sole issue in the campaign was "the people versus bossism," made concrete and dramatic by the city council's dismissal of Manager Frank Goebel the previous May for his refusal to take machine dictation in the appointment of a city assessor. The issue became more generalized in the demand for freedom from fear of threat and reprisal from the machine on the part of city employees, business men, laboring men and taxpayers.

How did Citizens Action win? Here are some statistics on participation reported by Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, vice president of Citizens Action:

9,000 helped to select candidates through the postcard poll;

500 contributed ten cents to $100 each, with a few gifts of $200 to $500.

100 ward committeemen secured block workers;

700 Citizens Action Neighbors (block workers) called on perhaps 25,000 households;

450 telephoners called the Citizens Action membership of 27,000 on election day;

50 drivers and baby sitters aided in getting old folks and young mothers to the polls.

Great help was given the campaign by the *Press* and the *Herald,* which hammered away day after day both in news columns and editorially.

What was the effect of the victory? Here is what Mrs. Judd has to say: "On the people? Complete elation—an orgy of mutual congratulations, a long sigh of relief. On the leaders? A sober realization of continuing responsibility. With all the months of hard labor that went into this 1950 municipal primary, the older leaders know that it is the easiest victory Citizens Action will ever have."

---

[1] See the REVIEW, June 1949, page 291; September 1949, page 402.

Committee for Kentucky Sings Swan Song

Its twelfth—and last—report to the people has been published by the Committee for Kentucky. *Blueprint for a Greater Kentucky* (104 pages) summarizes the committee's first eleven reports, each of its chapters discussing a different phase of the organization's program — agriculture, education, health, welfare, urban housing, manufacturing, labor, natural resources, highway transportation, government and taxation. Listed are the legislative measures suggested by the committee in the various sections of the report.

"The purpose of this *Blueprint for a Greater Kentucky,*" to quote its concluding paragraph, "is to set up broad guideposts to show the way. Kentucky has the resources, the ingenuity and the potential qualifications necessary to support this program. If we want to we can provide the revenue to bring our services at least up to the national averages. If we want to we can raise the capital necessary to put our school plants and hospitals and our other institutions on a par with other states. If we want to we can raise the level of education, health and economic opportunity for every Kentucky family. Only by doing so can we make democracy effective in Kentucky. Only by doing so can we truly achieve a greater Kentucky."

"One whole day jammed full of action!" was the slogan for the Inventory Conference sponsored by the committee which, led by Harry W. Schacter of Louisville, has made the state's communities very self-conscious of their needs and their ability to meet those needs.

Four sessions, including a banquet at which all the delegates were guests of the Committee for Kentucky, kept the conference on its toes. Planned to stimulate citizen interest in building better communities, the conference heard reports of achievements from many local communities and learned from state officials of the resources and facilities available to aid localities to help themselves. It promoted a better understanding of the nature of the community and its development, provided an opportunity for exchange of ideas, and lessened the gap between the community and the state by giving an understanding of the problems of each.

One of the outstanding events of the day was the taking of motion pictures of the conference by the United States Department of State as the beginning of a documentary film on the work of the Committee for Kentucky, to be shown in 150 U. S. outposts in 52 foreign countries. Some 500 delegates from 99 communities found themselves facing powerful klieg lights as cameras ground. Backdrop for the movie was a huge map of the state, with its 120 counties outlined in pastel colors, bearing the slogan, "Pulling Together for the Good of Kentucky."

Mr. Schacter, founder and president of the organization, made the closing address on "The Battle for Democracy Will be Won in the Local Community." He voiced his faith in the citizens of the community to continue the "march of Kentucky," as evidenced by the projects reviewed during the sessions. "The job of the Committee for Kentucky is finished," he said. "The job of the people has just begun."

Wisconsin Women Voters Study State Finance

Like other organizations interested in the general welfare, the Wisconsin League of Women Voters has for many years urged new or improved state and local government activities *without* giving consideration to how these expanded activities were to be financed. Realizing this shortcoming the league, at its 1949 state convention, adopted the following as its sole study program for the 1949-1950 year:

> Examination of state tax policy, budget and budget procedure in order to understand:
>
> 1. What are sound state fiscal policies;
> 2. Where state services are least adequate to meet the need;
> 3. What are the best sources of revenue to finance these services.

This program is most timely because Wisconsin is currently spending more money than it is receiving in taxes, thanks to a wartime accumulated surplus. By 1951 this surplus will be depleted and the state legislature must either impose new taxes or curtail expenditures. A State Legislative Council committee is currently studying the state tax system.

To provide local chapters of the league with a guide to their study, the league has issued a 64-page pamphlet, *The Most for Our Money—Wisconsin Taxes and Tax Problems.* Prepared by Miss Clara Penniman, a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin, this pamphlet has been widely acclaimed. In addition to factual material on state taxes, spending and budgeting, the pamphlet contains five chapters outlining problems for discussion on: Improving the property tax, strengthening the income tax, should we adopt a general sales tax? can we improve the way we run our budget? can state and local governments work together better? Each chapter is followed by a discussion outline.

Using this pamphlet, the 22 Wisconsin leagues are currently studying the problem in small discussion groups and in general meetings open to the public. Arising from these discussions will be recommendations for the state platform to be adopted at the next convention of the league in May. This platform will be urged upon the state legislature which meets next in January 1951. As part of its general program to make all citizens aware of governmental problems, the league is sponsoring radio talks, newspaper articles and panel discussions.

HUGH D. INGERSOLL

Students Hold Model Constitution Conventions

The Intercollegiate Conference on Government, representing some 65 Pennsylvania colleges and universities, will hold its fourteenth annual meeting April 14-16 at Harrisburg. Each year the conference assumes some form of government assembly—this year a constitutional convention to draft a new constitution for Pennsylvania. Each college sends selected student undergraduates as delegates and a faculty adviser. The conference was organized in 1934 to dramatize the working of state government.[1]

In Hawaii the Young Men's Christian Association recently held a model constitutional convention at which young delegates from Hi-Y groups prepared a constitution for Hawaii "on a Hi-Y level," says Sheldon E. Swenson, associate general secretary.

---

[1] See also "Collegians Steal Legislators' Fire," by Malcolm L. Webb, the REVIEW, July 1936, page 412; "Learning by Doing," by Leonard B. Gerson and Irving J. Zipin, July 1940, page 451.

Both the Pennsylvania and Hawaiian groups used the *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League as a text book.

Citizens Honor Manager

To celebrate the 25th anniversary of his appointment as a city manager, the citizens of Teaneck, New Jersey, led by the Teaneck Taxpayers League, gave honor to Paul Volcker at a dinner on February 18. Mr. Volcker's first managerial appointment was in Cape May, New Jersey, in 1925. He became manager of Teaneck in 1930. Chief speaker of the evening was Richard S. Childs, "father" of the council-manager plan. Musical entertainment was furnished by Miss Helen Jepson, a former Metropolitan Opera star.

Issued in honor of the occasion was a program depicting Mr. Volcker standing in a background of numerous Teaneck scenes. In the February 19 issue of the Teaneck *Sunday Sun* all news, editorials and advertisements were directed to congratulations for Mr. Volcker.

* * *

"Miss Government"

A unique event in the annals of contests has been announced by the League of Women Voters of Minnesota. Its state organization of college leagues, with Marie Swensen, president, providing the "spark that counts," is in charge of the contest, which all college girls, whether college league members or not, are eligible to enter. The contest is to pick a "Miss Government," who will be the top scoring girl in a series of quizzes based on *You Are the Government, a Handbook for Minnesota Citizens,* published by the Minnesota league. The winner will fly to Washington for a weekend visit, and will be piloted about and feted by national league officers and staff.

Irate Voters Get Action

City hall in Clifton, New Jersey, was the scene of a stormy meeting when irate citizens met with the board of education to protest appointment of school principals whom they considered too inexperienced for the job. According to the Paterson *Morning Call,* commenting editorially, "They did it with sufficient vehemence to make the Clifton board of education rescind its original ill-advised action." "To us," says the paper, "such an outpouring of citizens was a most encouraging sign of the revival of democracy in action."

* * *

Gravy Train Disapproved

The committee on legislation of The Citizens Union of New York disapproves of a proposal by State Senator Morritt and Assemblyman Bannigan to give legislators an allowance of $1,500 a year, in addition to traveling expenses, "in lieu of" all other expenses. The committee believes that an annual distribution of a quarter of a million dollars in "lulus" would be improvident. It pointed out that legislators have recently had their salaries raised from $2,500 to $5,000.

The union disapproves also of the salary increases given high officials in New York City last December. It comments that these were the second large increases in two years.

* * *

'Speaking of Money'

"The City Charter Committee is unique. It is probably the only political movement in the United States that is financed entirely by voluntary contributions. There is no patronage to dispense, no jobs to give away in county or state organizations and no pressure to be put on jobholders. The contributions of public-spirited citizens are its sole support. . . . The City Charter Committee has been the major reason for good government in Cincinnati for 25 years—and good government, like everything else, does not come for free." — R. Earl Denman, chairman, finance committee, Cincinnati City Charter Committee.

* * *

Reapportionment

The *Civic Searchlight* of the Detroit Citizens League devotes its lead article in January to a report on a meeting called to consider the need for legislative reapportionment. The meeting was sponsored by the League of Women Voters of Michigan "to get the thinking of many groups and interests to the end that a plan, as agreeable as possible to all, may be developed."

Mrs. Joseph Howell of Detroit, chairman of the LWV committee on reapportionment, commented in her talk: "Whether or not there should be reapportionment at all or reapportionment under the present or some other plan, we should not have the situation that has long existed of legislators, elected and sworn to uphold the constitution, flouting its very provisions by refusal to act."

Another meeting is being planned for the formulation of a specific plan of action. "Whatever plan is arrived at," reports the *Searchlight*, "will have to be submitted to the voters of the state in the form of a proposed amendment to the constitution. To initiate such proposed amendment will require something over 200,000 signatures to petitions."

Reapportionment is also a live subject of debate in Oregon where labor groups, Young Republicans, Young Democrats and others have put forward suggestions for action. The Portland City Club recently heard Giles L. French, editor of the Sherman County *Journal* and state legislator for Gilliam, Morrow, Sherman and Wheeler Counties, on "Reapportionment of the Oregon Legislature." The City Club plans to study all ballot measures concerned with the subject, submitting its findings to members.

* * *

Radio Program

The Kansas City Association of Community Councils has organized a weekly radio program which began early in March. It will feature discussions of city problems by local leaders and city officials.

* * *

Report on City Finance

The *Report of the Berkeley Citizens' Taxation Committee* is a thoroughgoing job which discusses where that California city gets its money and how it spends it. Most important, it makes recommendations for future action. Appointed by the mayor and council, the committee compared present costs with those of earlier years and those of other cities. It discovered that while costs have risen sharply, compared to other community costs, they are still low. "The city tax bill constitutes only a small part of the taxes paid by Berkeley citizens."

* * *

Conferences—Past and Future

The North American Conference on the Community, covering the United States, Canada and Mexico, will meet April 13-15 at the Deshler-Wallick Hotel, Columbus, Ohio. Held under the auspices of the American Council for the Community, the conference will discuss three questions: (1) How do we see the community, its ingredients, its planning, its physical-social-spiritual balance? (2) How organize the community job and how train the people that do the job? (3) What practical things must be done by states, provinces and national organizations to help communities help themselves? Registration for the conference may be made through the council at 60 East

(Continued on page 216)

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Research Shows Way to Better State Government

Notable Reports Come From Connecticut, Texas, Hawaii

ALTHOUGH the states have lost a great deal of power and function to Washington, their absolute importance in our system is greater than ever. As *The Report* of the Connecticut Commission on State Government points out, Connecticut now spends at least $125,000,000 a year and employs 17,000 people. "This means that on the average about one in 112 of our citizens works for the state—a ratio not far below that for the civilian establishment of the federal government."

The Report is unique in a number of respects, including its comprehensiveness and style of presentation. The writing is especially clear and incisive. In 81 easy-to-read pages it does an effective job of marshaling fact and logic in support of its specific proposals for reorganization of all three branches of the government and the rewriting of the constitution.

No better statement can be found anywhere on the need for giving the governor the essential means to be a real chief executive by providing him with staff agencies, reducing the number of departments and putting each one in charge of a single commissioner appointed by the governor without term and without confirmation. "The practice of confirmation in our state government is in hopeless confusion. . . . In connection with administrative posts it is fatal to clear responsibility, and therefore to the possibilities for better management."

Members of the commission did not evade any questions no matter how tough. When, in the case of reapportionment, they were unable to agree they said so. They did, however, point out emphatically that "it is morally indefensible" to permit the legislature to have the power to block reapportionment or future constitutional revision. Consequently, they recommend "a new method of constitutional amendment (by a carefully safeguarded initiative procedure) that will relieve the general assembly of the difficult responsibility of passing on its own basis of apportionment."

The Report is, of course, tailored to Connecticut traditions and needs. Its recommendations would therefore not fit any other state in every particular. For example, it is doubtful if it would be safe in every state to write a judicial article in just 103 words. In many states it would probably be better to go into enough detail to make the court system and the position of the chief justice as the responsible head of that system more nearly independent of future legislative enactments. A unified court with responsible administrative direction is contemplated by the report, but the actual realization of this objective will depend upon the legislature.

On the other hand, in states where the direct primary is well established (South Carolina and Connecticut are the only ones that rely exclusively on caucuses and conventions), there would be no necessity for a provision requiring "direct primary nomination of candidates for all elective state, county, city, borough and town officers and for United States senators and representatives." The proposed Connecticut constitution has good self-executing provisions on such crucial matters as reapportionment of the Senate, the initiative and referendum, and constitutional revision, but leaves it to the legislature to implement provisions for home rule and administrative reorganization, which are made self-executing in the *Model State Constitution.*

The commission's constitution, which takes less than twenty pages, is a convincing demonstration of the fact that it is still possible in the middle of the 20th century to confine a constitution to fundamental matters and to write it in plain concise English that speaks to the layman as clearly as to the lawyer.

Some of the reasons for the excellence of the work of the commission are set forth in the editorial in this REVIEW. Suffice it to add here that the result shows what can be done when adequate fiscal resources, a well organized staff of the best available professional talent, and top flight and imaginative citizen leadership are brought together in an effective working combination.

Connecticut was ahead of some states in that the chairman of the commission was Carter W. Atkins, executive director of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council with its experienced staff and their accumulated knowledge of state and local government. With this background it was easier than it might otherwise have been to assemble and direct the staff of some 120 specialists, about half of them from outside the state and many of them with experience both with the Hoover commission and with other state reorganizations.

A great deal of credit must also go to Ralph P. Sollott, staff director. A careful study of the organization of the staff into manageable projects with a highly experienced director in charge of each is recommended for anyone making a similar study in any other state or, for that matter, in a large city.

The second report in a series dealing with constitutional revision has been issued by the Bureau of Municipal Research, University of Texas. The 74-page volume entitled *Public Relations Program for a Citizen Committee,* by John P. Keith, is in effect a manual on the organization, strategy, policies, procedures and financing of a state citizens committee for constitutional revision. The volume includes a chapter summarizing lessons from experience in revision campaigns in New York, Georgia, Missouri and New Jersey. This study, as well as the first report on *Methods of Constitutional Revision,* should be almost as valuable outside as inside Texas.

The Legislative Reference Bureau of the University of Hawaii has brought up to date and assembled its previously issued background manuals on state constitutions and published them in one volume, *Manual on State Constitutional Provisions,* prepared for the Constitutional Convention, Territory of Hawaii, 1950. This manual of 396 pages includes useful tables not available anywhere else, selected constitutional provisions on important subjects, and a bibliography. This is the most up to date comprehensive single volume manual on the revision of state constitutions now available. It may be obtained from the Hawaii Statehood Commission, P. O. Box 3775, Honolulu, at $3 per copy.

Upson Fellowships in Public Administration

The Bureau of Governmental Research, Farwell Building, Detroit, Michigan, has announced the offering of Lent D. Upson fellowships for graduate training in public administration. Amounts of the fellowships run from $1,800 to $2,250 for twelve to fifteen months beginning in July or September 1950. Courses in public administration will be given at Michigan or Wayne University, together with on the job training of not less than 1,080 hours. The fellowships commemorate the late Dean Upson, formerly head of the bureau.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Assessment

Valuation of Property: Economic and Legal Standards. By James W. Martin and Milford Estill. Frankfort, *Kentucky Law Journal,* November 1949. 24 pp.

Budget

1950 Budget. Newark, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Memo,* February 10, 1950. 2 pp.

City Council

The City Council on Trial. Lincoln, Governmental Research Institute, *Bulletin,* February 1950. 3 pp.

Courts

Municipal Courts of New Hampshire. By Leonard Sawyer. Durham, University of New Hampshire, Bureau of Government Research, *New Hampshire Town and City Notes,* Spring 1949. 28 pp.

Debt

The Constitutional Debt Limit of New York City. New York, Citizens Budget Commission, February 15, 1950. 12 pp.

Education

Certification of Teachers. A Study of Educational Administration in Kentucky. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1950. 27 pp. tables.

Memorandum to the Governor and Members of the Legislature on School Construction Needs. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey of New York State, 1950. 5 pp.

Should New York City Adopt Fiscal Independence for Education? New York, Citizens Budget Commission, 1950. 19 pp. tables.

Federal Grants-in-Aid

Federal Grants-in-aid to Oklahoma, 1949. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, *Your Report on Government,* January 1950. 4 pp.

Federal Reorganization

The Hoover Report—Half a Loaf. A Summary, Analysis and Evaluation. Washington 3, D. C., Public Affairs Institute, 1949. 47 pp. 50 cents.

Metropolitan Areas

First Report, Section One, the Committee on Metropolitan Problems. Summary of First Report (mimeographed). Toronto, Civic Advisory Council, 1949. 97 and 13 pp. respectively.

The Metropolitan Problem. Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* January 16, 1950. 4 pp.

Parking

How Cities Handle Peak-Hour Parking Violators. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* January 27, 1950. 2 pp.

Municipal Off Street Parking Buildings. Des Moines, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Bulletin,* February 1, 1950. 1 p.

Personnel

State Personnel Administration in Colorado. Denver, Colorado Public Expenditure Council, 1949. x, 28 pp. tables.

Police

Better Use of Police Manpower. Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bureau Notes,* February 13, 1950. 4 pp. charts.

Police Costs Again Increased. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* January 13, 1950. 2 pp.

Public Relations

Public Relations in a Small Town. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institute of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* January 1950. 2 pp.

Public Welfare

The Kansas Welfare Program. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* January 15, 1950. 3 pp.

What Is Done for Needy Aged? Programs of Forty-eight States Reviewed. By Harry V. Cheshire. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* February 1950. 12 pp. tables. 25 cents.

Research

Documentation. By S. C. Bradford. (Describes the nature, purpose and technique of documentation as the key to the efficient application of scientific knowledge; and technique of libraries, abstracting and information services.) Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1950. 156 pp. $3.

Salaries

Many Proposed City Salary Increases Unsupported by Survey Data. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* February 21, 1950. 2 pp.

Smoke Abatement

Proposed Smoke Abatement Ordinance. Municipal Services to Be Improved by the Bureau of Sanitation of the City Health Department. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Newsletter,* January 28, 1950. 1 p.

Social Security

Proposed Expansion of Social Security Program. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, January 1950. 8 pp.

State Government

The Growth of State Administration in Mississippi. (As measured by these four yardsticks: (1) Increase of state services since 1817; (2) growth of organizational machinery for administration; (3) increase in state disbursements since 1830; (4) expansion of personnel since 1920.) By Robert B. Highsaw and Carl D. Mullican, Jr. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1950. vii, 108 pp. Tables.

Reorganization in New Hampshire Pays. Concord, New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation, *New Hampshire Taxpayer,* February 1950. 1 p.

State Organization and Administration. A List of References on Selected Problems, with Special Reference to the Michigan Situation. Compiled by Ione E. Dority. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Bureau of Government, 1950. 19 pp.

State-Local Relations

Milwaukee County Gets Less State Aid Than Other Urban Areas for Welfare and Health Services. Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* February 9, 1950. 3 pp.

State-Local Fiscal Relations in Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* February 15, 1950. 3 pp.

Technical Assistance to Alabama Governments. A Directory.[1] University, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 185 pp.

Traffic

Proceedings of Northwest Conference on Traffic Engineering. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with The Division of Adult Education and Extension Services, 1949. 64 pp., charts.

---

[1] See also "Technical Services Directories Issued," the REVIEW, June 1949, page 308.

Traffic in the Poughkeepsie Area. A Survey Report on Parking and Traffic Problems and Possible Solutions. Poughkeepsie, Area Development Association, 1950. 47 pp. $1.

Streets and Highways

Design Standards for Major and Secondary City Streets. Instructions for Determining Practical Working Capacities. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with Association of Washington Cities, January 1950. 14 pp.

Financing Highways in Utah 1949. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1950. 4 pp.

Fiscal Planning for Connecticut's Highways. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *News and Views,* February 16, 1950. 2 pp.

Street Maintenance. Progress to Date and Further Steps Toward Improvement. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* January 16, 1950. 3 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Administration of Municipal Sales Taxes in California. By James D. Kitchen. Los Angeles, University of California, Bureau of Governmental Research, December 1949. 50 pp. tables, bibliography. 50 cents.

Connecticut's Financial Future — Economy or More Taxes. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *News and Views,* January 25, 1950. 2 pp.

The Constitutional Tax Limit. A Summary. New York, Citizens Budget Commission, February 15, 1950. 19 pp.

An Economy Program for Buffalo and Erie County. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* January 26, 1950. 3 pp.

Financial Data on the City of Providence, 1940-1949. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* January 1950. 11 pp. tables.

The Property Tax. Toronto, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* February 4, 1950. 5 pp.

Property Taxes and Tax Rates in Milwaukee County. Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* February 2, 1950. 3 pp.

Revenue Problems of the State of Washington. An Evaluation of the Tax Structure and Suggested Changes. Address of Governor Arthur B. Langlie and the Proceedings of the Taxation Section, Fourteenth Annual Institute of Government, 1949. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with the Division of Adult Education and Extension Services, December 1949. 38 pp.

Review of the 1949 Tax Year. Wisconsin State and Local Taxes Produce All-Time Record High Revenues of $392 Million. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* December 1949. 4 pp.

State and Local Government Expenditures Reviewed. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* February 1950. 8 pp. charts.

Substantial Rise in Municipal Expenses in 1950-51. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* January 25, 1950. 1 p.

Taxable Valuations in Counties. Assessed Property Tops $13 Billion. By Richard Winter. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* January 1950. 6 pp. tables. 25 cents.

Taxes. An up-to-date tax dictionary of all state and federal taxes levied in Wisconsin — state and federal income tax guide. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, December 1949. 64 pp. 25 cents.

Taxes Paid by Motor Vehicle Owners in Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1950. 4 pp.

Tax Exempt Property. 1949-50 Total Up 15 Per Cent. By Richard Winter. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* February 1950. 6 pp. 25 cents.

Vocational Education

Vocational Education in Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, December 1949. 20 pp. Tables.

Water Supply

An Adequate, Permanent Water Supply for New York City. New York, Citizens Budget Commission, February 15, 1950. 7 pp.

Rochester and Its Water Works. Rochester, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Bulletin,* December 1949. 4 pp.

Zoning

Industrial Sites Receive Protection. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* February 21, 1950. 3 pp.

CITIZEN ACTION

(Continued from page 210)

42nd Street, New York 17.

The Council for the Community has issued its report on another conference, *The Training of Community Counsellors,* held September 29-October 2 at Garden City, New York. Divided into four sections the report discusses major recommendations, the job, the worker, and the problem of training.

The Sixth Annual Institute of Community Leadership of the New York State Citizens' Council will be held June 15-18 at Colgate University, Hamilton, New York.

Report of the Fourth Annual Conference on Citizenship, held in New York May 14-18, 1949, is now available at 50 cents, with a reduction on quantity orders. The conference was held under the auspices of the National Education Association and the United States Department of Justice, with Vice President Alben W. Barkley as honorary chairman.

* * *

Strictly Personal

The Hamilton County Good Government League has announced the resignation of Miss Marjory J. O'Hare as its executive secretary and the appointment of George H. Palmer to succeed her.

The Citizens Union of the City of New York has made several changes on its executive committee: Additions include Mrs. Genevieve B. Earle, retiring minority leader of the New York City Council, and Dr. Neva R. Deardorff, research director of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York. Dr. Deardorff has also been made chairman of the union's committee on city planning, succeeding Guy Greer, now with the federal Urban Redevelopment Administration in Washington.

Frederick V. Geier, president of the Cincinnati Milling Machine Company, has been elected president of the Cincinnati Citizens Development Committee. He had served formerly as its vice president. Joseph B. Hall, retiring president, has been named chairman of the executive committee.

Francis A. Harrington has been elected president of the Citizens Plan E Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, succeeding Robert B. Service, Jr.

Books in Review

Metropolitan Los Angeles: One Community. By Mel Scott. **Metropolitan Los Angeles: Its Government.** By Helen Jones and Robert F. Wilcox. Los Angeles, The Haynes Foundation, 1949. 192 and 224 pages respectively. $5 each.

There is an old story about a funeral in some undefined locality. At the close of the service the preacher asked, "Would any one present like to say a few words about the deceased?" At first there was no response, but then a gentleman arose in the back of the room and said, "I did not know the deceased but if you don't mind I'd like to say a few words about Los Angeles."

It is a fact that Los Angelenos have seldom missed an opportunity to tell the story of their astounding city. No community has ever been raised from so little to so much by the conscious and deliberate efforts of its people.

These twin volumes, intended, as their introductions tell us, for use as supplementary reading in the last year of high school in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, are in bulk (the pages are over eight by ten inches) and lavishness of illustration distinctly in the Los Angeles tradition. Nowhere else, to the knowledge of this reviewer, has so elaborate and costly a publication been devoted to such a purpose. With that purpose readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW will all be in sympathy and will join in the reviewer's hope that this effort to "sell" an understanding of their community to the young people of the Los Angeles area will be successful.

The first of the two volumes, *One Community,* will prove easier reading to the fraction of the U. S. population still residing outside southern California. It tells in words, graphs and pictures the story of the development of the Los Angeles area from its discovery by the Spaniards to the present day, with an excellent analysis of some of its current problems from the point of view of a city planner. It departs, as does its companion volume, from Los Angeles tradition in speaking frankly of these problems. For example, there is the "smog" problem—how to get rid of what the author picturesquely calls "atmospheric sewage"—a subject not in Los Angeles' perennial invitation to the sun-hungry tourist and settler.

The authors of the second volume, *Its Government,* were beset by the insurmountable difficulty of explaining briefly and simply anything as complicated as the governmental arrangements which prevail in Los Angeles County, with its 45 cities and 784 special districts, especially when the principal city has a 300-page charter which has been amended 133 times in the 25 years it has been in force. It is not to be wondered at that this volume is too tightly packed with fact to be popular bedside reading.

It is disappointing that neither volume holds out any positive constructive suggestion for bringing about the governmental integration of the metropolitan area. It is possible that to be useful for schoolroom purposes the authors had to avoid taking a strong stand for any particular solution. *Its Government,* in attempting to deal with the government of a metropolitan region in its final chapter, seems to have become lost in the intricacies of the subject. The authors show, for example, a somewhat excessive enthusiasm for the accomplishments of the Massachusetts Metropolitan Commission, ignoring the fact that a commission appointed by the governor violates the principle of local democratic control which they had previously declared to be indispensable in any metropolitan authority.

Such defects as these works have, however, arise chiefly from the difficulties of the subject. Their essential soundness is guaranteed by the fact that the work was done under the supervision of E. A. Cottrell, one of the country's leading authorities on public administration.

Any one who wants to know the facts about metropolitan Los Angeles will do well to consult these volumes. And how can any student of municipal affairs fail to be fascinated by a metropolitan area which had 33,381 people in 1880, 997,830 in 1920, and 4,142,700 in 1949; which grew straight through the country's worst depression; which when the late war was over refused to give up any of its wartime gains; and which today calmly talks of an ultimate 12,000,000 Los Angelenos. Add that this has all been done in a semi-arid region, without coal or iron, whose only local fuel supply is oil, and which has to bring its water and electricity hundreds of miles across deserts and mountains. There is only one word for it—a Los Angeles word—"colossal."

THOMAS H. REED

Police Systems in the United States. By Bruce Smith. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1949. 351 pp. $5.

This is the classic critique of American police systems, first published in 1940 and now enlarged and revised, representing the documented findings of the best informed authority in the field. Bruce Smith's information is based on his 30 years of employment to make police surveys in ten major cities and scores of minor ones as well as of state police in several states, providing a unique background deeply respected by police chiefs.

R.S.C.

Party and Pressure Politics. By Dayton David McKean. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1949. 712 pp. $5.

Dr. McKean's textbook, *Party and Pressure Politics,* is a creditable addition to the list of notable volumes that have appeared in this field during the past 30 years. His volume takes on distinction not only because of his rich background as scholar and teacher but also because he draws heavily upon his experience as a former member of the New Jersey state legislature and as current chairman of the Democratic State Committee of New Hampshire. This study is a realistic treatment, distinctly practical in its approach.

Dr. McKean devotes less attention to straight party history than do most textbooks on political parties, weaving together rather effectively party history with functional party problems. He devotes a full section of four chapters to the relationship of propaganda to party and pressure politics. These chapters covering such a wide scope must necessarily be sketchy although he establishes well this inter-relationship. The chapter on "The Press and American Politics" is most relevant and a welcome addition in the light of the role and influence of newspapers in the last five presidential elections. The discussion of "Measuring Public Opinion" gives due consideration to the dramatic incidents of 1948.

Unlike recent texts which have stressed the close connection of pressure and party politics, McKean, leaning on his teaching experience, introduces his readers to the problems of pressure politics *after* the discussion of party politics. Fully one third of the volume is devoted to "Pressure Groups and Pressure Politics," and here the chapter on "Religious Interests in American Politics" is particularly worthwhile. Readers of the REVIEW will also be interested in the consideration the author gives to the role of "Reformers and Reform Movements" in American politics.

McKean, author of *The Boss: The Hague Machine in Action* (1940), is on familiar ground in his discussion of bosses and machines. He leans heavily upon his own intimate contacts but shows his familiarity with the numerous biographies of America's colorful political bosses. This chapter is rich in anecdotes. The vital influence of the grass roots in American politics at all levels is stressed—best illustrated perhaps by his quotation from Charles Edison:

> Any people, to govern themselves successfully, must get experience in the art of government. The place where the people can get their experience at self-government — and each must learn anew—is in the local governments—cities, boroughs, towns, townships, counties, school districts and states. If local governments are true democracies, we need never worry about the Great Society not being one. But we cannot expect a great democracy to exist upon a foundation of local dictatorships.

Students will find the five national party platforms for the 1948 elections, in the appendix, helpful primary sources.

It is perhaps not amiss to congratulate the publishers on the attractive format of the volume, the high quality of paper and the useful index.

BELLE ZELLER

Brooklyn College

The Design of Democracy. By Laurence Stapleton. New York, Oxford University Press, 1949. 301 pp. $4.

A fluent marshaling of the case for democracy in the modern world and a wise analysis of its intangibles and basic realities. The treatment is subjective and the spirit is happy and hopeful.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Crime

The Crime Problem. By Walter C. Reckless. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950. xii, 537 pp. $4.25.

Directories

Directory of State Agencies and Employees in Nashville. Compiled by Mary Alice Klyce. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1950.

Housing

How to End Segregation in Housing. By Alexander L. Crosby. New York, New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing, 1950. 14 pp.

Stepping Stones from Slums via Public Housing to Private Homes. 1948-1949 Annual Report. Memphis, Tennessee, Housing Authority, 1950. 36 pp. illus.

International Relations

International Relations—Documents and Readings. By Norman Hill. New York, Oxford University Press, 1950. xvi, 536 pp. $4.50.

Planning

Airports and Community Planning. By Walther Prokosch. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, January 1950. 3 pp.

Cleveland's General Plan. An Address by John T. Howard. Cleveland, Regional Association, 1949. 15 pp. illus.

Local Planning in Tennessee 1948-1949. A Progress Report. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1949. 53 pp. illus.

The Road Ahead. Progress and Goals in Cambridge. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Planning Board, 1950. 28 pp. illus.

Public Employee Unions

Labor Unions and Municipal Employee Law—A Supplementary Report. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1949. 63 pp. $3.

Public Safety

Safety Code for Manlifts. New York 18, American Society of Mechanical Engineers, 1949. 22 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Annual Motor Vehicle and Related Taxes on Motor Vehicles of Various Types in the 48 States as of November 1, 1949. Chicago, Griffenhagen and Associates, 1950. 13 pp.

Assessed Valuations and Tax Levies within Multnomah County, Oregon. Reporting on assessments made as of January 1, 1949, and taxes levied for the fiscal year of July 1, 1949, to June 30, 1950. By Wilbur J. Falloon, County Assessor. Portland, County Assessor's Office, 1950. 26 pp.

Compendium of City Government Finances in 1948. The 397 Cities Having 25,000 or More Inhabitants in 1940. By Bureau of the Census. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1950. viii, 96 pp. 40 cents.

Cost Accounting. By Arthur N. Lorig, John A. Danaho, etc. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* February 1950. 32 pp. 50 cents.

Forecasts on Municipal Finance. New York City, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* February 1950. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Revenue and Expenditure of Selected States in 1949. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950. 12 pp.

Tax and Expenditure Policy for 1950. A Statement on National Policy by the Research and Policy Committee. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1950. 51 pp. Single copies free, additional copies 35 cents.

Traffic Safety

Building Traffic Safety into Residential Developments. Chicago 6, National Committee for Traffic Safety, 1950. 40 pp. illus. $1.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion for May 1950. Theme: Vehicle Maintenance. Chicago, National Safety Council, 1950. Variously paged.

Zoning

A Guide to Zoning — for Small Towns. By Southern Association of State Planning and Development Agencies. Chicago, Association of State Planning and Development Agencies, 1950. Variously paged. $1.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

AY 1950 VOLUME XXXIX, NO.

PERIODICAL DEPT.
Public Library
Kansas City, Mo

Behind the Scandal .... Editorial
A New Model Primary Law .... Richard S. Childs
Invitation to the Masquerade .... Dean E. McHenry
New Mexico Retains Primary .... Dorothy I. Cline
Parties Survive Cross-Voting .... Daniel M. Ogden, Jr.
New York Gets Personnel Relations Board 242
St. Louis County Adopts Home Rule Charter 249
P. R. Battle Continues in Massachusetts 252
N. Y. Bonus Payments Below Estimates 255
Hartford Students Form Junior City Council 258
Administrative Theory, Practice Examined 262

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the Review by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor
ELSIE S. PARKER, Assistant Editor

Contributing Editors

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

State Correspondents

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
JAMES GIRAND, *Arizona*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN, *Maryland*
STUART A. MacCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
HARVEY WALKER, *Ohio*
YORK Y. WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *President*
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J., *Vice President*
J. W. Clise, Seattle, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York, *Treasurer*
William Collins, *Finance Chairman*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
John E. Bebout, *Assistant Secretary*
George H. Hallett, Jr., *Associate Secretary*

Council

Richard S. Childs, New York, *Chairman*

William Anderson, Minneapolis
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
Frederick L. Bird, New York
Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati
William Collins, Yonkers, N. Y.
L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Mo.
James A. Cunningham, Chicago
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
C. A. Dykstra, Los Angeles
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
B. H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Clarence Francis, Bronxville, N. Y.
Arnold Frye, New York
Lloyd E. Graybiel, San Francisco
Harrison S. Hires, Berwyn, Pa.
Robert W. Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
John S. Linen, New York
Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis
Mrs. Thomas H. Mahony, Boston
D. K. Pfeffer, New York
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Walter M. Phillips, Philadelphia
Lawson Purdy, New York
Harry W. Schacter, Louisville, Ky.
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Henry L. Shattuck, Boston
George S. Van Schaick, New York
Richard Weil, Jr., New York
A. C. (Jack) White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

Publication Office: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
Editorial and Business Office: 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXIX, No. 5 **Total Number 399**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Contents for May 1950

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS 222
EDITORIAL COMMENT 223
A NEW MODEL PRIMARY LAW .... *Richard S. Childs* 225
INVITATION TO THE MASQUERADE .... *Dean E. McHenry* 228
NEW MEXICO RETAINS PRIMARY .... *Dorothy I. Cline* 233
PARTIES SURVIVE CROSS-VOTING .... *Daniel M. Ogden, Jr.* 237

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 242
COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 249
PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION .... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 252
TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 255
CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 258
RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 262
BOOKS IN REVIEW 267

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Index to Legal Periodicals,* the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Copyright May 1950 by
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

Allen H. Seed, Jr., Appointed Director of Field Services

The new position of director of field services, created by the Executive Committee of the League at a meeting March 1, has been filled by the appointment of Allen H. Seed, Jr., a former president of the National Association of Civic Secretaries, who has had a varied experience in the local civic field.

The appointment fills a long felt need for a broadly experienced man to work more closely with local civic groups on their problems of organization, program and finance, and to assist community leaders and other League members in broadening interest and support for the League.

After serving as civic secretary of the New York City Club and playing an important part in the campaign for the adoption of New York's present charter, Mr. Seed directed the City Manager League of Toledo during the strenuous and turbulent campaign years of the late 1930s. In 1939 he was chosen to direct the Minneapolis Civic Council, which coordinated the programs of eight civic organizations in Minneapolis and Hennepin County and annually raised nearly half a million dollars to finance them.

In addition to his civic work, Mr. Seed has had experience in the advertising agency field and as a divisional sales manager for *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* He is a former national director of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce and a former member of the League's Council.

Jones Promoted in Germany

Howard P. Jones, former secretary of the League, has been promoted to acting U. S. deputy commissioner in Berlin. Mr. Jones, who was deputy comptroller for the state of New York when he was commissioned a major in military government early in the recent war, rose to the rank of colonel before entering the foreign service. He has held various important posts in the administrative organization of the United States zone in Germany prior to his appointment to his present office. He participated in the reestablishment and reorganization of government in West Germany, being especially active in the public finance field.

Murray Seasongood Honored

Murray Seasongood, former League president and former mayor of Cincinnati, was given a Doctor of Laws degree February 14 by Marietta College.

Town Report Pioneer Dead

James P. Taylor, long-time executive secretary of the Vermont State Chamber of Commerce, who was widely known for his constant and successful campaigning for improved public reporting by Vermont towns, died last fall in a boating accident, it was learned recently. His municipal report contests to secure governmental improvement and more thorough citizen understanding inspired similar efforts in many other parts of the country. Mr. Taylor was the League's state correspondent for New Hampshire.

Editorial Comment

Behind the Scandal

THE governor of Missouri controls the police department of Kansas City. He alone is responsible for law enforcement, having full power to appoint and remove police commissioners in that city and in St. Louis.

It is important to remember this in connection with the current scandal arising from the recent murder of Charles Binaggio, underworld political boss.

The Kansas City *Star* says the current governor, who was elected with Binaggio's support, has appointed half the present police commissioners with approval of Binaggio, whom the *Star* calls "local representative" of the national crime syndicate.

The theory behind this state law which nullifies an important element of home rule is that big cities are wicked and that a governor, elected with the participation of rural people, would be wholesome and good. Actually, the council-manager government of Kansas City has been among the finest in the land since 1940. But it can do nothing about its police department.

Both Kansas City and St. Louis ought to take the present scandal as a reason for demanding full responsibility for managing their own business, including the police.

What Price Patronage?

THE Committee of 70 of Philadelphia asks: "How Necessary is Patronage? Can a party win a major election against an entrenched machine with almost unlimited patronage at its disposal?" The committee finds the answer in the November political upset in which Philadelphia elected Democrats to four city offices:

"That campaign centered around the Republican party's abuse of the patronage and spoils system government. . . . People finally awakened and repudiated those responsible for the abuses. The Democrats, with very little patronage at their disposal, called upon the young and old of both major political parties to assist them in their campaign for better government. The large groups of volunteers which responded did a good political job which shamed many old time politicians who had become dependent upon the patronage system. . . . They proved conclusively that with a just cause and under forceful leadership you could enlist the volunteer services of a large group of independent citizens to become politically active."

This demonstration was, of course, nothing new. Many a battle for such changes as the council-manager plan has been won by similar volunteers against the opposition of patronage entrenched political organizations. Cincinnati and other places that have had nonpartisan, spoils-free municipal government for years have demonstrated that amateurs, properly organized and led, can be counted on year after year to work for nothing more sordid than the good of the city.

But, say the armchair defenders of "party responsibility," what will happen to the national parties if there are no mercenaries on local payrolls to ring doorbells and drag unwilling voters to the polls? In rebuttal we give you Mr. Republican himself, Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, citizen of Cincinnati. Or, to jump the political fence, there is Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, who was nominated and elected despite the all-out opposition of the patronage boys in his own party.

The Committee of 70 asks and answers some other pertinent questions: "Who pays the bills for patronage? The answer is very simple, you and every other taxpayer. You may think you never contributed to a political party in your life. But if you pay taxes you help support the patronage system. . . . Furthermore, you can't escape because the entire resources of government can be used to collect its taxes."

"Would you approve the patronage system for public education?" Perhaps the least of the horrors conjured up by the committee is that whenever a teacher "had a little politicking to do around the neighborhood or 'down in the Hall' " he might not show up at school for several days at a time, leaving the incidental matter of his classroom assignments to any person who happened to be available. "The patronage system," observes the committee mildly, "is not conducive either to a good school system or to a good municipal government."

Reflecting obviously on the cynical view of human nature that people won't work in the public interest unless they are paid, the committee suggests: "Maybe good jobs should be handed out to the laymen and volunteers who help church and charitable causes. Thousands of Philadelphians contribute many hours of their free time to the church, Community Chest, Red Cross, Salvation Army, Y.M.C.A., etc. They work unstintingly, without a thought of a financial reward, to assure the success of every worthwhile agency in these many fields of public service. What would happen if the majority of the workers expected or demanded jobs on the payroll of the church, the Community Chest, the Red Cross or other agencies they help to serve? Under the patronage system, a large portion of the funds that had been raised to finance public needs would be frittered away on payrolls."

The patronage system is an insult to the fundamental soundness and integrity of the American people. As the Committee of 70 points out, it contradicts the essential democratic principle of "equal opportunity for all citizens to serve in their government." It is in fact, as the name implies, a hangover from the feudal age when public office was not a public trust but a private privilege in return for which the holder owed personal fealty and service not to the community but to the feudal lord or monarch who was his patron. It's high time to get local politics out of the dark ages as, happily, has been done in more places than there are politicians in Philadelphia.

A New Model Primary Law

National Municipal League Committee completes tentative draft to bring order and control to nominating process.

By **RICHARD S. CHILDS***

THE direct primary has been in use for decades in 46 states. Rhode Island adopted it in 1947 and Connecticut is now the lone exception. Published data on experience with the primary is sadly lacking, nor are any funds available anywhere for the kind of field research a competent comparative study would require. The best and latest work, *Primary Elections,* by Merriam and Overacker, is dated 1928. The National Municipal League's last committee statement on the subject was in a supplement to this REVIEW dated December 1921, an inconclusive pro and con discussion representing a split vote.

Now the League is deeply indebted to Professor Joseph P. Harris of the University of California, author of its *Model Election Administration System* (1930) and its *Model Registration System* (1939), for preparing a competent and constructive manuscript describing a model direct primary system. It has been revised in two meetings of eminent groups in November and December and by further discussions by mail incident to enlisting the strongest possible sponsoring committee. The committee is still incomplete and minor factors remain to be compromised, but the outlines of the proposal emerge clearly enough to permit this preview of the findings.

The report excludes presidential primaries as a separable subject as well as consideration of local elections in cities, counties, school districts and local judiciary districts since the League is long since committed to nonpartisan primaries and elections at the local level and such elections are in fact in effect in 60 per cent of our cities. That leaves for consideration the large-area elections for statewide offices and in congressional districts, where elections are partisan and where intervention by the state to regulate the internal structure and operation of the two political parties is essential to fairness of procedure and honest counts.

The case for such regulation—as distinguished from the British practice of free unsupervised self-renewing party management—rests on the settled fact that in unwieldy districts no candidate who does not win the nomination of one or the other of the two great parties has any chance of election. The mere size and population of the constituency confer overwhelming advantages on the standing professional party organizations and insurgent independent efforts cannot be improvised to provide effective competition.

Furthermore, the ability of voters to punish one party by switching to the other is blocked in about half the situations by the fact that the two-party system is actually a one-party system. Hence it becomes important that the active party managements shall be kept vulnerable to displacement if they get too far from party rank-and-file opinion. For, like it or not, the nominating mechanisms of the parties in unwieldy districts are essential supplements to the constitutional and statutory mechanisms, which, indeed, could hardly work at all without them.

---

*Mr. Childs, chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League and a former League president, is a volunteer member of the League's staff.

The League's committee promptly shook off the first proposal of Professor Harris who, looking over the three existing styles of primaries—closed, open and blanket—selected as first choice the Washington blanket primary described elsewhere in this issue. It has been tried in only that one state since 1936 and is being seriously considered, under Professor Harris' leadership, in California.

The blanket primary provides a single primary election ballot covering all parties and lets any voter participate simultaneously, for example, in the contest for the Republican nomination for governor and for the Democratic nomination for U. S. senator. The other members of the committee prevailed in leaving the choice of open, closed or blanket type primaries to follow established local traditions and experience, without recommendation, most of the recommendations now advanced being equally adapted to any of the three types.

The outstanding principle of the proposed model is to pin on the party managers, duly elected in a simple party structure, the duty of proposing and visibly sponsoring candidates for the party nomination in time for scrutiny by the party voters and the advancing of contesting nominees before the deadline. "Regular" nominees, as in several states already, are to be identified as such on the primary ballot—the voter is entitled to such information and it may or may not be an asset to the candidates thus labelled.

The model goes a step further in requiring the party management to exhibit its ticket at an early date, leaving time enough for contestants to appear and qualify for a place on the ballot. This novel feature revives an idea that Charles Evans Hughes, as governor of New York, vainly urged in 1909. The proposal should embarrass only party managements that prefer anonymity of sponsorship and opportunities for last minute surprises. It is hoped that identification of sponsorship will lead to true and visible leadership, a new dignity and responsibility in party officership and a more consistent party character.

Party Organization

Parties are commonly allowed to make their own rules defining their internal structures and nominating authorities. They sometimes set up purposely complex and bewildering mazes of committees, conventions and procedures to confound the nonprofessional voter and block spasms of insurgency. Tammany Hall, as might be expected, breaks all records for ingenuity in this respect, with rules that require party voters to vote for dozens of committeemen in each precinct and these committeemen, adding up to thousands in

PERIODICAL DE

an Assembly District, theoretically choose the key character of the machine, the district leader. A deliberate and almost insurmountable obfuscation! So the report specifies a standard party structure of the most primitive short ballot simplicity and straightforwardness.

The "semi-final" recommendations as they stand in the present version of the model direct primary system provide:

1. The principle of the short ballot should be adopted for all elections by taking off the elective list all offices except those of major importance which are responsible for the major policies of the government. All other offices should be filled by appointment by responsible officers.

2. Political party organizations, acting through committees or conferences of responsible party officers, should be authorized by law to select and propose candidates for nomination by the party for public office and for election to party office, to be voted on at the direct primary election.

3. Candidates proposed by the organization committees or conferences, and duly certified to the public officers in charge of printing the ballot, should have their names printed on the primary ballot with a designation—asterisk or otherwise—to indicate that they have been proposed by the party organization.

4. Any party member should be permitted to become a candidate for the party nomination for any office and to have his name printed on the ballot by fulfilling the legal requirements, ordinarily by filing a petition and by posting the required filing fee before or after the organization makes its proposals. The final date for such filing should be specified by law and should be at least two weeks after the final date fixed for political party committees to file their lists of proposed candidates.

5. Individual candidates should be permitted to file for the nomination of only one party—that with which they are affiliated. Organization committees, however, should be permitted to propose candidates who are not members of the party, thus permitting candidates to receive the nomination of more than one party.

6. The use of the direct primary should be mandatory for political parties which polled 10 per cent or more of the vote cast at the preceding general election. Smaller parties should not be permitted to use the primary.

7. Provision should be made whereby small or new parties or independent candidates may qualify by petition and have the names of their candidates printed on the ballot at the final election.

Choice of Primary Type

8. It is deemed unwise to offer any positive recommendation as between the open, closed and blanket ballot type of primary. The system which is best suited for a particular state will depend in large part on party traditions and history within the state.

9. The candidate of each party who polls the highest vote within the party shall receive the party nomination. In one-party states it may be

(Continued on page 266)

Invitation to the Masquerade

Cross-filing, California's perversion of partisan primary, both deceives voters and destroys party responsibility.

By DEAN E. McHENRY*

CALIFORNIA'S claim to uniqueness is well deserved in the field of politics. Governor Earl Warren, Republican vice presidential nominee in 1948, won the Democratic gubernatorial nomination as well as his own in the 1946 primaries. James Roosevelt, leading Democratic contender for the governorship in 1950, has announced that he will seek the Republican nomination in addition to his own party's. Whoever is elected governor will have to work with a legislature approximately three-fourths of whose membership received the nominations of both major parties. And Californians, like Mary (who mixed only a few commodities like marmalade and chewing gum and beer), wonder why their politics seem so queer.

The device which makes possible such strange results is called "cross-filing," the practice of permitting a candidate to seek nominations of parties other than his own. No test of party affiliation is required. The successful cross-filer is one who captures both major party nominations in the primary and has no important opposition in the November general election. It appears that cross-filing is legally possible in five other states, but only in New York does it loom important.[1] There, with few exceptions, it is used to provide minor party endorsements to major party candidates.

When California first adopted the direct primary in 1909 it provided the usual party test under which a candidate must declare that he had supported the party at the preceding general election. In 1913, however, the dominant Progressives, who had left the Republican party in the Bull Moose campaign for Theodore Roosevelt, amended the law to drop the party test for candidates. This means of perpetuating themselves in office was successful, for an overwhelming majority of Progressives won Republican nominations in 1914.

Each decade since its adoption, the use of cross-filing has increased until now it is unusual for a serious candidate to file for only one nomination. The greatest utilization of the device is by candidates for congressional, state assembly, state senatorial and minor state executive offices. Earl Warren's feat of securing both major party nominations has been duplicated by no other candidate for the

---

*Dr. McHenry is associate professor of political science and dean of the Division of Social Sciences at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he has taught since 1939. He is author of *His Majesty's Opposition* (1940) and *The Third Force in Canada* (1950), and co-author (with Winston W. Crouch) of *California Government, Politics and Administration* (second edition 1949) and (with John H. Ferguson) of *The American System of Government* (1947) and *Elements of American Government* (1950).

[1] See Arthur Harris and Carl Uhr, *Direct Primary Elections,* Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1941, pages 14-17.

governorship. Hiram W. Johnson alone has successfully cross-filed — in 1940 — for United States senator.

Cross-filing Wins Elections

The proportion of congressional and state legislative offices won, in effect, by clinching both Democratic and Republican nominations in the primary is high. For representative in Congress the peak in successful cross-filing was reached in 1940, when 55 per cent of the seats were filled in the primary; the second highest point was reached in 1942 and 1948, when 52.17 per cent were settled in the primary. The top in State Senate cross-filing was reached in 1944, when 90 per cent of the districts electing senators gave both party nominations to a single candidate; in both 1946 and 1948 the level was 85 per cent. The maximum for State Assembly occurred in 1944, when 80 per cent of the lower house seats were won in the primary; in 1946 it was 70 per cent and in 1948, 71.25 per cent.[2]

Minor state executive offices are won by cross-filing with considerable regularity. Like many of her sister states, California persists in popularly electing a large number of lesser executive officers each of whom has his own constitutional pedestal. Few voters are in a position to judge the stewardship in office of the incumbent secretary of state, controller, treasurer, attorney general or member of the Board of Equalization. The standard pattern is to reelect the incumbent and this tendency is strengthened by cross-filing.

The contest for attorney general has extended beyond the primaries only twice in nine state elections held since cross-filing began in 1913. Incumbent secretaries of state and controllers retained their offices by cross-filing successfully in all except three of the nine times terms have expired. The state treasurer secured both party nominations on five occasions but contented himself with one on four. Board of Equalization members use cross-filing regularly.

Although most candidates cross-file with the intention of winning both major party nominations, some accomplish their purpose simply by polling a modest vote in the primary of the opposing party. Candidate A, a Republican, faces a formidable contender in candidate B, a Democrat, in a legislative constituency with a Democratic majority of registered voters. By cross-filing, A may secure Democratic votes in the primary sufficient in number and intense enough in conviction to carry over to the November election. This form of "raiding" is practiced almost universally in the partisan primary.

California's primary law makes one gesture of deference to partisanship. No aspirant may accept the nomination of another party unless he has won his own. This disqualification clause was amended into the law in 1917, and from the beginning to the present it has produced a long line of candidates who were not allowed to hold nominations they had won in the primary. In 1918 James

---

[2] These figures are reported in detail for each election since 1922 in Winston W. Crouch and Dean E. McHenry, *California Government, Politics and Administration,* University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949, pages 36-39.

Rolph, Jr., won the Democratic nomination for governor but was denied it because he lost his own, the Republican.

Every subsequent election has produced from two to fifteen disqualifications, largely among candidates for congressional and state legislative offices. The largest number of disqualifications on record was for 1932 when nominations were vacated for 10 per cent of the congressional, 10 per cent of the state senatorial and 13.75 per cent of the State Assembly seats. The ultimate in disqualifications is reached when a Democrat captures the Republican nomination and a Republican secures the Democratic. This has occurred as recently as 1948 in the 36th Assembly district where both primary victors were disqualified and no one was nominated.

There was no provision in the law for filling such a vacancy at the time Rolph was disqualified, so the 1919 legislature added a provision permitting the appropriate party committee to name candidates to such spots. In the pre-New Deal era, party committees often did not bother to fill vacancies, but since 1933 they have rarely missed an opportunity to place a nominee on the ballot. In all elections, 1934-1948 inclusive, party committee nominees for vacancies created through disqualification, for congressional and state legislative offices, have won election in thirteen out of 28 instances.

Minority winners are common in the operation of cross-filing. A minority winner is a candidate who cross-files successfully, yet who polls less than a majority of votes cast for the office in the primary. Every primary election produces a number of minority winners among the successful cross-filers. The highest peak was reached in 1934, when 19.8 per cent of those who succeeded in securing both major party nominations for congressional and state legislative offices obtained less than a majority of the votes; in 1938 the level was 18 per cent and in 1926, 14 per cent. The last three primary elections have produced fewer minority winners; in 1944 they constituted 3.7 per cent of successful cross-filers, in 1946, 8.4 and, in 1948, 5.9 per cent.

Minority Candidates Win

Victories won with a minority vote occur when there are three or more aspirants, of whom one manages to win a plurality over his opponents in both Republican and Democratic primaries. In many cases opposition to the minority winner would have been strong enough to have defeated him if there had been an opportunity in the general election.

It is not absolutely impossible to defeat a successful cross-filer in the November general election, but in practice the difficulties are so great that it is rarely accomplished. Three remedies are available: (1) voters may cast ballots for minor party candidates; (2) a write-in campaign may be conducted; and (3) an independent candidate may be nominated.

Minor parties are few and the qualifications for admitting them to the ballot are rigid — registration of 1 per cent of the total vote at the last election or signatures on petitions equal to 10 per cent of that vote. At the present time about 30,000 registrations or 300,000 signatures would be required.

A few write-in campaigns have been conducted, but only one during the past fifteen years has succeeded. In 1936 the colorful Ellis E. Patterson, then a Republican, lost his own party nomination for Assembly and won the Democratic, for which he was disqualified. The Democratic committee refrained from nominating anyone to the vacancy and Patterson conducted a successful write-in campaign against the official Republican nominee.

The law provides that the name of an independent candidate may be entered on the November ballot by an extraordinary procedure. The candidate must be a person who did not vote in the primary and he must secure on his nomination papers the signatures of persons who did not vote equal in number to 5 per cent of the total vote in the last general election. Only once in recent years has such a procedure been successful in defeating a successful cross-filer at the November election.

Sentiment for cross-filing is strong among most holders of partisan office in California. The incumbent is the clearest beneficiary. Using the prestige of holding the office already, he is able to nip potential opposition in the bud both in his own and in the opposition party. Incidentally, incumbents are further strengthened through an elections code provision that their names shall appear first on the ballot.

Candidates with much money to spend and newspaper support are inclined to like cross-filing. A "blitz" in the primaries through a great build-up and large expenditures may create an illusion of victory which often is decisive in contests for minor offices.

There is much disagreement among students of politics over whether one or the other major party is favored by the existence of cross-filing. Based on experience in the 1920s and the first half of the 1930s, many have asserted that the Republicans profit most from the device. Since 1936, however, Democrats have been almost as successful as Republicans at cross-filing. It would appear that the margin of difference could be accounted for by the more generous financing and larger newspaper support normally enjoyed by Republican candidates.

Minority Party Benefits

There is also a little evidence to demonstrate that cross-filing benefits the minority party, judged in terms of registration, at the expense of the majority party. Since California resumed two-party rivalry in the early 1930s, however, use of cross-filing has been about proportionate to strength in state politics. It can be shown that the party declining in strength is the one most aided by cross-filing. The device appears to be in part a defensive weapon of the receding side, whether Democratic or Republican, majority or minority. As Republicans returned to strength and power in the 1940s, Democratic incumbents used cross-filing to prevent a full GOP return.

The case against cross-filing is pushed by those who believe themselves adversely affected by it and by a small but articulate group of believers in party government. Those out of office, but who want in, resent cross-filing because it constitutes a barrier to their defeating an incumbent. The plain fact is that the legislature is unlikely ever to agree to the abolition of cross-filing, since it has been used so successfully by such a large proportion of legislators. Consequently, the movement for reform eventually will have to focus on an initiative constitutional amendment. Initiative petitions were circulated in both 1942 and 1946, but insufficient signatures were obtained.

New Proposal

Interest now centers in a scheme of general primary reform proposed by Professor Joseph P. Harris which, among other things, would provide a consolidated primary ballot. Preprimary conventions would make official endorsements that would be printed opposite the candidate's name on the primary ballot; independent candidates would get their names on the ballot by petition.

The plan would make possible election in the primary of candidates securing a majority of all votes cast. The worst evils of cross-filing would be abolished. It would eliminate impersonation by candidates behind party labels not their own and it would bring to an end both minority winners and disqualifications. The idea of permitting election in the primary by majority vote is particularly fitting in a state that prides itself on its independence of party machines.

Despite its many merits, however, it appears unlikely that the Harris plan can be carried through the California legislature. Most informed observers agree that it can be adopted only by initiative constitutional amendment.

Cross-filing is the most important of several reasons why political parties are weak in California. Parties are also weak because of (1) traditional independence, born of the 1910 revolt against the Southern Pacific machine; (2) the new and transient elements of the population; (3) nonpartisanship, which extends to all local, judicial and school offices; (4) lack of patronage with widespread use of the merit system; (5) pressure groups, which have preempted some party functions.

The proper functioning of big government requires the services that are normally provided through political parties; crystallization of opinion on public issues, narrowing down the candidate alternatives before the electorate, information for and education of voters and provision of political responsibility. Party responsibility is not possible if outsiders who are unwilling to accept a party's platform and policies are permitted to seek and receive the party's nomination for office. Great numbers of California voters, especially in urban areas, attempt to judge state and national officeholders by their party's record. Cross-filing obscures a candidate's party affiliation, for he may use both his own face and one or more masks, his candidacy in other parties. The most important step toward establishment of party responsibility in California is abolition of cross-filing.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

New Mexico Retains Primary

Law enacted in 1949 to provide party convention suspended by the secretary of state when attacked in petition drive.

By **DOROTHY I. CLINE***

THE 1950 election calendar for New Mexico voters includes a June 6 primary for all candidates seeking county, state and federal offices despite the passage of a pre-primary convention bill in the 1949 legislature. The eleven-year old primary law has been sustained by a combination of unique and colorful political factors.

A number of fast moving events that began with the governor's signature in March 1949 to the now famous S.B. 89 ended in February 1950 when the New Mexico Supreme Court denied an application for permission to bring a mandamus proceeding before the court to force the calling of pre-primary conventions in accordance with S.B. 89. This decision brought to an end a dramatic tug of war between supporters of the primary and those favoring a return to some form of convention system. The final step is up to the voters next November when they will either affirm or reject the bill passed by the 1949 legislature.

Senate Bill 89 was introduced at the halfway mark of the 1949 legislature by two Democrats, including the floor leader, and a Republican from one of the northern counties. The bill, in other words, was not only sponsored by administration leaders but started off with bipartisan support including both Anglo and Hispano elements in the state. The five-man Privileges and Elections Committee to which it was referred, including its three sponsors, found no objection to the proposed election procedure.

The bill passed the Senate less than four weeks later by a substantial seventeen to five vote, and the house ten days later by 39 to eight with two not voting. If civic organizations, political leaders, newspapers or the voters were opposed to the new bill there was no indication when Governor Thomas J. Mabry signed it, effective June 10, 1949.

The pre-primary convention bill in brief stipulated that candidates could not be listed on the party primary ballot unless designated by political party conventions and unless they received 25 per cent of the votes of the convention delegates. If two candidates, or three, received 25 per cent, they would all be listed but no alternative way of getting on the primary ballot was provided.

The convention provision applied specifically to all state elective offices, to U. S. senators, representatives and presidential electors. The parties could by their rules extend this system to county officers. Legislative, judicial and precinct offices were exempt. City, town and village offices were excluded. Under this law the first party nominating conventions would be held in March 1950. Selection of delegates to the conventions was left to the party without government participation; the latter began on receipt of certificates of the outcome from convention officers.

---

*Miss Cline is instructor in the Department of Government at the University of New Mexico. Author and co-author of numerous studies, Miss Cline is interested in the fields of citizenship, housing, recreation, etc. She was field secretary of the Cleveland League of Women Voters, community relations counselor of the U. S. Housing Authority, regional representative of the Office of Price Administration, director of personnel with Aeronautical Products, Detroit, and director of project services of the Federal Public Housing Authority at Willow Run.

Opposition Arises

Governor Mabry scarcely had time to lay his pen down after signing the bill before a storm of opposition broke over the state. Within a month a group had organized to distribute referendum petitions to suspend the law; the administration was being pushed into a defensive position; opposition cutting across party lines and special interest groups was steadily mounting. The issue was causing real dissension within the ranks of the Democratic party — a majority party since 1930.

Bryan G. Johnson, state Democratic party chairman, speaking for the administration upheld the pre-primary convention claiming the primary had weakened the party system to such an extent it was impossible for any party to shape a balanced ticket with responsible candidates. He charged the primary resulted in "pay offs" and "deals" at the time of petition filing, and actually encouraged intolerance and cultural conflict between Anglos and Hispanos since, under the primary, they could be played off against each other. Consequently, he believed the pre-primary convention plan would result in a more selective and satisfactory slate. In commenting on the pronounced newspaper opposition Mr. Johnson suggested that readers would have a better understanding of some of the issues if newspapers published their receipts for political advertising from the last two primary elections.

The opponents of the pre-primary convention law argued that the return of the convention heralded a return to machine domination, to political conniving in smoke filled rooms. They pointed out the 25 per cent convention vote requirement would disqualify any candidate who refused to go along with party deals. Their attack, however, was centered on the fact that Bryan G. Johnson was reported to be interested in securing the gubernatorial nomination which they claimed could be accomplished more easily under the pre-primary convention law than the primary. They tagged it the "Johnson for governor bill."

Many political and civic leaders had become involved by this time in the statewide battle of the referendum. Senator Dennis Chavez (who opposed S.B. 89 when it was introduced) charged that the voters would lose their political freedom if party organizations were allowed to control the franchise, and agreed to help spearhead the drive to obtain the 50,000 signatures necessary for the referendum petition.

Senator Clinton P. Anderson thought perhaps the new law should be given a trial, doubted it would destroy the effectiveness of the pri-

PERIODICAL DEPT.

mary and knew the voters would change any law that did not work. Three former governors denounced the law. Congressman A. M. Fernandez announced he favored the convention plan.

State legislators were called upon to explain their votes to their constituents. One senator who voted for the bill joined the opposition explaining he had voted for it under the misapprehension it conformed to the Colorado plan which required only a 20 per cent convention vote. The speaker of the house (Bernalillo County and Albuquerque), who voted for the bill, announced he was signing a referendum petition because in his opinion the voters should have an opportunity to decide the issue. One of the eight representatives who voted against the bill (Bernalillo County) was an effective lead speaker for the opposition. A co-author of the primary law assailed the convention system because it was complicated, expensive and would result in a controlled primary.

Cleavages were not confined to the Democratic party. Several GOP leaders lined up with the referendum workers. The then Bernalillo County chairman made an interesting point when he said: "The direct primary has its faults but it is much better than the measure passed by the last legislature. The Republicans merely joined the Democrats in getting the measure passed instead of developing a program of their own." His opinion, however, stood out in contrast to another Republican spokesman who said, off the record, that the convention plan would give the party a chance to select a winning ticket because it could offer more representative candidates.

Radio speeches, newspaper articles, mass meetings, county by county canvassing, much of it on a paid basis, resulted in success for the "save the primary" campaigners. When the deadline for filing petitions rolled around, June 10, the secretary of state received 81,688 signatures with over the required number from 30 of the 32 counties. The secretary of state's office proceeded at once to examine the petitions on a random sample basis for the purpose of verifying their sufficiency.

Petitions Insufficient

By the end of June there seemed to be no doubt in the secretary's mind that the number of signatures was insufficient because of a large percentage of errors and irregularities. Although there was no official release of the results of the examination, the secretary was reported by the Associated Press as having said: "My check has not disclosed sufficient signatures in even half the counties to suspend operation of the convention law. I find page after page where numerous names have been written by the same person. There is duplication of names, printed names, incomplete names, ditto marks."

An attack, however, on the secretary's power to judge the authenticity of signatures or to employ a handwriting expert resulted in a request for an opinion from the attorney general's office. He advised the secretary of state on June 30 that she had only ministerial duties and had no discretion but to accept the referendum petitions. (The opinion was consistent with those of two previous attorney generals.)

Primary Law Suspended

Accordingly, the secretary of state announced suspension of the pre-primary convention law on July 5. This decision was not received with enthusiasm even by the friends of the primary, some of whom agreed with the editor of the *Albuquerque Tribune* that, "Even a law as bad as this one should not be suspended by illegal signatures."

It was anticipated following the secretary of state's action that administration leaders would proceed at once with a court case to clarify a confused situation. Political leaders in both parties with their ears to the ground concluded, however, that despite the deficiencies of the direct open primary the average voter did not want to return to a convention system. The Democratic leaders were more than reluctant to adopt any legal approach that might force adoption of the convention plan. Actually the state administration had been rebuked by the referendum and the Chavez forces within the party had gained a measure of victory with suspension of the plan.

The prestige of the administration, moreover, had suffered as a result of grand jury investigations, intra-party disputes, and public dissatisfaction with several important bills passed by the last legislature. Democratic leaders were not anxious to incur further losses. Political party leaders may have been advised of the case moving into the Supreme Court in February but there seems to have been no intent on their part to do anything except wait for the returns in the November referendum.

The pre-primary convention plan has now been abandoned, but the weaknesses of the present primary system in New Mexico remain to be corrected. There is general agreement that both parties suffer, and consequently the entire state, as a result of their inability to shape tickets that are balanced geographically and culturally and composed of responsible candidates. This is a problem with serious consequences in New Mexico.

Likewise, the voters have inherited another unsolved issue. It now becomes necessary to determine which office now has or should be given power to determine the sufficiency and validity of referendum petitions. Finally, there seems to be no question but that widespread discussion of New Mexico's nominating process was a direct benefit to the voters in the state.

Parties Survive Cross-Voting

Washington's unique "blanket primary" system has given voters real freedom of choice in the nominating process.

By DANIEL M. OGDEN, JR.*

THE State of Washington adopted a new primary law in 1935 as an initiative to the legislature promoted by the Washington State Grange. The law provides a general primary election in which each candidate appears with a single party label on one consolidated ballot arranged in office-column style. The voter is permitted to vote for anyone he may choose, as in a general election, regardless of party.

Washingtonians call their unique system a blanket primary to distinguish it from the traditional closed and open party primaries of other states. Because under such a system it is apparent that Republicans can participate in selecting Democratic nominees, and vice versa, the question has been asked, "Has party regularity been destroyed in Washington?" The answer is, "No."

A study[1] of the votes cast for candidates for nomination to 34 statewide and national offices filled from 1935 to 1947 reveals there were only four instances in which significant numbers of voters evidently crossed party lines.

In only one instance was there clear evidence that the outcome of a primary had been altered thereby—the Democratic gubernatorial primary of 1936. On this occasion Republicans helped the incumbent obtain the Democratic nomination and then saw to it that he was elected in November—hardly a case of political immorality. Incumbent Clarence D. Martin, a right-wing Democrat from agricultural eastern Washington, was opposed by left-wing Democrat John C. Stevenson from the industrialized Puget Sound area. With the New Deal at its height, the Republicans advanced as their strongest candidate the repudiated former governor, Roland H. Hartley. The result was an overwhelming participation by Republican voters in the Democratic gubernatorial race resulting in Martin's nomination and subsequent election.[2]

In this instance, however, considering the weakness of the Republican party, the quality of its candidate, the clarity of the issues between the principal Democratic contestants, and the inclusion of the incumbent in the race, it can well be argued that any primary but a carefully administered closed system would have resulted in wholesale participation by Republicans in all the Democratic primary contests. The blanket primary in such a case saved the Democratic party from a raid applicable to all offices and at the same time assured the nomination of a candidate who was acceptable to the overwhelming majority of Washington citizens, as the November balloting demonstrated.

---

*Dr. Ogden is instructor in political science at the State College of Washington. During 1943-1946 he served with the Army of the U. S., winning two stars for his participation in the Battle of the Rhineland and the Battle of Central Europe. On his discharge from the army Dr. Ogden secured his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Chicago.

[1] Daniel M. Ogden, Jr., "The Blanket Primary and Party Regularity in Washington," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly,* XXXIX (1948), 33-38.

[2] Martin polled 166,313; Stevenson, 129,388; Otto A. Case, a third contestant for the Democratic nomination, 86,752; while Hartley received but 59,371. At least 50,080 "normal" Republicans participated in the Democratic primary, most of them to support Martin.

Conclusions of Study

The author drew six general conclusions from his study:

First, it appeared that local interest in or personal acquaintance with a candidate was the most widespread cause of cross-voting and that such support stayed with a successful candidate in the general election but did not stay with the party if the favored candidate were defeated in the primary.

Second, it appeared that large scale cross-overs resulted when prominent candidates for an important office, particularly governor, opposed each other in one party, especially if economic and social issues were clearly defined.

Third, cross-overs appeared when a preponderance of strength in one party made the nominees of the weaker party unlikely to be successful in the general election.

Fourth, over-all satisfaction with the record of an incumbent appeared to cause relatively small but widespread cross-voting. Such satisfaction was particularly apparent when in 1944, for example, incumbent Belle Reeves was unopposed for the Democratic nomination for secretary of state and yet received a sizable block of Republican votes.

Fifth, it appeared that voters were tempted to cross over to make their votes "count" in a contest if a candidate other than the incumbent was running unopposed in their own party. Such a tendency was especially marked when the incumbent was a member of the other party and was opposed for the nomination.

Sixth, dissatisfaction with the record of an incumbent led to cross-voting if the incumbent was opposed by a particularly strong challenger. Such opposition voting appeared, however, primarily when the outcome of the race in one's own party was obvious.

The number of candidates did not affect cross-voting. Moreover, when real contests developed in both parties, voters tended to stay within their customary party lines.

Since the 1935-1947 study was made, Washington has gone through its fourth major election in which state officers were chosen under the blanket primary system. An investigation of the results confirms the conclusions reached by the earlier study. Nine national or statewide officers were elected in 1948.[3] Again the voting characteristics of the people proved regular. The Democratic mean percentage of votes was 50.51, the Republican, 49.49. The mean Democratic vote was 235,512, the mean Republican, 232,478.

---

[3] The six representatives in Congress were counted as one office for purposes of this study inasmuch as each voter cast his ballot for one of them.

Using the same measure of deviation as for the 1935-1947 study, 5 per cent above or below the mean, as the criterion of a significant number of cross-voters, the writer found that two contests were the scenes of minor raids by normally Democratic voters into Republican ranks. The 1948 Democratic primary vote for secretary of state was but 41.62 per cent of the votes cast and that for treasurer but 40.30 per cent.

Aid Merry-Go-Round

Close examination indicates that both apparent raids tend to confirm the conclusion of the earlier study that voters are tempted to cross over to make their votes "count" if a candidate other than the incumbent is running unopposed in their own primary. There was no race for the Democratic nomination for either secretary of state or treasurer, while the Republican party was engaged in a merry free-for-all. Many Democratic voters, therefore, could be expected to cross over to the Republican list to make their votes "count."

Such was the case. Earl Coe, who had been appointed secretary of state following the death of Belle Reeves and who ran unopposed for the Democratic nomination for that position, drew but 202,273 votes, 33,239 fewer than his party mean. The four Republican aspirants, however, drew 283,782 votes altogether, 51,304 above their party's mean. On the basis of proportionate party expectancy, recognizing that interest varies from contest to contest, Mr. Coe reasonably could have expected to poll 245,506 votes for secretary of state, while his four Republican opponents could expect a combined vote of 240,549. Actually there was a 43,233 vote discrepancy in favor of the Republicans.

Either way it is calculated, from the party mean or from the reasonable proportionate party expectancy, enough normal Democratic voters crossed over to affect the outcome of the Republican nomination for secretary of state. The victor, Agnes Gehrman, received 78,740 votes. Her competitors were: Zimmerman, 63,851; Mahaffey, 50,274; and Hazard, 40,917. Had Mrs. Gehrman been the weakest of all Republicans running, and had all the crossing Democrats voted for her, they could have raised her from fourth place to first.

County by county statistics have not yet been published so it is impossible to see if the Democrats followed the time-honored Washington custom of voting for favorite sons in the primary when an unopposed non-incumbent shows up in one party. It is also impossible to determine whether "normal" Democrats may not have divided their votes among the Republican candidates substantially in the same proportion as "normal" Republicans. In any event, nearly half the 33,239 "normal" Democrats who apparently crossed into Republican ranks in the secretary of state race would have had to vote for Mrs. Gehrman to have influenced the result inasmuch as she enjoyed a lead of 14,889 votes.[4]

---

[4] A check of seven leading daily newspapers from every part of the state reveals no surprise at her victory. The Tacoma *News-Tribune* remarked editorially on September 16, 1948, "This prominent Republican woman . . . is expected to give Secretary of State Earl Coe . . . a real race for the position in the finals."

The conclusion of the earlier study that such a disjointed contest entices voters to cross over to support favorite sons and to make their votes count seems to be supported in this case. As also was found in the earlier study, the Democratic voters did not stay with the Republican party following the defeat of home-grown candidates in the primary, for Earl Coe, the Democratic nominee for secretary of state, won in November 464,863 to 328,327 and polled the highest vote of any candidate of either party for statewide office.

The race for treasurer was virtually a repetition of the secretary of state contest. Again the incumbent was not seeking reelection, this time because the constitution bars such succession, and Tom Martin, Democrat, found himself unopposed. Democratic voters cast but 178,480 votes for Martin, 57,032 below the party mean, while the six Republican contestants drew 264,407 votes, 31,929 above the party mean. The Republican contestants lined up as follows: Maybury, 87,866; Abel, 68,727; Farmer, 43,329; Sorensen, 29,838; Wilson, 18,964; and Jacobson, 15,683.

The 31,929 "normal" Democrats who appear to have participated in the Republican nomination clearly could have influenced the outcome had most of them voted for Maybury, for he enjoyed but a 19,139 vote lead. However, he would still have run a strong second without their votes, thus indicating that a weak candidate was not being foisted on the party.

Again it seems more likely that the Democrats who participated in the Republican race did so to support home town boys, for they returned to their customary affiliations in the general election to elect Martin.[5]

The election of 1948, then, confirms the earlier conviction that the blanket primary has not destroyed political parties in Washington nor weakened the habit of the people to vote relatively consistent one-party slates.

No Mass Conspiracy

Conceivably voters of both parties may be cross-voting in profusion and thus cancelling each other out. If so, the regularity of this phenomenon makes it nothing short of astonishing. In primary elections for 43 statewide and national offices in the past fourteen years, there is statistical evidence indicating only six instances, as already mentioned, of a significant switch in party voting.

Two of these involved members of the opposing party crossing over to increase the already commanding lead of highly favored incumbents, one involved support for a gubernatorial incumbent who was nevertheless turned out by his own party members, while two races for lesser offices appear to contain the possibility of an altered outcome although there is no definite indication that such was the case. In only one instance is there clear evidence that the cross-voters probably altered the outcome of a primary. This was the

---

[5] Although the Maybury-Abel race was in doubt for nearly two days until every precinct was in, none of the leading dailies checked expressed the slightest suspicion that Democrats might have influenced the outcome.

Democratic gubernatorial primary of 1936 already described.

In no case is there evidence to support the theoretical charge that under a blanket primary members of one party will foist an unwanted candidate upon the opposing party. Voters in Washington, at least, simply have not demonstrated a disposition for mass conspiracy. They prefer instead to vote for people they really want to see in office, particularly satisfactory incumbents, regardless of party label, a tendency which may have merit in connection with the lesser elective administrative posts.

Nevertheless, the temptation is still present to cross lines when one's own party candidate is uncontested and assured of nomination. Inasmuch as the blanket primary is a general primary election, such a temptation might be reduced by providing that, if any candidate receives an absolute majority of all votes cast in the primary for the office he seeks, he will be elected.

Parties vs. Voters

The basic controversy in the direct nominating process seems to revolve around which value an observer places higher — preservation of the political parties or freedom of the voter. Those who insist that preservation of political parties must take precedence would enforce party regularity by law through the closed primary, in which each voter is required to declare his party affiliation before receiving his ballot. As a compromise with the advocates of voter freedom, some seven states have adopted the open primary, in which consistency for the election at hand is enforced by the requirement that the voter select the ballot of one party or the other. It is therefore regarded as a complete surrender to the advocates of voter freedom to place primary elections under the same rules as general elections. The assumption consequently is made that party regularity, being unenforceable by law, is destroyed. Washington's experience demonstrates that such is not the case. By and large, the voters accept party regularity themselves on a purely voluntary basis.

Under the blanket primary the voter is protected from outside pressure, economic or otherwise, by being relieved of the necessity of publicly announcing his political affiliation, and he is extended real freedom of choice in the nominating process. The parties are protected from the wholesale disruptions forced by the ordinary form of open primary law when peculiar special conditions impel large numbers of voters to change party affiliation to influence the outcome of a particular important nomination.

Thus, it would seem that so long as the voters demonstrate reasonable ability to practice party regularity by themselves, the advantages of the blanket primary to the parties and the voters far outweigh any occasional disadvantages to the parties which may go with it.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

New York Gets Personnel Relations Board

Grievance Committee Is Established by Governor

GOVERNOR Thomas E. Dewey of New York has established by executive order a Personnel Relations Board in the Department of Civil Service "to administer a program for resolving employee complaints and problems relating to conditions of employment in the state service and to promote cooperation between the state and its employees."

The board chairman is appointed by the governor to serve on a full-time basis. The other two members are chosen on a rotating basis by the chairman from separate panels of twelve persons selected by the governor from state officers and employees.

Every state department and agency is called upon to cooperate with the new board in establishing formal procedures, to be approved by the board, and administrators and supervisors at all levels are required to act promptly and fairly upon complaints of their subordinates. Review, if necessary, is provided for through departmental or other committees, to the board itself.

In announcing creation of the new board the governor declared that state employees have the right to join or refrain from joining any employee organization, to express opinions on any matters relating to conditions of their employment or its betterment so long as they do not interfere with the employees' duties, and to be represented by state employees of their own choosing or, in matters of broad policy, by officers or representatives of organizations of state employees.

The new program for adjusting grievances is considered to be related to criticisms of the 1947 Condon-Wadlin Act, outlawing strikes by public employees.

Idaho Reorganization Committee Reports

Established in 1949 as an interim joint committee of the Idaho legislature, to study the state government and submit recommendations for reorganization and other means of promoting efficiency, the Legislative Committee for Reorganization of Idaho State Government has rendered a report for the information and guidance of the 1950 legislature. The committee consists of the lieutenant governor, four senators appointed by him, the speaker of the House of Representatives and four representatives appointed by the latter. It estimates a possible biennial saving of $3,000,000.

Leading recommendations include:

Adopt a constitutional amendment restricting elective administrative officials to the governor, lieutenant governor and state auditor; the governor to appoint all other officers;

Consolidate Departments of Finance and Insurance, consolidate Department of Public Investments and Commissioner of Public Works with State Board of Land Commissioners, consolidate office of state mine inspector with office of labor commissioner; substitute single commissioner for three-man Public Utilities Commission;

Remove from the State House nineteen non-governmental boards regulating various professions and trades, and assess them for state administrative expense;

Impose adequate budgetary control

over various state agencies now lacking it;

Centralize five existing divisions of education in the office of superintendent of public instruction;

Reduce eleven court districts to six and merge three law libraries into one. Amend constitution so that legislature can consolidate or eliminate various lower courts.

Commenting on the need for legislative reorganization, the committee recommended:

Finance the office of legislative counsel, established in 1947 to draft bills, conduct investigations between sessions and prepare reports for legislators but thus far denied funds;

Consolidate 22 Senate committees into 20 and 26 House committees into 20, with no legislator on more than one major committee and two minor committees;

Provide frequent joint meetings of committees of the two houses so as to avoid duplicate work;

Submit budget report and single appropriation bill in first week of session;

Restrict introduction of bills after the 50th legislative day:

Register lobbyists;

Secure a constitutional amendment to prevent filibustering, on two-thirds vote of either house.

Oregon Considers Legislative Reapportionment

One proposed constitutional amendment for reapportioning the Oregon legislature has been filed for action of the voters in November and petitions for another have recently been circulated.

The first proposal, sponsored largely by the State Federation of Labor, would require a commission consisting of the governor, secretary of state and state treasurer to apportion both houses on the basis of population as determined by the U. S. census, with the limitation that no county have more than one-third of the total membership of each house. The present total numbers of 30 senators and 60 representatives would be retained.

The limitation would now affect only Multnomah County, which contains the city of Portland and in 1940 had 32.6 per cent of the state's population—the 1950 census is expected to show a higher percentage.

This county, which now has seven senators and shares another with two other counties, would have ten; it now has fourteen representatives and shares another with Clackamas County, and would have twenty.

The eighteen counties in eastern Oregon would lose three senators and six representatives. Any county not entitled to one senator or one representative would be grouped with an adjacent county or counties. If the commission failed to apportion the Supreme Court would be authorized to do so.

The other proposal, sponsored by Oregon Farm Bureau members and others not willing to give Multnomah County representation in accordance to population, would prohibit any county from having over one-fourth the total membership of each house. Reapportionment would be by the legislature, or otherwise by the secretary of state, with the Supreme Court having jurisdiction to compel compliance.

Each of the state's 36 counties, regardless of population, would be entitled to one representative in the lower house, the remaining 24 members to be apportioned on the basis of population (except that Multnomah would be limited to fifteen). Thus in Multnomah County, estimated at 500,000 population, some 33,000 people would have one representative while in Sherman County some 2,000 people would have one representative.

The size of the Senate would be raised to 36; Multnomah County would have nine senators, the other senators to be distributed roughly in proportion to population. A county not entitled to one senator would be grouped with not more than two adjacent counties.

Home Rule Measures Lose in Maryland, Georgia

The Maryland League of Municipalities reports that the bill introduced at the recent short session of the legislature by Senator Kimble, amending the constitution to provide home rule for cities over 35,000 population, met with defeat. The league had requested amendment of the bill to cover all cities but failed to secure the change.

A bill to give Georgia municipalities home rule, which passed the lower house of the legislature last year, was defeated in the Senate by one vote on January 27. This is similar to the action in Arkansas last year, when a home rule bill was defeated in the lower house by three votes after passing the Senate, according to the *Maryland Municipal News.*

Kansas Makes Public Library Survey

A survey of laws relating to public libraries in Kansas and other states, and of Kansas library problems in general, is being conducted by the temporary nine-member Library Survey Commission created by the 1949 legislature. It is also to prepare plans and make recommendations for more effective and better coordinated library facilities.

Nevada Municipal Association Organized

Twenty-two mayors or other representatives of Nevada municipalities met in Carson City on February 18 and organized the Nevada Municipal Association. Caro M. Pendergraft, mayor of Carson City, was elected president. He appointed committees on by-laws, finance and publicity.

New York City Efficiency Study under Way

The Board of Estimate and Apportionment of New York City has appropriated $100,000 for an economy and efficiency study of the city's government under the auspices of the Mayor's Committee on Management Surveys,[1] of which Comptroller Lazarus Joseph is chairman. Dr. Luther H. Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration, will receive $24,000 per annum as executive director of the survey. A management engineer and other staff positions have also been provided for.

246 Cities Decontrol Rents

In the twelve months ending with April this year 246 cities have decontrolled rents through municipal action under the federal rent act, according to a survey of the first year's operation made by the American Municipal Association. Action by these cities was in addition to the removal of rent controls by the federal housing expediter in 517 other localities. Six states have ruled that rent control was no longer necessary or set up their own control mechanism.

Under the rent act passed by Congress last spring, controls can be removed in individual cities by the expediter or by the city's legislative body. Municipal decontrol is final but decontrol on the initiative of the housing expediter or by the expediter on advice of the local rent control advisory board can later be rescinded. States were permitted to decontrol all cities by legislative action or to establish state controls.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, February 1950, page 92.

Nine cities over 100,000 population decontrolled rents, the largest being Dallas, Texas.

About 74,800,000 people live in the 348 housing rental areas still under control. Nearly 3,200,000 housing rent units were decontrolled since April 1, 1949. These units housed more than 25,800,000 individuals.

The state taking action most recently was New York, where a rent control law passed by the legislature in March substituted state for federal and city controls. Rents in New York City are frozen at their levels of March 1, 1949, while in the upstate areas rents are frozen at their March 1, 1950, level. It is estimated that nearly 2,800,000 rental units were affected by the New York action.

A Virginia decontrol act passed by the 1950 legislature, effective June 10, repealed that state's rent control act and declared an end to federal control. In Alabama the legislature passed a statewide decontrol bill effective May 25. Although the governor vetoed the law, the Alabama State Supreme Court ruled it in effect because the governor did not return his veto message before the lower house adjourned.

Nebraska and Texas decontrolled on a statewide basis last fall. Texas cities are permitted to recontrol by city council action.

In Wisconsin a law replacing federal control with a state system became operative last August. Rent increases ranging from 15 to 30 per cent were immediately effective. This law provides for the lifting of all controls after June 1950.

Consolidation Efforts Made in Vermont Municipalities

The town of Bennington, Vermont, at its annual town meeting in March, besides voting to return to the town manager system, decided by a vote of 1,993 to 855 to permit the selectmen "to appoint a committee to further study consolidation of the several governmental units, to publicize the results of the investigation and to submit a bill or bills to the 1951 legislature to enable the municipalities within the town to consolidate if they so desire." This follows the precedent of a similar vote in 1948 and a proposed charter presented but rejected in 1949. The purpose of the law would be to enable the several villages and the town government to function as one unit.

The town of Springfield, Vermont, voted 779 to 745 against a proposed merger of the village and town governments which has been authorized by a special act of the General Assembly. This follows several years of discussion and planning on the subject. The town voted in favor of the manager system of government, 1,052 to 110, thus retaining the form which has been used for many years. The town and village now employ the same manager but he serves in two capacities, as town manager and as municipal manager for the village.

Several other towns with sizable villages within their borders are also beginning to think about consolidating all the units into one, thus following the action of the town, village and school district of Brattleboro in 1923.

ANDREW E. NUQUIST
University of Vermont

Akron, Ohio, Suburb Resists Fragmentation

For the third time in ten years Tallmadge, Ohio, a suburb of Akron, decided against splitting into two sections, by the narrow margin of 50 votes. The probability that Tallmadge, with a 1940 population of 3,452, will be reclassified as a city after the 1950 census—some estimates place the present population as high as 7,500—renewed old arguments for secession of the eastern and southeastern divisions to form a new East Township. Its advocates claimed that city status, with additional functions, would necessarily mean more taxes. They cited the maintenance of 22 miles of state highways within its boundaries, greater police and fire costs, and the fact that the population is so widely scattered over the township, covering more than seventeen square miles.

The present mayor led the "union" movement for maintenance of the status quo, stating he believed that city government would not cost more than village and township government, that a more advantageous public health setup would result, and that there would be a greater spirit of civic unity and cooperation.

Several town hall meetings with spirited debating were packed by both sides.

EDNA S. SHERMAN

Terre Haute Environs Fight Annexation

Efforts of Mayor Ralph Tucker of Terre Haute, Indiana, to integrate the city and suburban area have suffered defeat for the present. When elected two years ago Mayor Tucker advocated extensive annexation, to be attempted "by peaceful, legal, democratic processes." Recently he offered the city council an ordinance having that purpose.

Residents of the two townships affected quickly organized into committees to fight the ordinance. They sent a delegation of approximately 200 persons to the council meeting to protest. All who volunteered to speak were against annexation because it would almost double their taxes. They also charged that the city has not provided all the people within its boundaries with necessary services, such as sewer connections.

The mayor stated that the U. S. census would show that Terre Haute had decreased in population when it had really grown; that the city taxpayers were carrying 17,000 other taxpayers who only went to the outskirts of the city to sleep but who spent all the rest of their time in the city where they earned their living; that the townships should be eliminated as units of government; and that annexation should not be piecemeal.

The township residents called meetings on successive evenings in township schools to discuss further ways to oppose annexation. Two Terre Haute councilmen, although of the mayor's party, made speeches against annexation. One was running for county sheriff, the other for township trustee.

At a special meeting of council the mayor temporarily withdrew the proposed annexation ordinance, although still convinced that the best interests of the city require the annexation.

ROBERT D. SELTZER
Indiana State Teachers College

State Labor Departments Increase

The number of separate state agencies to deal exclusively with labor matters has been increased recently by legislation in Idaho and South Dakota, according to the Council of State Governments.

In Idaho the newly created Labor Department replaced the former Department of Immigration, Labor and Statistics. It is directed to inspect safety and sanitary conditions in places of employment, to cooperate with the Industrial Accident Board in the administration of safety laws and to mediate labor disputes.

South Dakota's Division of Labor was set up under the Industrial Commission of the state. Duties of the department as outlined by the legislature are to enforce state laws relative to employment of women and children and to conciliate labor disputes.

A 1949 Montana law proposes an amendment to the state constitution to provide for a separate Department of Labor and Industry. The proposal is to be submitted to the general election in November.

Three states — Delaware, Missouri and New Hampshire — repealed acts last year that restricted union activities. All had been passed in 1947.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Montebello, California, (population 21,400) has adopted the council-manager plan.

On April 4 three cities in **Kansas** voted to adopt the state's optional provisions for the council-manager plan: **Lawrence** (14,390), **Manhattan** (11,659) and **Great Bend** (9,044). **Ottawa,** in the same state, also voted on the plan but the question failed to carry. The votes for adoption were: Lawrence, 2,854 to 1,346; Manhattan, 2,406 to 1,431; Great Bend, 1,293 to 1,104.

Stoneham, Massachusetts, (10,765) adopted the council-manager plan at its town meeting on March 6.

On March 22 **Cleburne, Texas,** (10,558) voted to adopt a council-manager charter.

Kearney, Nebraska, (9,643) on April 4, adopted the state's optional manager plan law by a vote of 1,428 to 916.

Savanna, Illinois, (4,792) has voted 847 to 664 to adopt council-manager government to go into effect in 1953. The special election followed a controversial campaign of several months. The manager plan was especially backed by the Chamber of Commerce.

Caspian, Michigan, (1,797) adopted a council-manager charter April 8 by a vote of 521 to 141.

Ashland, Virginia, (1,297) has adopted the council-manager form of government.

The village of **Bennington, Vermont,** has voted to return to the council-manager plan, abandoned in 1947, following similar action by the town of Bennington.[1]

Hanover, New Hampshire, where Dartmouth College is situated, has authorized the post-war planning commission to investigate "the advisability of a town manager" and report thereon at the March 1951 town meeting.

In **Madbury, New Hampshire,** the March town meeting adopted a resolution of the planning board that officials "investigate and consider the possibility of a selectman-manager form of government" together with other towns in the area.

Gorham, New Hampshire, voted against the town manager plan in March by a margin of 38 votes out of 688.

Reading, Massachusetts, at a town meeting on March 27 defeated by a voice vote a motion that a proposed town manager charter be sent to the legislature for approval. Reading operates under the "limited" town meeting plan, and proponents of a manager charter had urged that the matter be submitted to popular referendum.

The lower house of the **Massachusetts** legislature voted on March 27 to eliminate from Plan E the restriction that elected state officials could not be appointed city managers until after two years. On April 10 the Senate did likewise, 23 to sixteen.

---

[1] See also page 245, this issue and the REVIEW for April, page 193.

A town manager charter for **Wilmington, Massachusetts,** was approved at the annual town meeting on March 13. It has been submitted to the state legislature, with the expectation of a popular referendum in Wilmington on November 7.

Immediate consideration by the **Rhode Island** legislature of a bill to provide for a council-manager charter for **Newport,** as approved by the local voters in a test referendum, was blocked on March 22. The measure then went to the Committee on Corporations.

At a special town meeting in **Essex, Connecticut,** on March 27 the town manager plan or a proposal for a full-time first selectman appeared to meet with more support than a proposal for a full-time "agent" for the board of selectmen. Further study of the three plans by a special committee was directed.

Members of the City Charter Commission of **Philadelphia** visited Cincinnati, Ohio, in March to investigate the status and workings of the council-manager plan there. It has also heard representatives of other cities, including Mayor Thomas Burke of Cleveland, Ohio, and City Manager L. P. Cookingham of Kansas City, Missouri.

The board of township commissioners of **Penn Township, Pennsylvania,** is considering passage of an ordinance to provide for appointment of a township manager.

A resolution favoring legislation to permit cities to adopt the council-manager plan is slated for attention at the 51st annual convention of the **Pennsylvania** League of Third Class Cities, September 28-30 in York, Pennsylvania. Such a resolution was proposed at last year's convention but action was deferred for a year. The manager plan has been bitterly opposed by league leaders.

A special committee of the **Greenville, South Carolina,** city council, appointed to study reorganization of the city's government, has recommended a referendum on the council-manager plan. Ballots will probably set forth three choices, reports the Greenville *News*: a city manager with complete administrative authority over all departments, which would mean abolition of the public works and civil service commissions; a city manager and retention of these commissions; or the present mayor-council government.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Savannah, Georgia,** advocates a referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan. The board of directors favors the principle of the plan.

Voters of **Evansville, Wisconsin,** turned down adoption of the state's optional manager plan by a vote of 692 to 479.

Natchez, Mississippi, plans to hold a referendum on adoption of the manager plan. In **Clarksdale** in the same state the Citizens Advisory Committee is seeking an enabling act from the legislature to permit adoption of the plan by referendum.

Clarksville, Texas, voted 439 to 266 on March 27 to retain the council-manager plan, which has been in use since 1946. More than half the voting population participated.

The city of **Roseville, California,** is drafting a proposed new charter providing the council-manager plan which will be submitted to popular vote.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Sherbrooke, Quebec, Canada,** is studying the manager plan for possible use in that city.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

St. Louis County Adopts Home Rule Charter

First in Missouri to Act under 1945 Constitution

BY an overwhelming majority of approximately two to one, St. Louis County became the first of the state to adopt a home rule charter as permitted under Missouri's constitution adopted in 1945. The vote on March 28 was 22,876 to 12,617, according to unofficial reports. Only three of the fourteen townships voted against the charter and all nine heavily populated communities registered substantial majorities in its favor. The charter will become effective next January 1.[1]

The successful campaign was conducted by the Citizens' Committee for Home Rule in St. Louis County, one of whose co-chairmen was chairman of the 1944-45 Missouri State Constitutional Convention. Organizations that sponsored the charter included the St. Louis County League of Women Voters, St. Louis County League of Municipalities, St. Louis County Chamber of Commerce, Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis County Deanery, Forum of the First Unitarian Church, Medical Society, County Teachers Association and Ladies Division of the Wellston Chamber of Commerce. The St. Louis County Junior Chamber of Commerce merely stated that it would not "actively oppose" the charter.

During the final days of the campaign the citizens' committee mailed 30,000 postcards, seeking support for the new document, to voters who had signed the petition asking for appointment of a charter commission; but the Taxpayers' League of St. Louis County sent out a postcard barrage in opposition to the charter. Incumbent politicians, in general, were opposed.

Adoption of the charter eliminates the present county court of three members who receive $6,000 each per year. It will be replaced by a supervisor, elected for a four-year term, and seven councilmen. The supervisor, who will be chief administrative officer of the county, will receive $10,000 annually, the councilmen $1,500 each. The presiding judge, who campaigned actively for the charter, already has announced that he will be a candidate for the position of supervisor.

Favorable editorial comments of St. Louis newspapers point out various advantages that will accrue to St. Louis County from its new form of government. Foremost in the listing is the fact that the county now has home rule rather than government from a state legislature with no particular interest in the local government's problems. It is believed that the county council will be more representative of the people than the present county court. Its acts will be subject to the supervisor's veto, but it will be able to override such veto by five affirmative votes.

Editorial comment emphasizes that the separation of administrative and legislative functions will result in better government for the county. Better financial administration through establishment of a county auditor, appointed by the county council, and through the requirement of an annual balanced budget also is emphasized. The supervisor will be county budget officer. Fifty-four per cent of the county employees will be placed under the merit system and other employees will be brought under it in the future.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, February 1950, page 98.

The charter will consolidate and streamline the sixteen agencies and eight boards now operating under the county court. The newspapers believe this will result in increased efficiency and economy.

Finally, editorial comment has emphasized the flexibility which the new charter will provide. The charter can be amended at any time by ordinance or initiative petition followed by a referendum. Furthermore, it provides that the question of revision shall be submitted to the voters every twenty years.

The next function visualized by proponents of good government is the task of inducing qualified candidates to file for the August primaries.

County Manager and Home Rule Plans under Consideration

Proposals to modernize county government by adoption of the manager plan continue to be advanced by the press and citizen groups throughout the country.

Onondaga County, New York, is the subject of study in an attractive leaflet, *Help Wanted,* published by the Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau.[1] The leaflet urges a home rule referendum on a plan to reorganize the county government and provide executive control through a county manager.

Lane County, Oregon, where the manager plan lost by a 16,000 to 10,000 vote on a prior occasion, is voting on a county manager measure again at its May 19 primary election.

The official Milwaukee County (Wisconsin) Home Rule Committee, appointed in March 1949, is considering the advisability of proposing a county home rule constitutional amendment to the 1951 session of the Wisconsin legislature.

The King County (Washington) Advisory Charter Commission has recommended a charter embracing a chief county administrator appointed by the county commissioners, appointment instead of election as at present of the court clerks, sheriff, treasurer and coroner, nonpartisan elections and the merit system. Further details will be agreed upon and a final report prepared before the fall elections at which it is expected that the voters will approve selection of an official Freeholders Charter Commission.

Norfolk County, Virginia, is organizing a series of meetings to bring the advantages of the manager plan before the public.

The committee appointed by the commissioners of Baltimore County, Maryland, has approved circulation of petitions to put the question of home rule on the ballot next November. Three hundred volunteers to circulate petitions have been requested.

Petitions are being circulated in Fairfax County, Virginia, for the manager plan. The county League of Women Voters has endorsed the plan.

Professors W. E. Benton and C. S. Potts of Southern Methodist University have proposed a constitutional amendment to extend and simplify the county home rule provisions of the Texas constitution. The Dallas County Citizens Association, of which Professor Benton is a member, is interested in securing home rule for Dallas County. Recent interest in city-county consolidation has been shown by the Tax Committee of Houston, the Travis and Tarrant County Chambers of Commerce and a group, as yet unorganized, in El Paso County.

---

[1] See also the REVIEW, April, page 196.

City-County Merger Rejected in Referendum

A proposed merger of the two counties, two cities and one town of the lower peninsula of Virginia was defeated at a referendum held March 21. Although it received a popular majority of 1,604, or 56 per cent of the total votes cast, the proposed charter failed because the enabling act provided for unification only if every political subdivision approved. In other words, the adverse six to one vote of the town of Phoebus, with a population of only 3,503, was sufficient to defeat the proposal. The city of Newport News (population 51,535) voted nearly six to one in favor of consolidation and the county of Warwick (38,749) favored the proposed plan by a vote of almost two to one. The adverse vote in the county of Elizabeth City (47,573) was less than two to one and in the city of Hampton (7,067) somewhat more than two to one against consolidation.

Since the vote indicated that the central city of Newport News and the contiguous urban precincts of the two counties favored the merger, the citizens association for consolidation is not discouraged. It sees a possibility of a merger agreement between the city and those urban fringes that voted in favor of the greater city plan. At present this seems to be the only hope for the city of Newport News to expand, because a recent act of the General Assembly, upheld by the Supreme Court of Appeals, prevents a city from annexing any part of an adjoining county that has a land area of less than 60 square miles.

The movement for a merger was initiated by the Lower Peninsula Planning Commission and was the result of more than two years work by a consolidation study committee appointed by the planning commission.[1] The charter it proposed was approved by the planning commission and, with some amendments, by the governing bodies of the five political subdivisions. In 1950 it was approved by the General Assembly. A 1948 enabling act had opened the way for the referendum had the governing bodies failed to act.

A citizens association for consolidation conducted an active campaign for the proposal. Factors that contributed to its failure were opposition of the strongly entrenched officeholders in several communities, a persistent campaign by the Elizabeth City County Board of Supervisors against consolidation on grounds that it would result in large tax increases and opposition to change by those who find tolerable satisfaction in their present status.

The consolidation forces are studying the results of the referendum and have not yet arrived at any definite course of future action. Opinion is general that Newport News and Warwick County, both of which voted for the proposal, can consolidate under the present enabling act if they so desire.

James E. Pate

College of William and Mary

Montgomery County Issues First Home Rule Report

The manager of Montgomery County, Maryland, has issued his first annual report under the county's recently adopted home rule charter. By use of pictures and graphs the report attempts to popularize the activities of the county for the interest of the citi-

(Continued on page 257)

---

[1] Professors J. E. Pate and C. F. Marsh of the College of William and Mary made the basic studies for the committee. See also "Old County, New Troubles," by James E. Pate, the Review, September 1949, pages 393-397.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Battle Continues in Massachusetts

House Continues to Support P. R., Senate Votes It Down

THE Massachusetts Senate, which last month defeated a House-approved bill to restore P. R. to the state's optional Plan E charter,[1] reaffirmed its position on March 27 by defeating, nineteen to sixteen, a similar measure limited to Somerville and Gloucester, which voted for Plan E in 1949. On March 30, upsetting a committee report, it voted seventeen to fifteen to abolish P. R. in the six cities which had been permitted to retain it under the 1949 repeal legislation. This legislation was advanced on April 3 by a nineteen to sixteen vote.

On March 24 the House had voted down a complete abolition of P. R. Presumably it will vote on the matter again as the result of the Senate's action.

Taking the Senate to task, the Medford *Mercury* on April 3 observed editorially:

"Tearing down the basic provisions of Plan E leads to one inescapable realization: That there are too many gentlemen in the legislature who hold the people in contempt and feel that it is safe, politically, to flout their wishes as very precisely expressed on Plan E in municipal elections.

"We are told, in substance, that we don't know what we are doing when we vote under the P. R. system; the people of Medford are not even given the opportunity to find out for themselves if they wish to retain or reject the system in time. If, as it was argued, P. R. is 'Communistic' what label could one apply to an action that deprives the public of the right of choice? Yet this is exactly what the Senate has done."

The Worcester *Gazette,* in an editorial on April 1, "The Great Battle: Politicians vs. P. R.," comments:

"Last November in Worcester's first election under Plan E (with proportional representation) the candidates for council and school committee included 28 of the 41 members of the previous city council. Of those 28 (of whom several had been in the council for years) exactly three were elected. Some men who were veterans in the city government received less than 500 first place votes on the P. R. ballot.

"That experience in Worcester may help to account for the persistence of the professional politicians in the state legislature in their efforts to remove P. R. forever from the Plan E charter —including the charter in those cities, like Worcester, which have previously adopted Plan E. Those politicians are against P. R. because P. R. tends to make it more difficult for them to perpetuate themselves in power.

"This week the State Senate has passed another P. R. repealer. Ignored in the vote was the fact that it impinges seriously on the right of a community to choose the type of government and system of election it wants; ignored was the success of P. R. here and elsewhere in producing a truly representative city government; ignored was the strong vote of a half-dozen Massachusetts communities in recent years for Plan E with P. R. The major influence in the vote was the fact that P. R., with its city-wide voting and elimination of primaries, makes things tough for the small-time ward-machine politico.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, April, page 200.

"If more evidence is needed, there is the point that this bill always accompanies another pushed by the politicians—a bill allowing former city and state officeholders to become city managers without the two-year interlude now required by law.

"So once again Worcester's right to its present system of voting—a system we adopted overwhelmingly and used successfully — is threatened. The motives of the opposition to P. R. are purely political. All the rest is a cover-up. We believe P. R. should remain a part of one of the standard city charters, and we believe the politicians who persist in striking at it are going to be held to account some day by the people, who so often have shown that P. R. is what they want."

Senator Harry P. McAllister, Republican of Worcester, in one of the debates on P. R. commented: "Worcester voted for Plan E by a two-to-one vote. . . . And in last fall's election in Worcester there were only about 1,500 invalid ballots out of the record 76,000 cast. This would indicate that the voters knew what they were doing." The one lone Democrat in the Senate who supported Plan E was also from Worcester. His support was given despite his critical attitude toward the manager of that city, whom he criticized for not appointing a larger proportion of Democrats to city offices and employment.

On the same occasion Senator Christopher H. Phillips, Republican of Beverly, charged that the real opposition to P. R. stems from the fact that "it does provide fair representation for minorities in proportion to their numbers. . . . Minority representation is as basic in the American system as the two party rule," he argued. "Those cities which have adopted Plan E also had the opportunity to adopt Plan D [council-manager plan without P. R.]. They can get rid of Plan E if they want." He added it would be difficult to convince him that P. R. led to Communism in Europe, remarking, "Ireland, a non-Communist state, has P. R. I believe there is a tendency to use Communism to smear something that should be judged on its merits."

Senator Sumner G. Whittier of Everett in a light vein remarked, "I have heard someone here say P. R. is a Communistic system and another senator say that it is far worse than that, it is a Republican system. It has been very confusing."

Public Library Kansas City, Mo

Greek Parliament Chosen by P. R.

The Greek parliamentary elections on March 5, held by a party list system of P. R., indicated voter support for three major parties of almost equal following, three minor parties of approximately half the size of the leading parties, and a number of still smaller groups of which only four managed to obtain representation in the new parliament. Although following closely the liquidation of a bitter civil war, the election was orderly throughout and was called fair by all groups.

Because of the recent rebellion the Communist party was banned, but all other shades of opinion took part in the contest and the groups obtaining representation ranged from the extreme rightist Independent Political Coalition led by Maniadakis to the extreme leftist pro-amnesty Democratic Front led by Sofianopoulos, which ranked respectively sixth and fifth in the standings.

The four larger parties are all of more moderate policy, although the Populists, who ranked first by a small margin, collecting 18.2 per cent of the votes and 23.2 per cent of the seats, are regarded as the more conservative. The National Progressive Union and the Democratic Socialists are regarded as the more inclined to advocate economic changes or reform. The organization of a governing majority has consequently hinged largely on the role of the other major party, the Liberals, led by Venizelos.

Shortly after the election the leaders of the Liberals, National Progressive Union and Democratic Socialists announced a coalition to be led by General Plastiras of the National Progressive Union. This coalition took form April 14 when Plastiras was made prime minister upon resignation of Venizelos, who had expected to govern by an alliance with the Populists and various right wing parties but had been persuaded to resign in favor of a coalition having a broader majority.

The last previous national election was in 1946, just before the outbreak of the Communist rebellion. At that time the Populists obtained a somewhat higher proportion of the vote, but at least part of the difference is accounted for by the fact that the Communists and their left wing sympathizers abstained from voting in 1946. The modest showing of the extreme left wing this year suggests that the international commission which supervised the 1946 election was approximately correct in its estimate of the extent of these abstentions.[1]

About 1,510,000 out of 1,870,000 registered voters took part in this year's election. The votes and seats are tabulated by parties below. Failure of the voters to concentrate their support on fewer parties in this instance is rather extreme compared to other postwar European elections. It is in line, however, with past performance in Greece under various methods of election.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, July 1946, page 374.

Election of Greek Chamber of Deputies, March 5, 1950

Party	Votes[a]	Percentage of Votes	Seats	Percentage of Seats
Populist	273,942	18.3	58	23.2
Liberals	252,316	16.8	54	21.6
National Progressive Union of the Center	264,628	17.7	49	19.6
Democratic Socialists	159,416	10.6	34	13.6
Democratic Front	155,176	10.3	22	8.8
Independent Political Coalition	113,522	7.6	16	6.4
National Regeneration Front	75,377	5.0	9	3.6
National Party	51,365	3.4	4	1.6
New Party	37,730	2.5	2	0.8
Agrarian	24,011	1.6	2	0.8
Other (16 parties)	91,413	6.1	—	0.0
Total	1,498,896		250	

[a] The popular vote figures are incomplete, lacking returns from eleven precincts involving about 12,000 votes. The corresponding percentages assume that these few votes were distributed in the same manner as the others. Figures given in the table are as reported by the Information Service of the Royal Greek Embassy, Washington, D. C., on March 20. An April 1 dispatch to the *New York Times* gives slightly different results. Seats credited to the parties, in the order listed above, were 62, 56, 45, 35, 18, 16, 7, 7, 1, 3. In a national election without national lists the districting always throws off the proportionality of the total results to some extent even when an accurate form of P. R. is used in each district.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

N. Y. Bonus Payments Run Below Estimates

State May Save $30 Million of $400 Million Authorized

PAYMENTS to New York State veterans of World War II, for which voters authorized a $400,000,000 bond issue in November 1947, may run nearly 10 per cent under the amount approved, according to figures through March 31, 1950, released by the state bonus director.

When the bonus was approved in 1947, it was estimated that about 1,700,000 veterans would be eligible for payments ranging up to $250 each, depending on length of service and overseas duty. Actually, from January 1, 1948, when payments began, to March 31, 1950, payments were made to 1,525,711 veterans amounting to $332,541,944. Of the total payments, 65,568 were made after January, 1, 1950, when former New Yorkers now living outside the state, a group ineligible under the original measure, became eligible under a constitutional amendment approved in November 1949.

Previous to the effective date of the amendment making ex-residents eligible to share in the bonus, the rate of monthly payments had fallen from a peak of 402,013 checks in March 1948 to only 979 in December 1949. It was estimated that about 150,000 ex-residents would file from out of state, but officials are now not so sure. Best estimates are that not much more than $40,000,000 additional will be disbursed, leaving $30,000,000 or so unexpended of the $400,000,000 authorization.

The New York State bonus is being paid primarily from the proceeds of a special cigarette tax, which has been used directly to pay bonuses as well as to meet debt service on the bonus bonds. By use of the tax directly to pay bonuses, the amount of bonds actually issued has been held to $300,000,000.

Administrative costs of the bonus have been pared considerably from those of World War I, when a $45,000,000 bonus bond issue was disbursed at a cost of $1.85 per claim. Cost of the World War II bonus was estimated originally at $2.50 per claim processed, but Bonus Bureau Director G. E. Rowley reported that actual costs of administration have been $1.13 per claim. In addition to those paid, some 45,000 claims have been rejected because the claimants were not eligible. Many of the rejections were of ex-residents, who have been able to make reapplication under the 1949 amendment to the plan.

Toledo Income Tax Upheld, Dayton's Declared Illegal

Constitutionality of the Toledo, Ohio, income tax was upheld by the Ohio State Supreme Court in a decision handed down early in March. The case was brought by a non-resident contesting the city's right to levy the tax (*Angell* vs. *City of Toledo*). According to a summary of the decision in the *Toledo Municipal News,* publication of the Toledo Municipal League, the court ruled that the state constitution permitted both state and cities to levy income taxes and the state not having preempted the excise nor restricted the right of cities to use it, a municipality had the right to levy and collect an income tax.

The taxpayer had also urged that the tax was specifically unconstitutional as to a non-resident, as violative of the due process clause. The court held that determination of a violation of the clause would depend on whether the law had some "fiscal relation to the protections, opportunities and benefits given by the state." Noting that the city provided protective services to the non-resident, as well as a protected place to work, the court held the non-resident must pay the tax.

In a similar but not parallel case, the Dayton city income tax was ruled illegal. In this instance the city charter requires certain taxes to be approved by the voters and the income tax was not so approved. The court ruled that it should have been. The city council is expected to take action on the tax again, submitting it to the voters in the near future.

New St. Louis Charter to Provide Earnings Tax

While the Ohio court was ruling on the legality of city income taxes in that state, a freeholders' charter board for St. Louis, Missouri, was seeking a way to avoid a budget crisis in that city should the state legislature fail to reenact the city's 1.5 per cent earnings tax when it expires July 1. According to press reports, the freeholders proposed to provide a section in the suggested charter which would authorize imposition of an earnings tax. Actual imposition would be by ordinance of the board of aldermen, with the rate limited to 1 per cent on the gross earnings of individuals and the net earnings of business firms.

Local Borrowing Continues on Large Scale

State and local borrowing continued at the high rate evident since the end of the war, according to data for the first quarter of 1950 compiled by *The Daily Bond Buyer.* At the same time, the voters continue to approve issuance of substantial blocks of new bonds as the demand for new streets, sewers, water improvements, schools and other improvements remains unsatisfied.

During the first three months of 1950, state and local bond sales aggregated $1,176,644,521. Largest single item included was the record-breaking $375,000,000 Pennsylvania veterans bonus issue. In the January-March period in 1949 sales had totaled $574,441,445, and for the 1948 first quarter had been $993,108,825, a figure also including large state bonus issues. By way of contrast, the wartime low was for the first three months in 1944, when sales totaled $119,299,424.

Bond approvals by the voters for the first three months of 1950 totaled $129,764,000, second for the period only to the first-quarter approvals of 1948, which had been $132,436,000. For 1949, approvals the first three months were $124,743,000. Early months of the year ordinarily do not see a very large proportion of the annual authorizations submitted to the voters. Of the total authorizations voted in the full twelve months of 1949, for instance, amounting to $2,217,294,000, November approvals alone accounted for $1,348,573,000, while June was also a heavy month with $298,433,000.

California to Vote on Parking Amendment

Voters in California will vote at the state election June 6 on a constitutional amendment to authorize local units to pledge parking meter receipts as security for bonds issued to construct off-street parking facilities.

Previously legislation had been enacted in California to permit issuance of parking revenue bonds, either by cities, counties or special authorities or districts. However, indication that off-street parking facilities might not provide sufficient revenues to secure revenue bonds suggested the use of receipts from parking meters, a procedure deemed of doubtful legality under existing state law. The prospect, if the voters approve the amendment, is that on-street parkers will help pay for the parking lot facilities.

At least one precedent exists for pledging parking meter receipts as additional security for revenue bonds for off-street parking facilities. Denver, Colorado, in a charter amendment adopted in 1948 to authorize construction of off-street parking facilities and their financing by revenue bonds, provided that such bonds might be additionally secured by a pledge of either parking meter receipts or special assessments, or both, from the area served by the off-street parking facilities.

In March Denver called for proposals for issuance of $3,700,000 revenue bonds to develop its proposed downtown parking area. Bidders were invited to determine full details of the setup, including whether parking meter receipts or assessments would be pledged in addition to parking fees, and to this writing the details of the proposals have not been announced. However, the city's engineering consultants had, in their review of the plan, presented data showing expectation that the facilities would be amply self-supporting from parking fees alone.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 251)

zens.[1] It attempts to give a broad picture of activities rather than a mere financial statement. It should do much in increasing popular understanding of the activities of the government of Montgomery County.

California Studying City-County Relations

A statewide committee of the League of California Cities has begun an extensive survey of city-county relations, following a pilot study undertaken by the eight cities of San Diego County several months ago.[2]

The major question to be determined is whether the taxpayers living in cities are being treated fairly by their county governments in comparison with taxpayers in urban, unincorporated areas. Fact-gathering is in progress now in Contra Costa, Alameda, Los Angeles and Orange Counties. Other counties may be included in the study later.

Wisconsin County Highways Have Cost Accounting

In response to legislation enacted in 1949, all but eighteen Wisconsin counties have now installed cost accounting in their highway departments. The remaining counties must install such systems by the end of 1950. The accounting division of the state highway department is assisting in installation.

The major objective of the legislation is to secure uniform procedures under which counties charge the State Highway Department for construction and maintenance work done on state trunk highways.

New Jersey County Enters Censorship Field

Union County, New Jersey, has banned 54 magazines and pocket-sized books from its news stands on the charge that they are "indecent" and "obscene." The state attorney general has directed other New Jersey counties to do likewise.

---

[1] *Your County Government, 1949.* Rockville, Maryland. 64 pages.

[2] See the REVIEW, January 1950, page 43.

Hartford Students Form Junior City Council

Group Will Give City Its Views on Certain Problems

IN Hartford, Connecticut, there are two city councils, one composed of nine members and the other of fifteen. One important difference, however, is that the latter body is made up of high school students and is known as the Junior City Council. But far from being one of the "legislature for a day" variety, set up for demonstration purposes, Hartford's Junior City Council is a serious attempt to draw the youth of the city into the actual workings of city government. It is a continuing body, meeting once a month at the municipal building for the duration of the school year, and is free to study and make recommendations on any city problem it wishes to tackle.

City Manager Carleton F. Sharpe suggested the idea last spring, his thought being that it would be helpful to get the views of Hartford young people on matters which concern them. Specifically he had in mind problems of recreation, juvenile delinquency and school traffic. The idea met with the approval of the education department and the project was organized as follows:

The manager attended meetings of the student councils in each of the three senior high schools to propose the idea directly to the teen-agers. It was enthusiastically received, so the next step was appointment of a student charter commission of nine, composed of three members from each of the high schools. With the aid of faculty advisors the commission drafted a charter similar to Hartford's council-manager charter, though dealing only with council-manager relations. Key sections in the charter were those providing for a city manager and a council of fifteen members, five to be elected from each high school district. The council was given power to choose a mayor from among its members and a city manager and clerk from among the "voting" population. Elections were scheduled for each fall. In June the proposed charter was submitted to City Manager Sharpe and Superintendent of Schools Fred D. Wish, Jr., for their suggestions. With a 95 per cent turnout of eligible voters the charter was approved at a referendum in September by a vote of 3,188 to 269. The city's morning newspaper, the Hartford *Courant,* provided reprints of the junior charter for all students.

In an October primary 30 council candidates were nominated. In order to run in the primary, candidates filed petitions signed by a specified number of eligible voters. To be eligible to vote, students had to be registered. Voting machines were used, and the usual election officials were appointed to check names of voters, unlock machines and tabulate votes. The polls were open from 7.45 A.M. until 4 P.M., during which time close to 90 per cent of those eligible cast their votes. A few weeks later, on November 1, the final election was held with about the same turnout.

Subsequently the fifteen-member Junior City Council was inaugurated in a ceremony at the municipal building attended by about 150 persons. Speakers included the mayor, president of the board of education, city manager and superintendent of schools. Since then, Hartford's junior city government has addressed its responsibilities with resolution.

At each monthly meeting an agenda prepared by an executive committee of the Junior Council is followed. The council's executive secretary, i.e., the junior city manager, and the clerk prepare reports and act as liaisons between the council and public officials.

In December the junior legislators submitted their first official report to the city council. It contained the findings of an investigation of recreational facilities in the northeast section of the city, where the recreation problem is recognized as pressing. The study was conducted in cooperation with a neighborhood community center group. Thus far no official action has been taken on the report but the problem is not a dead issue.

As a result of a questionnaire soliciting student opinion about matters the Junior City Council ought to pursue, a number of projects are on the fire. One committee is investigating the possibility of inaugurating driving classes in the high schools, consulting with city police and school officials as well as school authorities in towns where such classes are already being conducted.

Another committee is taking a sample poll of student opinion as to necessary improvements and expansion of out-of-school recreational facilities throughout the city. A third is organizing an interhigh school talent show to be presented possibly at Horace Bushnell Memorial Hall, which seats about 3,300. Reports from all three committees are expected shortly.

At the suggestion of City Manager Sharpe, the Junior City Council is also sponsoring a "City Beautiful" campaign, working with a committee of city officials and representatives of civic groups.

Hartford's citizens and city officials are rightfully proud of the course taken by this youthful venture in democratic action and look forward to its energetic continuance.

Robert H. McManus
Hartford Governmental Research
Institute

PERIODICAL DEPT.

Toledo Extends Citizenship Training to Adults

With its program on the governments of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio, in full swing for high school students, Toledo officials have now taken steps to organize a city-wide adult study class on local government. The meeting to lay plans was attended by city and county officials as well as representatives of the Parent-Teachers Association, League of Women Voters, Federation of Women's Clubs, service clubs, labor and business groups.

Mayor DiSalle commented that results of the course for high schools in the city and county had been so encouraging he had come to feel that immediate steps should be taken to spread the novel program to adults.

Now in full swing is a ten-weeks Civic College course in which more than 50 adults have enrolled. City officials and other prominent citizens act as class lecturers. A registration fee of one dollar is charged to include a subscription to the *Toledo City Journal,* which will publish an outline of the course.

Testimonials regarding the Civic College are already on record. J. W. Cunningham, retired lumber dealer, comments, "The first four sessions of the adult seminar leave me feeling that Toledo's Civic College is good for what ails us. We need to know more about who and what makes governmental wheels go around."

A housewife, Mrs. Alyce Cannon, says, "The speakers are quite good and it gives us all a chance to meet our city officials."

R. J. Flory, labor executive, believes, "The only way for people to get good out of their government is to understand it. This program is of tremendous importance and the results will manifest themselves in more interest in and less antagonism to various local governmental programs."

High school seminars for the study of the city and county governments have been held for the last two years.[1] Both public and private high schools have participated. Material for the courses is prepared by the city's Commission of Publicity and Efficiency.

More School News

Toledo's idea is spreading. The Akron *Beacon Journal* reports that an experimental class in that city "in which civic students visit city hall to learn about local government, has passed the test." The course is under the supervision of C. F. Bassett, civil service director, who reports that plans are under way to make the project an annual event.

The Seattle Municipal League has prepared for its Public Schools Committee a mimeographed prospectus on *The Making of a Seattle Citizen.* Covered are definitions of the project and its purpose, scope of project, mechanics of project and suggestions for subcommittee surveys. The teaching of citizenship in the schools has been one of the Seattle league's most active endeavors.[2]

The second annual Columbia College Forum on Democracy met at Columbia University in March with student leaders from some 65 secondary schools in attendance. Theme of the conference was "Freedom and Security," presented by Professor Louis M. Hacker, director of Columbia's School of General Studies. Other speakers included Dr. Courtney C. Brown of the Coordination and Economics Department of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, and Mark Starr, educational director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Manager Plan in the News

"The people of Medford [Massachusetts] can hold their heads high again," said the Medford *Mercury* editorially on March 16. Occasion for the comment was the attempted ouster of City Manager James F. Shurtleff, appointed only a short time before under the city's new council-manager charter. More than two thousand citizens jammed a huge auditorium to support the manager when his dismissal was demanded by certain members of the city council and numerous speakers opposed the ouster move on the grounds that Mr. Shurtleff, formerly the successful manager of the neighboring community of Saugus, had not been given a fair chance to prove himself.

"The men and women of this city rose to meet a crisis in our municipal life in the finest of democratic traditions," continued the *Mercury,* "in an orderly but tremendous outpouring. A free people has shown how effective freedom can be. . . . It was spontaneous, ignited by the universality of the appeal created by the situation that saw a city manager, on the job for less than two months, facing a summary dismissal that outraged every self-respecting person's sense of fair play."

Nearly two hundred representatives of numerous civic groups met in Lynn, Massachusetts, to discuss the council-manager plan and to organize the Lynn Citizens' Plan E Committee to secure the manager plan with P. R. for council and school committee. The committee hopes to place Plan E on the ballot in either 1950 or 1951. Petitions to do so are already in circulation. "We have thoroughly sounded out public sentiment in all sections of the city and have found that there is overwhelming sentiment in favor of Plan E for Lynn," Leslie Jacobson, temporary chairman, declared.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, March 1949, page 148.

[2] See also "Seattle League Educates Youngsters," the REVIEW, November 1949, page 520.

The Leagues of Women Voters of Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, and Bennington, Vermont, are discussing the council-manager plan as applicable to their communities. The Hastings group is interviewing former and present officials of the village, studying texts of municipal government and delving into the laws governing villages, including the Hastings charter. The Bennington league, already on record as favorable to the manager plan, recently arranged a panel discussion on the subject.

The Greenbriar Village Forum of Worcester, Massachusetts, instrumental in starting the campaign which resulted in adoption of Plan E for the city, has been revived. Some 50 persons heard talks by Mr. and Mrs. Robert B. Service, Jr., the former past president of the Citizens Plan E Association on the plan as it is now in operation in Worcester.

Colonel John B. Atkinson, city manager of Cambridge, Massachusetts, addressed a public forum in Stoneham, Massachusetts, in a debate on the council-manager plan. His opponent was former Mayor Walter E. Lawrence of Medford, which also now has the plan. The debate was broadcast over WMAS of Cambridge and WVOM of Brookline.

The political committee of Voters' Lobby of Paterson, New Jersey, urges adoption of the council-manager plan for that city. "May we suggest," says its bulletin, "that the citizens of this community consider a petition drive for the city manager, as concrete action to get rid of this 77-year-old 'buggy' in our modern atomic age."

The Committee on Forms of Government of the Massachusetts Civic League has concentrated for the past year on securing information on the council-manager plan. Questionnaires mailed to city and town clerks in the state revealed that there is considerable interest in the plan but that there is much opposition from the clerks themselves. Out of 351 clerks receiving the questionnaires, 258 replied.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Albert S. Bard, New York attorney, an original member of the legislative committee of the Citizens Union of New York City, was present, as usual, when the committee convened on January 13 for its 46th year of work. The committee meets weekly during the annual sessions of the New York legislature, investigating and reporting on all bills bearing on the union's program.

The Greater Dallas Planning Council has reelected its 1949 officials to serve during 1950: Paul Carrington, president; John E. Mitchell, Jr., and J. Woodall Rodgers, vice presidents; D. Gordon Rupe, Jr., secretary; Eugene McElvaney, treasurer.

Ernest Erber has succeeded Robert Burlingham as executive secretary of the Passaic-Bergen Community Planning Association.

The Medford, Massachusetts, Plan E Civic Association has elected Frank W. Marshall, Jr., as its new president. Mr. Marshall succeeds Charles M. Doherty.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Administrative Theory and Practice Reexamined

Old Search for Democracy and Efficiency Continues

GOVERNMENTAL researchers and political scientists are unusually active these days in reexamining some of their basic assumptions and long accepted "principles."

It has often been said that the central problem of government can be expressed as "liberty versus authority." In somewhat similar vein has been some of the discussion of democracy and efficiency in administration, the implication being that there is a natural conflict between the two. Perhaps the fact that the last war made a *prima facie* case for democratic efficiency has something to do with the current tendency to reexamine this problem. Such a reexamination is the central purpose of a thought-provoking paper by Professor Edwin O. Stene of the University of Kansas, *American Administrative Theory,* (21 pages, University of Kansas Publications, Governmental Research Series No. 6).

Professor Stene suggests that the "new administrative theory" is recognizing these needs: (1) "to develop a new emphasis in the selection of leaders . . . men to whom democracy is a way of life, . . . men who win confidence rather than men who rule by command, . . . men who listen more, talk less"; (2) "a continuous educational process" in every administrative agency to help develop "unity of purpose and coordination of effort"; (3) "decentralization of particularized decisions"; (4) "machinery to facilitate communication upward through the administrative hierarchy"; (5) continuous use of management counselors to assist supervisors in the educational process and suggest improvements in the operation of the administrative system.

An increasingly important phase of the problems of democracy and efficiency in administration is in the realm of intergovernmental relations, particularly the vertical relations involving federal, state and local government. The Hoover commission and the various "little Hoover" commissions have helped focus attention on this matter.

An address by Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, before the National Reorganization Conference sponsored by the Citizens' Committee for the Hoover Report in Washington last December, printed in the winter number of the *Public Administration Review,* "Reorganization from the State Point of View," illustrates the point.

While Governor Stevenson calls attention to the fact that federal reorganization is one way of dealing with some of the "problem of bigness in government," he points out that "an equally important answer . . . is our larger federal system." Hence, he sees a great need for improving cumbersome governmental machinery in the states and for seeing to it "that in carrying out essential national policies, our Congress utilizes to the greatest extent possible these basic, organic, live state units to bring as close to home as possible the actual operations of the national programs."

The same number of *Public Administration Review* carries a "Symposium on Budget Theory," a report on a conference of some sixteen men in Princeton, sponsored by Public Administration Clearing House and reported by Herbert Emmerich, chairman, and Joseph E. McLean, secretary, of the conference. "The conference considered at some length the problems of state and local budgeting in a federal system . . . noted that the original theory that each level has control of its own revenues and expenditures horizontally does not apply to our present budgeting pattern. Today we have a combination horizontal-vertical budget in the state-local levels. . . . The administration of specialized local and state programs tends to by-pass the general executive and his budget office." The conference found a need for further research in state and local budget processes and several other matters.

One way of seeking democracy in administration has been described critically or approvingly, depending on the circumstances and point of view, as "the grass roots approach." Again in the winter number of *Public Administration Review,* R. G. Tugwell and E. C. Banfield review *TVA and the Grass Roots, A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization,* by Philip Selznick (University of California Press, 1949. 282 pp. $3.75). Titled "Grass Roots Democracy—Myth or Reality?", the review questions the validity of the "grass roots" partnership between the TVA and the Farm Bureau.

A more hopeful view of TVA experiments in grass roots administration of federal functions in various fields is presented by Lawrence L. Durisch, of the Tennessee Valley Authority, in his presidential address before the Southern Political Science Association, November 11, 1949. This appears as an article, "The States and Decentralized Administration of Federal Functions," in the February 1950 *Journal of Politics.*

Evidently Woodrow Wilson, one of the first political scientists to see the importance of the systematic study of administration, did not recognize any necessary conflict between democracy and efficiency when he described the council-manager plan "as a marked advance over any plan hitherto tried in this country, from the standpoint of both efficiency and democracy."

It may be appropriate to suggest here that administrative researchers and theorists might obtain additional light on the problem of democracy and efficiency by further study of citizen action and participation in modern city and town government. Democracy in administration consists not merely in "control" by a democratically elected executive or legislature, or in a democratic relationship among the persons working in an administrative system, or in decentralization of administrative tasks and responsibilities, or in cooperation between administrative agencies and special clienteles.

Citizen Participation

At the local level especially, it has been demonstrated that both democracy and efficiency are advanced when citizens concerned primarily about the general interest have ready access to the administrative process. This is especially evident when administration and policy are hopelessly enmeshed, as in budgeting and planning, where best results are obtained when both administrators and volunteer citizen organizations take the initiative in establishing a two-way street of communication and cooperation. Therefore it is just as important for administration to maintain communication with citizens as to provide for the kind of internal information and communication needed for sound decisions and good *esprit.* This is what an increasing number of municipal administrators mean by public relations.

The difficulties of citizen participation and of effective public relations as distinct from pressure and propaganda increase at the higher levels of government. This is one good reason for as much decentralization as is compatible with the state and national interest. However, it is suggested that state and even federal administrators could learn much about citizen communication and participation by taking a new look at local administration. Perhaps the progress of administrative theory and practice has been retarded because of the natural tendency of students of public administration to concentrate on the spectacular and absorbing problems of federal administration.

The current reexamination of basic assumptions extends beyond the field of administration per se to such fundamental matters as the nature and function of representation, the extent and limits of personal liberty, the meaning of majority rule, etc. Running through discussion of all these subjects is an anxiety over the viability of democracy in a world of atom bombs and of totalitarian dictatorships able to command the nearly unanimous vote of the people.

Professor Herbert McClosky, of the University of Minnesota, contributes a tightly reasoned discussion of "The Fallacy of Absolute Majority Rule" in the November 1949 *Journal of Politics*. Professor McClosky shows in effect that absolute majority rule involves a contradiction in terms because "in all modern polities it is *governments,* and not *majorities*, that actually rule. . . . The argument for absolute majority rule reduces itself *at the level of practice* to the endorsement of absolute governmental power by a minority," that is, by those who have "gained access to the offices of government." He points out that it is of the essence of modern constitutional democracy that there are limitations on the exercise of power, imposed by specific legal provision, "by institutional checks or, most important, by the development of an ethos which requires that the rules of the game be respected."

Although Professor McClosky does not go into this, it might be observed that the administrative system can be a most important "institutional check" against drastic or irresponsible action by "the government." Every student of administration is familiar with the tendency of any bureaucracy to resist innovation. He is also painfully aware of the fact that bureaucracies have been perverted by dictators. It is believed, however, that administration in which "democracy is a way of life"—to go back to Professor Stene—merits more attention as a potential bulwark of real political democracy.

One of the fallacies of "absolute majority rule" is the assumption that a majority in a democracy could consciously will absolute power. In an established democracy there is a wide consensus on what is and what is not appropriate governmental action. If those engaged in administration are *of the people* in sharing this consensus, and if they do not lose contact with the people, they can do much to ward off tyranny: (1) by having a salutary influence on the making of policy, (2) by moderating the execution of policy tending to unhealthy extremes, (3) by providing government too satisfactory to invite subversion, and (4) by joining with the people in an emergency to resist anti-democratic action by irresponsible adventurers.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Administration

Detroit Staff Services. Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Budget Backgrounds,* March 13, 1950. 2 pp.

Annexation

Annexation by Washington Municipalities. By Donald C. Sampson. (Advantages, methods, fiscal and service problems.) Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with Association of Washington Cities, 1949. xii, 14 pp. Bibliography.

Budget

Cleveland's Budget for 1950. Cleveland, Citizens League, *Greater Cleveland,* March 3, 1950. 6 pp.

The Commissioners Play It Ultra-Safe. Analysis of the (Allegheny) County's 1950 Budget. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* February 1950. 8 pp. Tables.

More Light on the City Budget. (Boston's 1950 budget more informative than predecessors but falls short of five goals for better budgeting.) Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 10, 1950. 2 pp.

Building Permit Fees

Establishing Building Permit Fees. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* March 1950. 2 pp.

Constitutions

A Comparison Between the Washington State Constitution and the Model State Constitution. By Mrs. Stuart W. Chapman. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1949. 8 pp.

Debt

Buffalo's Net Bonded Debt Reduced Over $66 Million or 69 Per Cent Since 1938. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* April 6, 1950. 3 pp.

City's Interest Charges Increased Last Year. Further Rise Due, Although Average Rate Continues Decline. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizen's Business,* March 14, 1950. 3 pp.

The Effect of Overlapping Public Debt. The League Makes an Over-all Study of the Debt Structure in the (Allegheny) County. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* March 1950. 15 pp. Tables.

Education

Crisis is Faced in State's Education. Schools Struggle with Unexpected Enrollments, Building Needs and Operating Costs. By John W. Richardson. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration, *Tennessee Government,* January-February 1950. 1 p.

Kentucky's Rank in Education. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1950. 21 pp. Illus.

School Finance Practices. An Audit of Selected Local School Districts of Kentucky. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1950. vi, 61 pp. Tables.

Elections and Voting

Voting Qualifications in Local Elections. Toronto, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* March 17, 1950. 5 pp.

Federal Reorganization

A Multi-Billion Dollar Opportunity . . . as disclosed by the Hoover Commission. Washington, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Department of Governmental Affairs, 1949. 34 pp. 25 cents.

Governors

State Editors Rate Governor. Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bureau Notes,* March 20, 1950. 2 pp.

Home Rule

Constitutional Problems of County Home Rule in Ohio. By Earl L.

Shoup. (Reprinted from the *Western Reserve Law Review,* December, 1949.) Cleveland, The Press of Western Reserve University, 1949. 21 pp.

Housing

40,000 More Tax-Free Housing Units and the Chicago Taxpayer. Chicago, Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* February 1950. 4 pp.

Legislation

Printing of Legislative Bills. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1949. 35 pp.

Medical Training

Adequacy of Medical Training Facilities. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, February 1950. 36 pp.

Parking

The Parking Authority. A Summary of Its Powers and Limitations under the State Enabling Acts. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* February 14, 1950. 3 pp.

Pensions

Police and Fire Pension Legislation. New York, Citizens Budget Commission, 1950. 8 pp.

Personnel

The Conditions and Perquisites of Employment in the Major Local Governments of Cook County, 1949. By W. Robert Erickson. Chicago, Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* March 1950. 8 pp. Tables.

State Personnel Administration in Colorado. Denver, Colorado Public Expenditure Council, *Colorado Taxpayer,* February 1950. 1 p.

Police

Police Department Personnel. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* February 1950. 1 p.

Population

Mississippi's People. By John C. Belcher and Morton B. King, Jr. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1950. vii, 79 pp. Tables.

A NEW MODEL PRIMARY LAW

(Continued from page 227)

advisable to provide for a second or "run-off" primary election between the two highest candidates in the cases where no candidate receives a majority at the first primary.

10. If the Washington blanket ballot primary is used, it should be provided that any candidate who receives a majority of all votes cast in the primary shall be declared elected.

11. Primary elections should be held in the autumn within one to two months prior to the final election.

12. Compliance with the principle of the short ballot should be required in the internal structure of the party. Only a few outstanding party officers should be elective by the party members of each district and the form of the party organization should be kept simple and understandable by the voters.

A strong practical committee of the Citizens Union of New York City, working in parallel during October to December 1949, developed almost identical conclusions (No. 5 excepted as undesirable in New York City's unique four-party situation) as a basis for the draft of a new closed primary law for New York State. Shortage of staff time prevented the proposal from being reduced to bill form in time for introduction into the 1950 state legislative session.

This preview is presented here as an invitation to readers to send for a mimeographed copy of the 56-page draft of the *Model* in its present state and offer comments and criticisms. This is no private fight—anybody can get in!

Books in Review

Introduction to Municipal Government and Administration. By Arthur W. Bromage. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950. ix, 693 pp. $5.

The first half of this book, quite unintentionally no doubt, is a rather complete and well organized description of the background and program of the National Municipal League and of the progress of its tenets. The second half collects and expounds the latest viable material on municipal administration down to recent published findings of the Public Administration Service and the International City Managers' Association on principles of modern departmental management. The latter section, indeed, would provide good orientation for any aspirant to a city managership, or a good check list for any municipal administrator who wants to see if his departments are correctly related and up to date in method.

A vivid account of the current American municipal scene in swift, precise and compact English!

R.S.C.

Discontent at the Polls: a Study of Farmer and Labor Parties, 1827-1948. By Murray S. and Susan W. Stedman. New York, Columbia University Press, 1950. 190 pp. $2.75.

"In every one of the past twenty presidential elections one or more parties of the farmer or labor type have competed," observe the authors of this study. Although the highest vote attained was the sixteen millions for La Follette in 1924, the minor parties have had an importance beyond the 2 or 3 per cent of the vote they obtain in most presidential elections. Factors of importance, such as their advancing issues that the major parties dodge, are well known to serious students of American politics. The authors here bring out a factor not so well known, that the minor parties have had a strong sectional effect and more success in state and local than in national politics.

This book examines thoroughly the farmer and labor parties from almost every possible angle: their history, platforms, record, geography, economic pattern, strategy and tactics, and their difficulties in getting on the ballot. If there is one matter of importance that is omitted it is the frequency with which their vote is not counted at all, or is rounded off by bipartisan election officers. The farmer and labor parties "lack permanence under any given name," and their "record reveals a series of spurts followed by collapses." They "have attracted their greatest vote when the economy was going downhill but before rock bottom was reached."

The present and persistent conflict of interest between the farmer and the urban union laborer does not make the future of farmer or labor parties promising. This volume is, nevertheless, a useful study, containing voting statistics never before assembled. It is interestingly written and handsomely printed.

Dayton D. McKean
Dartmouth College

Evaluation of Citizenship Training and Incentive in American Colleges and Universities. By Thomas H. Reed and Doris D. Reed. New York, New York University, Citizenship Clearing House, 1950. 64 pp.

A lucid commentary on 218 usable replies to a questionnaire issued to political science faculties. It finds great similarity in the introductory courses and textbooks and in the favorite secondary courses on political parties. It laments the almost complete failure to find ways to introduce the students into any working acquaintance with practical politics.

R.S.C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Comparative Government

The Study of Comparative Government. An Appraisal of Contemporary Trends. Essays Written in Honor of Frederic Austin Ogg. Edited by Jasper B. Shannon. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949. viii, 338 pp. $4.

Education

Better Schools Make Better Communities. Kit for 1949-50 Advertising Campaign for Better Schools. Conducted by the Advertising Council, Inc., in cooperation with the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, U. S. Office of Education and Citizens Federal Committee on Education. New York 19, National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, 1949. Variously paged.

Intergovernmental Relations

Federal - State - Local Relations in Agriculture. By John D. Black. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1950. vi, 46 pp. 50 cents.

Municipal Ordinances

Codification of Municipal Ordinances. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1950. 93 pp. $3.

Parking Meters

Parking Meters in the United States. Year Ending December 31, 1949. Canton 5, Ohio, Vehicular Parking, Ltd., 1950. 44 pp. Tables.

Personnel

Public Employee Safety. A Problem in Economy, Efficiency and Public Service. Chicago 6, National Safety Council, 1950. 4 pp.

Population

Internal Migration in the United States, April 1948 to April 1949. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950. 11 pp.

Salaries

Salary and Wage Data. Michigan Cities of More than 10,000 Population. Hours of Work, Overtime Pay Practices and Holiday Pay Practices. 1949-1950. By Municipal Personnel Service. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1950. 38 pp. $1.25.

Taxation and Finance

Annual Report of the State Tax Commission of the State of Idaho, 1949. Boise, the Commission, 1950. 36 pp.

Report of the Revenue Laws Commission of the State of Illinois. Summary of Recommendations and Research Report Submitted to the Commission by the Technical Staff. Springfield, the Commission, 1949. 662 pp.

Increasing Cost of the Federal Government. Compilation of Information. By the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. (United States Senate Document No. 150.) Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1950. 19 pp.

Traffic Safety

Maim Street. Hartford, Connecticut, Travelers Insurance Companies, 1950. 31 pp.

The Teen-Age Driver. By George C. Lowe, William H. Brewster and others. Chicago 6, National Safety Council, 1950. 31 pp.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion for June 1950. Theme: **Speed Control.** Chicago 6, National Safety Council, 1950. Variously paged.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

UNE 1950 VOLUME XXXIX, NO.

PERIODICAL DEPT.
Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Waste of Civic Energy .... *Editorial*

Commuters Aid City Comeback .... *Robert K. Sawyer*

Playing to Get Touchdowns .... *George S. Case, Jr.*

Running a City the Hard Way .... *Arthur W. Bromage*

What Do the Citizens Think? .... *Julian L. Woodward and Alan Schneider*

New Jersey Provides 14 Optional Charters 293

Virginia Counties Seek Manager Plan 300

Liberals Ask P. R. as Price of Alliance 303

Legislatures Enact Fiscal Measures 306

Planning Group Activities Grow 309

Public Schools vs. City Government 313

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR
ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.,
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
JAMES GIRAND, *Arizona*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN, *Maryland*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
HARVEY WALKER, *Ohio*
YORK Y. WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *President*
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J., *Vice President*
J. W. Clise, Seattle, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York, *Treasurer*
William Collins, *Finance Chairman*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
John E. Bebout, *Assistant Secretary*
George H. Hallett, Jr., *Associate Secretary*

COUNCIL

Richard S. Childs, New York, *Chairman*

William Anderson, Minneapolis
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
Frederick L. Bird, New York
Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati
William Collins, Yonkers, N. Y.
L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Mo.
James A. Cunningham, Chicago
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
C. A. Dykstra, Los Angeles
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
B. H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Clarence Francis, Bronxville, N. Y.
Arnold Frye, New York
Lloyd E. Graybiel, San Francisco
Harrison S. Hires, Berwyn, Pa.
Robert W. Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
John S. Linen, New York
Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis
Mrs. Thomas H. Mahony, Boston
D. K. Pfeffer, New York
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Walter M. Phillips, Philadelphia
Lawson Purdy, New York
Harry W. Schacter, Louisville, Ky.
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Henry L. Shattuck, Boston
George S. Van Schaick, New York
Richard Weil, Jr., New York
A. C. (Jack) White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXIX, No. 6 **Total Number 400**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for June 1950

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS 270

EDITORIAL COMMENT 271

COMMUTERS AID CITY COMEBACK .... *Robert K. Sawyer* 273

PLAYING TO GET TOUCHDOWNS .... *George S. Case, Jr.* 278

RUNNING A CITY THE HARD WAY .... *Arthur W. Bromage* 283

WHAT DO THE CITIZENS THINK? .... *Julian L. Woodward and Alan Schneider* 288

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 293

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 300

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ...... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 303

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 306

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 309

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 313

BOOKS IN REVIEW 318

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Index to Legal Periodicals,* the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Copyright June 1950 by
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

Dykstra Dies Serving Others

Clarence Addison Dykstra, president of the National Municipal League from 1937 to 1940, died suddenly at his home at Laguna Beach, California, on May 6 at the age of 67.

It was typical of his zeal for service for the public good that his distinguished career was brought to an abrupt end by his volunteering to help fight a grass fire in the neighborhood.

Mr. Dykstra successfully blended the activities of civic leader, educator and public administrator. Born in Cleveland, he was graduated from the University of Iowa and studied for two years at the University of Chicago. He taught for fourteen years before returning to Cleveland to become executive secretary of the Citizens League. He moved to similar positions at the Chicago City Club and the Los Angeles City Club.

For seven years he held important administrative posts in the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power before becoming city manager of Cincinnati in 1930. His handling of the disastrous flood situation in 1937 brought him national fame and the presidency of the University of Wisconsin, where he served for eight years, with time out for a series of vital assignments from the United States government. These included director of the National Selective Service Administration (during the period of initial expansion under the draft law), Advisory Commission on Education, Recreation and Welfare to the Army and Navy, chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board, and member of the United States Group in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

In addition to service as the League's president and on the Council, Mr. Dykstra was president of the American Political Science Association in 1938 and president of the International City Managers' Association in 1932.

He had been provost of the University of California at Los Angeles since 1945.

Northeast Regional Conference on Manager Plan

Sponsored jointly by the National Municipal League and the New Haven Citizens' Committee for City Manager Charter, a Northeast Regional Conference on the Council-Manager Plan was scheduled for June 2 and 3 at Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut. Many state and local civic groups in New England, eastern New York and New Jersey joined in sponsorship, including the Connecticut and Rhode Island Public Expenditure Councils, New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation, Massachusetts Plan E State Association, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers' Associations, Poughkeepsie Tax and Rentpayers, New Haven League of Women Voters, Hartford Governmental Research Institute, Cambridge Civic Association, Worcester Citizens' Plan E Association, Springfield Taxpayers Association and many others.

The program was designed for communities interested in getting the council-manager plan and those which have the plan and want to get the greatest benefit from it.

Opening speaker on Friday afternoon was Donald Spencer, president of the Cambridge Civic Association, on The Manager Plan—Spearhead of Civic Progress. This session discussed How to Get the Manager Plan, with reports on campaigns in Worcester, Hartford, Bayonne, and other cities. Featured speaker of the Friday evening meeting was former Governor Charles Edison of New Jersey, president of the League.

Saturday morning four concurrent sessions discussed: (1) Elements of a Good City Charter, (2) Elements of a Good Town Charter, (3) Permanent Citizen Organization for Good Government, and (4) Good Government Programs in the Schools. These four sessions merged into one late in the morning, addressed by Professor Arthur L. Thexton of the University of Bridgeport, Connecticut, on maintaining good government.

Editorial Comment

Waste of Civic Energy

IT IS common to complain of the lack of civic energy and leadership in American communities. There never seem to be enough people ready and willing to devote enough time to civic and community affairs.

The article in this issue entitled "Running a City the Hard Way," by Professor Arthur W. Bromage, suggests one reason for this chronic complaint. Professor Bromage shows that the city of Ann Arbor's outmoded weak mayor charter exacts an inordinate toll on the time and energy of many citizens in and out of public office just to keep the wheels of government running smoothly and in the right direction.

What is true of Ann Arbor is true of a majority of the cities, towns and villages in the country—and virtually all the counties. Except for about nine hundred council-manager places, and a considerably smaller number of streamlined strong mayor municipalities, most communities are like Ann Arbor, trying to govern themselves the hard way with old model machines that have to be coaxed along the highway of civic progress in much the same fashion as an old 1910 automobile.

The time of busy citizens is wasted in a good many ways. Failure to provide adequate professional staff to obtain and present information needed for sound policy decisions forces citizens, untrained for that sort of work, to grope around for information, the nature and significance of which they are not quite clear about. It often results in delayed or half baked action which causes still further waste. Moreover, the typical old-style government invites duplication and competition of effort. The time wasted by the citizens holding official positions on municipal councils and administrative boards is likely to be more than matched by the time necessarily consumed by citizens who have to deal with a government lacking an identifiable head, a sensible differentiation of organs and a clear delineation of responsibilities.

It is no wonder that just about the time a really high-grade citizen gets well broken in as mayor or councilman in such a government he, or his wife, decides it is time to go on strike against long hours, with little or no pay and plenty of complaints from a public that is prone to blame the men for the inadequacies of the machinery.

This is why an increasing number of thoughtful mayors and city councilmen are taking the initiative in urging adoption of the council-manager plan. They realize that this system makes it possible for the citizen official to give much better service at much less personal sacrifice. He is no longer expected to be a governmental researcher, a straw-boss, an errand boy for his constituents and a municipal statesman all at once. The manager and his staff are there to do the research and execute policy. The elected official can devote himself to translating public opinion and public needs into policy decisions. Freed of tasks for which he is not fitted, he can give undivided attention to understanding the overall problems of his municipality. He has the time for foresight.

Labor saving machinery and devices have revolutionized manufacturing, farming, transportation, office practice and housekeeping. Methods of organization have increased the efficiency of policy makers and managers in business concerns. Such modern methods have now been tested in municipal organization for nearly half a century. It is high time that the people in communities still struggling with horse and buggy governments get wise to the fact that they are tolerating a grievous waste of that most precious commodity, civic energy.

It may well be that many communities are not really suffering from a lack of civic energy so much as from the wasteful and inefficient use of it. In this increasingly complex world which demands attention from the citizen to global as well as to vital community problems we simply can't afford to wear out our best citizens in trying to run our local governments the hard way.

Why Politicians War Against P. R.

FEAR of a breakdown in party alignments on the local level is the nub of the current battle in the legislature over Plan E's proportional representation election system.

That's why old-line politicians are bending every effort to make last year's P.R. repealer stick for cities who want Plan E in the future, and even perhaps outlaw the system altogether in Massachusetts.

The growing interest in Plan E's council-manager form of government—eight of the state's 39 cities have adopted it—has them worried. . . . P.R. doesn't lend itself handily to political manipulation and direction in local elections.

Neither does it aid in any direct manner the working organizations of the two major political parties. Patronage and party regularity are their mainstays.

But Plan E advocates maintain that partisan politics has no business in local government. They contend that municipal administration is primarily a service organization, providing water, sewers, streets, police and fire protection, schools, etc. For that reason appointments of administrators should be based solely on ability and not political considerations.

They claim P.R., because it obscures party lines, tends to bring about able administrations.

During debate in the Massachusetts House on the question, Representative Gabriel F. Piemonte (D) of Boston pointed up a collateral issue. Last year he favored abolition of P.R. But he has since changed his mind.

Piemonte voted with Plan E defenders to restore P.R. fully to the Plan E charter. He said he noticed that last fall's elections in the cities with Plan E resulted in greater representation of minority groups in local governments. This convinced him that P.R. should be preserved until a better system of representation is devised. It's time, Piemonte said, that "we get away from the green and blue," referring to the usual complexion of Democratic and Republican tickets in past years.

By Charles E. Currier, in Worcester, Massachusetts, *Telegram*

Commuters Aid City Comeback

Philadelphia, after ten years of income tax, has cash on hand to proceed with public improvements long dormant.

By **ROBERT K. SAWYER***

TO THE average American, Philadelphia is usually typified by a picture of Billy Penn carrying the Liberty Bell in his hand—possibly to wake up the citizens. It is not always regarded as a progressive city. However, Philadelphia has contributed more than traditions to the progress of this nation and more than ice cream, Philadelphia scrapple and production of television sets. With cash in hand, the area is now on the move to compensate for the many years in which public improvements lay dormant.

It is not the purpose of this article to demonstrate that Philadelphia is a great city nor to describe the awakening that has brought top leaders of the community together in the Greater Philadelphia Movement to press for completion of important projects, most of which require improved government in Philadelphia.

This is the story of the principal means by which Philadelphia's financial position has been changed from one as low as the Cubs' final standing to that of a league leader. For Philadelphia's earned income tax—commonly but fallaciously known as the wage tax—coupled with improved national income has been the financial savior for a city which faced virtual bankruptcy just ten years ago.[1]

There is nothing unusual about the fact that Philadelphia was saved from financial disaster by a new tax. It is the character of this tax which is unusual, for Philadelphia's earned income tax is definitely a metropolitan area tax. It is a means of assessing to its daylight citizens at least part of the burden of maintaining the heart of the metropolitan area. Moreover, it is a direct tax imposed squarely on the shoulders of those receiving the benefits.

How is it applied? It is simply a tax on the salary, wages and other compensation earned by: (a) residents of Philadelphia regardless of their place of employment and (b) nonresidents who work in the city. It is also applied to the net profits of unincorporated businesses and professions conducted in the city, whether by residents or nonresidents, or conducted outside the city by residents. The tax applies also to the shares of residents of the city in the net profits of unincorporated businesses and professions conducted outside the city jointly by residents and nonresidents. It is assessed at a flat 1¼ per cent on all taxables, with no exemptions.

The tax has been collected on salaries, wages and other compensation of individuals earned since January 1, 1940, and on the net profits of unincorporated businesses earned since January 1, 1939, although the tax was imposed by ordinance of city council approved December 13, 1939.

---

*Mr. Sawyer, formerly director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, has been executive director of the Greater Philadelphia Movement since its inception. This article is based on his address before the Civic Federation of Chicago.

[1] See also "Philadelphia's Tax in Fifth Year," by Robert J. Patterson, the REVIEW, October 1944, pages 452-457.

Two features of this tax are particularly worth noting. The first is peculiar to Pennsylvania. The tax was imposed by city council without special authority from the state legislature. This could be done because Philadelphia has had a kind of home rule in taxation matters since 1932, under the state's Sterling Act, which provides that Philadelphia may tax anything which the state does not tax. This limitation precludes imposing the income tax upon corporations.

An interesting sidelight of this home rule in taxation is the fact that local taxation provides 84.5 per cent of Philadelphia's revenue—the highest of the fourteen largest cities. State and federal aid accounted for only 4 per cent in 1948 contrasted with a 20.9 per cent national average.

Secondly, the earned income tax is not a graduated tax. This is because of a state constitutional provision that all taxes must be uniform, which has been interpreted by the Pennsylvania courts to prohibit graduated taxes.

In 1938 the city imposed a tax of much the same scope, which provided for an allowance of $15 to the taxpayer for making and filing his return. Since the rate was 1½ per cent, this was in effect an exemption on the first $1,000 of income. The ordinance was tested in *Butcher* vs. *Philadelphia* and was supported by the courts except for its exemption provisions.

The stage for adoption of the 1939 income tax ordinance was set with the adoption of a 2 per cent sales tax in 1938, which was bitterly fought by the merchants during its eleven-month life.

The outstanding feature of the earned income tax—that of imposing a tax upon nonresidents working in the city—is not peculiar to Philadelphia.[2] This particular feature is applicable to any metropolitan area and represents a solution to the problem of offsetting loss of wealth to the suburbs and consequent loss of needed revenue to maintain the work center.

Tax's Yield

How well has the tax worked? The earned income tax was imposed in 1939 at a rate of 1½ per cent. This rate was effective for three years, 1940 to 1942 inclusive.[3] Following a campaign by the Philadelphia *Inquirer* in 1942 the rate was reduced to 1 per cent. The Bureau of Municipal Research and some others opposed this change on the ground that revenues were needed for capital improvements. At the adoption of the budget for 1950 the rate was increased to 1¼ per cent.

In the first three years the tax produced $14,800,000, $19,900,000 and $24,800,000 respectively. In 1943, the first year at 1 per cent,

---

[2] See "Income Tax Aids Annexation," by R. T. Anderson, the REVIEW, October 1949, pages 443-447.

[3] 1939-41 net for income for unincorporated businesses. Also collected in 1943 (for 1942) from individuals paying directly.

PERIODICAL

the revenue was $20,800,000 and increased each year to $27,600,000 in 1947. In 1948 it jumped to $31,200,000 largely as a result of special efforts to collect revenues due —an outgrowth of the work of a special committee on city finances appointed by the mayor and president of city council, known as the Committee of Fifteen. In 1949 it was $30,700,000. In the ten years the tax has been in effect a total of $239,617,416 has been collected.

The trend of the revenues points out two more significant features of the tax. First, is its "boom-or-bust" characteristic. The tax receipts have "boomed" steadily upward with the rise in national income to a point where the annual revenue has more than doubled in ten years. As a result of this rise, the city has made no change in its rate of real estate tax during the entire period. The earned income tax accounted for 26.6 per cent of the city's total revenue in 1949. Income from the real estate tax was 42.7 per cent of the total revenue that year compared to 66.5 per cent in 1939, the last year preceding the tax.

The "bust" will come if city council makes an optimistic appraisal of its probable revenues in any year in which a major decline in national income should occur, since such changes are almost immediately reflected in the revenue from the wage tax because of its pay-as-you-go character.

The second feature pointed up by the revenue trend is that of equity of collections. Since the bulk of the tax is withheld by employers, most of it is collected rather easily. This withholding feature is a Philadelphia first, antedating the federal withholding practice.

But about 10 per cent of the money due the city is difficult to collect. This is the portion which comes principally from small businesses and individuals living in the city but working outside. Collection of these moneys requires extensive auditing and many checks to find who is liable for the tax and to what extent. In fact, in some cases the work required is more costly than the revenues obtained.

The result is that there is a distinct inequity in collections. Unlike most taxes imposed by the city, this one requires a great many more accounts and considerable resourcefulness for adequate collection. A tendency of our politically elected magistrates to free violators didn't help. This has been corrected in large part by a new chief magistrate.

Sleuthing Pays Dividends

The sharp increase—from $27,600,000 to $31,200,000—in 1948 revenues over 1947 was in part due to the adoption of new collection methods in the receiver of taxes' office, as a result of studies by the Committee of Fifteen, and in part to a change in the ordinance to provide for "pay-as-you-go" on a quarterly basis by employees whose tax is not withheld by employers. These persons are principally residents working outside the city and governmental employees.

For example, employees of RCA-Victor in Camden who live in Philadelphia are liable for the tax. However, RCA, as a New Jersey firm, does not withhold the tax, nor does it furnish the receiver of taxes with a list of names because its unions oppose such action. In 1948 the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia, in a study for the Committee of Fifteen, checked Pennsylvania license plates at the RCA parking area, established residency and ownership, verified the actual employment of individuals with RCA and checked the payment of the wage tax. It was found that 72 per cent of this sample group did not pay the tax. It was also found in other studies that approximately 30 per cent of small businesses did not pay it.

On the other hand, a few large concerns with plants in the suburbs have offices in the city. Taxes are withheld by these firms for all employees even though their physical place of work is not in the city.

Courts Sympathetic

Of importance to any governmental unit considering adoption of an earned income tax is Philadelphia's experience in the courts.

The courts have sustained the right of the city to tax federal and state employees working in Philadelphia, establishing a broad rule that the tax is not on the employer—in this case the federal and state governments. The city gets copies of the federal W-2 tax form and collects from the individual governmental employee.

The right to tax nonresidents, members of professions and so on has been established. In short, liability of all salary and wage earners except ministers and priests has been affirmed. The clergymen won a court decision which was not appealed because the city fathers did not think the revenues worth while and feared popular opinion.

The city's income tax ordinance has been tested as a burden on interstate commerce and none was found. A test case based on class discrimination between professions and laborers was dismissed. The right to collect from employers has been firmly upheld as well as the right to tax earned income from trust investments in real estate. The application to net profits of unincorporated businesses has been consistently upheld where the taxable was clearly a business activity.

The question of application of the tax to profits from the sale of stocks and bonds was recently contested by an individual. The city lost this case in a lower court, primarily on the ground that it was not a business activity. This decision was substantiated by the higher courts. Following this the city, by ordinance, at the same time the rate was increased to 1¼ per cent, attempted to widen the base of the tax this year to include all business activities. This was contested by a great many firms in Philadelphia as a violation of the Sterling Act, which granted the right to Philadelphia to tax only those things which were not taxed by the state. Because of its importance to the city budget the Supreme Court took original jurisdiction and decided that the provision for the widening of the tax base was in violation of the state act.

A recent case involving the arrest of a federal employee who has not paid the tax for several years demonstrates the respect in which the legal status of the tax is held. This man was a New Jersey resident employed at the Philadelphia Navy Yard who, in the course of work, never set foot in any part of Philadelphia except the Navy Yard, a federal reservation. Although New Jersey politicians have constantly attacked the tax, an appeal to the governor of New Jersey by the mayor of Camden, in an attempt to obtain state counsel for this federal employee, was refused. It was refused on the ground that the courts had clearly demonstrated the man's tax liability, and New Jersey's attorney general stated that the only relief was in legislation.

Numerous attempts have been made both to outlaw the ordinance through state legislation or to grant special exemption through state or federal legislation. Thus far all have failed. There seems to be no great inclination by the state legislatures to reduce the city's rights to impose taxes nor by Congress to interfere in this matter. Since the passage of Act 481 granting many other political units of the state the right to tax things not taxed by the state, the effort has been further minimized. Incidentally, although, as of May 1949, 162 political units in Pennsylvania have an earned income tax, it has not affected the income tax in Philadelphia since Act 481 protects the city's rights against other units.

Labor Opposed

In considering adoption of a new tax it is well to know the general feelings of the community concerning it. The principal opposition to Philadelphia's income tax, right from its inception, has come from labor organizations largely because there is no provision for exemption applying to persons of low income. Although that opposition is not as vocal now on the tax itself as in earlier days, these organizations have never changed their feelings and waged strong opposition to the 1950 rate increase. Labor was not alone. Unincorporated businesses, though not organized, have raised objections and been the source of a number of test cases.

There has been no concentrated effort for repeal, however, probably because of no suitable alternative to supplant the needed revenue. Students of government generally consider it a progressive tax from the standpoint of coverage, although most of them agree with labor in dislike of the lack of exemption which would alleviate the burden on low income groups.

It is significant in appraisal of opposition that only two objectors appeared at public hearings conducted just prior to adoption of the tax in 1939. It is significant too that, in on-the-record discussions of possible tax increases, public opinion has favored increasing the income tax rather than the real estate tax. Our political assessing methods probably have something to do with this, but the principal reason given is, "We don't have to pay it all at once." The financial situation in the city was so critical and the alternatives—such as a sales tax or increase in the real estate tax—so unpopular that it was adopted more by default than by merit.

Nonresidents have frequently at-

(Continued on page 287)

Playing to Get Touchdowns

Cleveland Citizens League committee checks on officials to see that city makes use of $75,000 efficiency report.

By GEORGE S. CASE, JR.*

MAYOR Thomas A. Burke of Cleveland took an unprecedented step when he asked the Citizens League of that city to check on how well city administrative officials were following the recommendations made by Griffenhagen and Associates, a firm of management consultants who had completed a lengthy survey of the city toward the end of 1947. The league had watched the activities of the experts, aiding in their study.

The report consisted of four thick volumes and covered every executive department, including the mayor's office. Probably few read it. Even the newspapers found it too large to digest. The director of the Citizens League, Guy C. Larcom, Jr., read it, however. Then he waited. At the end of six months little had happened. So Mr. Larcom went to the mayor.

Now the mayor had issued instructions to his cabinet to adopt as much of the report as possible. He was shocked to find out—kind of a "your best friend won't tell you" affair—that his $75,000 investment was standing idle. He quickly agreed with Mr. Larcom that a committee should be selected by the league and appointed by the mayor to find out what had been done in applying the survey recommendations and to report back to the mayor.

Twenty years ago no city official in his right mind would have asked the Citizens League to stick its nose into the city's business. At that time the league was a hell-raising outfit that blasted away at city hall upon any provocation—and there was plenty to raise hell about.

But in the last decade the caliber of the top executives of the city has changed. When Guy Larcom came to Cleveland in 1947 he realized that the city officials were honest, well meaning and trying to do a good job. It was his influence that changed the type of league criticism so that it became constructive and discriminating. I was one who questioned this change in attitude but now I am thoroughly convinced it is the best approach to any city government when that government is run by honest officials desirous of doing a good job.

The committee to report on the report was large—a hundred members—but it was carefully chosen. Its members knew a lot about the fields to be surveyed. They were not captains of industry but they were capable lieutenants. They were people who could and would spend time and thought on the city's problems.

The chairman of the subcommittee

---

*Mr. Case, president, formerly treasurer, of the Lamson and Sessions Company, is president of the Citizens League of Cleveland and headed the league's committee which investigated the use to which the Griffenhagen report on city administration had been put. This article is based on his address before the National Conference on Government, St. Paul, November 30, 1949.

Public Library Kansas City, Mo

on public welfare was a nationally known authority on the subject. The chairman of the subcommittee on public safety was the city's leading personnel man. The chairman of the subcommittee on public service was a young man with previous governmental and business experience who, in a short time, had made a remarkable record. There were political science teachers, labor leaders, housewives, lawyers, experts on governmental budgeting and some, like myself, who might prefer to be called practical businessmen.

Ball Starts Rolling

The committee was broken up into many subcommittees to coincide roughly with the city departments. Certain committees did cut across departmental lines but, in the main, they dealt with only one. The work was guided by a steering committee consisting of subcommittee chairmen.

The mayor gave the committee a big send-off. It met with him, his cabinet and the top civil service commissioners and the mayor outlined what he expected of it and what he expected of his administrative officers. They were to be frank with the committee and it was to be frank with him and he never once mentioned the obvious danger to him, politically, of carelessly worded reports.

The first problem was to find copies of the Griffenhagen reports. Apparently, there weren't enough to go round and many of them were mislaid. The dust flew around city hall while directors and commissioners searched for them. Probably many directors then studied the report on their departments for the first time.

The first meetings of every subcommittee were held with the top officials. Some directors had obviously not read the reports and at first a few of them took a resentful attitude as indicated by this comment from a Citizens League report to the mayor: "Instead of treating this report as a tool for management improvement, the commissioners of this department have generally adopted a defensive and hostile attitude toward it. From their point of view it seemed to represent either the captious or ill-conceived criticism of doubtfully competent outsiders to be rebutted or an exercise in good government, to be borne with until it passed over."

Thanks to considerable restraint on the part of city officials and members of the committees there were no leaks to the newspapers, which ultimately gave plenty of space to criticisms of the administration. By the time the committee reports were issued the city officials had already made some progress, primarily because of our prodding.

How could committee members tell when a public official was giving only "lip" service to the Griffenhagen recommendation? How could committee members tell what was right when officials disagreed with recommendations? It wasn't as difficult as it might seem. Progress in applying the reports was easily determined and, since committee members were experts as well as "do-gooders," it was possible to determine the merit or lack of merit of an official's position.

In quite a few instances the committee agreed with the official instead of with the report although there were more instances where the reverse was true.

The interest of the committee members was amazing. They were busy people, yet they took time not only to meet with city officials and to read the reports but also to attend subcommittee meetings as well as general meetings where subcommittee chairmen reported informally on the work of their committees.

'Good Enough for Father'

There were some interesting experiences. At the time of the survey the fire chief was an old, rugged fire-eater who had been fighting fires since the days of the horse-drawn pumper. He was a courageous and able fire-fighter and was known to have left a banquet which he was attending in full dress clothes and patent leather pumps to lead his men in subzero weather into a burning building. As a matter of fact, he went in first to see if it was safe for his men.

When it came to such things as modern methods of fire-prevention, training of firemen and administration of a department, however, this man was convinced that no report of a board of fire underwriters, or "some young whippersnappers" from an efficiency house, or "do-gooders" from a better government organization could show him anything.

Since then that chief has retired and a new fire chief is doing his best to pull Cleveland out of a fourth-class rating. He is revising his fire-fighting manuals and instituting modern training procedures. He is locating new fire stations properly and acquiring modern fire-fighting equipment. He is adopting modern methods for fire-prevention. Whereas the reports had been wasted on the former chief, this chief appreciates their value.

In the field of budgeting the subcommittee met with considerable resistance from budget officials. In fact, one went so far as to write a rebuttal on the Griffenhagen recommendations. It would have been easy for this committee to write a report blasting these officials and then go back to their jobs. Instead, they sat down again and again with these men and really did a selling job. They pointed out that the figures had to be gathered anyhow and that they might just as well be organized to be of assistance to the mayor and departmental heads as to be organized in the fashion they were.

The mayor was sold by this committee on the fact that he could better control the activities of his departments and give better service for the tax dollar if the Griffenhagen recommendations were in effect. This subcommittee is still in existence and is helping the city revise its accounting and budgeting procedures.

Here are some highlights from the covering letter sent the mayor with the first subcommittee reports:

"Five subcommittees, corresponding to the five major city operating departments, have been meeting regularly with the department and division heads over a period of two months. . . . The work of the committee has been divided into two staffs. First, the follow-up on the reports of the city operating departments, safety, health and welfare, properties, service and utilities; second, an examination of the recommendations relative to the general management of the city, including the functions of the law department, department of finance, civil service commission and the mayor's office. . . . Some officials have not accepted the reports in the spirit in which they were made, despite the fact that this survey gives the man opportunity to make, and to take credit for, reforms which should lead to savings and improved services. . . .

Follow-through Needed

"Your committee members realize that in any business there is always a defensive stiffening of resistance against a critical program of change. A survey will be debunked by employees up and down the line in a variety of ways and will end by being shelved unless someone in authority supports it strongly and firmly. . . .

"Much of the value of the Griffenhagen reports on the city government will be dissipated without more executive follow-through than has been shown to date. Your committee is convinced of the sincerity of the administration in its intention to utilize the reports to the fullest possible advantage but is concerned about the lack of concerted pressure to overcome disinterest, apathy and outright disagreement. There is a singular disinclination on the part of the directors to order the reports to be put into effect and to take issue with their subordinates when they fail to act.

"In one or two cases the heads of city divisions have indicated that they were handed reports without instructions to put them into effect. No determined follow-up has been made in such cases. It is also true that a well meaning director may support the recommendations, but the negative attitude of his staff may tend to thwart him and to dissipate the effect of any changes initiated in accordance with the reports. In one division the committee found that even minor proposals that did not affect jobs, salaries or responsibilities were not followed or tried.

"Many issues raised in the reports have been disregarded because they called for negotiations with other departments and divisions or increased expenditures or basic changes in policy. In some cases Griffenhagen merely proposes that certain changes be made slowly or on a trial basis. Even this has not always been done. . . .

"These general observations do not apply in equal degree to all departments and divisions and we do not wish to create the impression that the report has been generally neglected or that a number of officials have not conscientiously followed the recommendations. There is, however, a wide area of accomplishment remaining. . . .

"The committee specifically recommends to you the designation or the employment of a staff official who would be assigned the responsibility of following up on the reports. This official should report directly to you and be backed by the executive authority of the mayor's office. His duties would include an examination of the reports, meetings and discussions with officials at all levels, frequent reports to you for decisions in cases where there is staff disagreement with the report recommendations, inquiries to determine that reductions in staff in accordance with the reports are actually made, and from time to time preparation of reports for public consumption to show savings and progress in connection with the report recommendations.

"This official could initiate preliminary consideration of some of the questions of over-all reorganization involving the abolition or transferal of functions that should have the attention of your office and on which so far there has been no action.

"Our committee would be glad to cooperate with him. Many of the minor yet important proposals in the reports could not be covered by our committee and will go unattended unless you take some action along this line.

"Second, we strongly urge that your directors instruct their commissioners to reconsider every proposal and at least give most of them a trial; that they review with their commissioners the debatable recommendations and that a final decision be made by your office in each where they do not propose to follow the report recommendations.

"The following subcommittee reports should not be considered a substitute for the Griffenhagen reports themselves or even an official summary. We have tried to focus attention on key recommendations to popularize the reports in the interest of securing greater attention and support.

"The cooperation of the city officials and their interest in the meetings with the subcommittees were outstanding and we thank you and them for the spirit in which they approached the discussions."

Since it was impossible for the mayor to follow up on his own recommendations and orders—to say nothing of the Griffenhagen report—he was persuaded to hire a retired businessman, with no political ambitions, to be his assistant. This executive assistant is now doing this work for the mayor, helping department heads and seeing that action is taken.

Committees Still Active

There are still subcommittees on personnel, purchasing and budgeting. These committees are assisting those departments in achieving their goals and their members are welcomed around city hall because of the aid they can give from their knowledge and experience.

The score sheet of accomplishment which is kept by the Cleveland Citizens League shows many points that have not yet been covered but, with a moderately well run city, it is too much to expect it to become perfectly run in any short period of time. If the Citizens League can be effective in helping to keep the city moderately well run and in encouraging officials to make improvements, then it will have done all that could be expected of it.

It was a good job that never could have been done without honest city officials and able committee members. As a result of this Citizens League action, the league and the city officials have both gained in stature.

Running a City the Hard Way

Officials under a weak-mayor strong-council charter need personality, perseverance and practice to make things go.

By ARTHUR W. BROMAGE*

BEING a city councilman is a difficult art under any form of government; being a city councilman under a weak-mayor, strong-council charter is especially difficult. Under the council-manager plan the council can tell many individuals and interest groups to see the manager first. Control of administration, supervision of department heads and even suggestion on basic policies properly center in the office of the manager. Under the weak-mayor plan much of the work which under a managerial system would properly be dealt with initially by an executive, flows directly from administrators to council committees. As a consequence, councilmen spend much time at city hall and are involved in details as well as broad policies.

I was elected to the city council of Ann Arbor, Michigan, from Ward 6, in April 1949, for a two-year term. I survived a three-cornered fight in a party primary and went on to win in the general election. What I have to say now grows in large measure out of the freshman year as councilman in a mayor-council city.

In every city councilmen are "structured into" a going system of one kind or another. They have to learn the ropes and find their way around amid organizational charts, procedures, pressures and politics. In weak-mayor cities, complex organization and procedures add to the normal difficulties.

Ann Arbor, with an estimated 1950 population of 53,000, including college students, has a special-act charter (1889), with some home-rule amendments. It is a weak-mayor city with a ward-elected strong council. Nominations and elections are partisan. Each of seven wards elects one alderman each year for a two-year term. This makes fourteen aldermen plus the president of the common council, elected at large by partisan ballot.

The council has an elaborate committee system: bond and license, budget, finance, fire and police, lighting, ordinance, park and cemetery, public works, traffic, transportation, water, ways and means, welfare and health, nominations, public relations, municipal court and real estate. Most mayoral appointments are subject to confirmation by the council and all important departments are headed by boards or commissions: police, fire, public works, parks, public health and water supply.

As in other cities, city hall is the

---

*Dr. Bromage, professor of political science at the University of Michigan, is a city councilman in Ann Arbor. Author of numerous publications on local and state government, the latest of which is *Introduction to Municipal Government and Administration* (1950), Dr. Bromage has served as consultant to the Michigan Commission of Inquiry into County, Township and School District Government and as secretary of the Michigan Commission on Reform and Modernization of State Government.

seat of a bureaucracy which has been doing business for years. Councilmen come and go but department heads traditionally serve anywhere from fifteen to thirty years. The freshman councilman is dependent on these long time administrators for facts and figures. He cannot go it alone without their assistance.

Moreover, the new councilman, fresh from the people, becomes one member of a relatively stable body. With overlapping tenures council always has an incumbent majority of seniors. Councilmen sit at tables by wards and the freshman sits in the junior councilman's chair at the left hand of the senior member. The freshman is structured into a going committee system headed by old-timers. If he is lucky, he gets to be chairman of a "freshman" committee, such as park and cemetery or welfare and health.

Pulling Together

Weak-mayor, strong-council government can be made to work only by an energetic mayor, hard working councilmen and long term administrators. To compensate for a lack of integrated authority and responsibility all must pull together. If informal techniques should fail chaos could result. Lay citizens who, as board or commission members head the various administrative departments, must likewise coordinate with council and mayor on one level and with administrators, such as the police chief, fire chief, engineer, park superintendent, public health officer and water superintendent, on another.

Structural deficiencies of Ann Arbor's weak-mayor, strong-council charter are offset by personality and practice. The incumbent mayor is in his third two-year term. A businessman with energy and drive, he brings to the council fresh ideas and persistence. Every council meeting opens with communications from the mayor; usually he is present in person to read, explain and argue for his policies. The progress which the city is making in expansion of the water supply, the sewage treatment plant and off-street parking facilities has been partly in response to his urging.

In recent years the mayor's slate of appointments to administrative positions has been readily confirmed by the council. There has been no debate on the merits of his appointments. This easy relationship has not always existed and may not always prevail. Again it is cooperation rather than power which makes the wheels go round.

Within the last year the mayor has acted as negotiator between the city and the Veterans Administration as to water and sewer lines to serve a new hospital outside the city limits. It was largely mayoral efforts, backed by the technical advice of department heads, which brought about agreement between city and V.A.—an agreement confirmed by council in 1949. The mayor also spark-plugged council action in issuing $1,100,000 of water supply revenue bonds for expansion of the water filtration plant.

The council, like the mayor, has a free and informal working relationship with department heads: police chief, fire chief, city engineer and others. The public works committee of the council, for example, meets on alternate Monday nights to review with the city engineer the grist of miscellaneous business, special assessment projects, contracts, purchases and other matters which must be whipped into formal resolutions for the council. Every functional council committee meets in a similar manner with opposite numbers in the administrative mechanism. In a setup with a strong mayor or a manager, the committee system would be unessential and departmental executives would not need to do double duty in pushing their programs through their immediately superior lay boards or commissions and the committees of the council.

Art of Compromise

On legislative issues all councilmen soon learn the art of compromise, the technique of the second best. Leadership in legislative matters, aside from the pressures applied by the mayor, comes from the respective council committees, with budget, ordinance and public works committees carrying the heaviest burdens. Ordinance and public works committees must meet before every council session to compromise issues and to whip ordinances, amendments and resolutions into proper form, assisted respectively by the city attorney and the city engineer. Other committees meet on call, as determined by the chairmen, for virtually all council business, controversial or otherwise, goes through committees first.

In April and May the budget committee carries a real burden. The proposed budget goes directly from the budget director to the budget committee of the council. The budget for fiscal 1949-50, amounting to one and a quarter million dollars, was passed by council unanimously and without debate. However, compromises had been made through six meetings of the budget committee and one session of the "committee of the whole." By way of contrast, some city councils have passed a manager's budget in one session and without committee action. The difference is that our budget committee holds hearings on the budget with departmental representatives, a task which in council-manager cities falls to the manager.

Our committee system works reasonably well on non-controversial and repetitive types of action, such as creating special assessment districts, awarding contracts and passing ordinances on which there is no conflict. Most of the city's business does not create serious division in the council. Matters flow from administrators to council, to committee, to council, and back to administrators, in an unending stream. One may well ask, however: If 90 per cent of the business isn't controversial, why go through this elaborate process? The answer is that weak-mayor, strong-council government has no alternative.

Where conflict arises the committee system must work overtime. In 1949-50, there have been major conflicts over the milk ordinance, the house-trailer ordinance, the legality of Lustron houses under the building code, and city-county health coordination. The latter was a live one from November 1949 until March 1950.

Our city health officer must retire in 1950. Last November, therefore, I conferred with the mayor about the possibility of appointing the Washtenaw County health director to serve also as city health officer. I wrote to Kalamazoo, Michigan, and obtained the facts on their system by which one administrator serves both as city and county health officer. In December these facts were presented to the council and discussed in two successive meetings. In January 1950 the Ann Arbor council created a special committee to negotiate with the Washtenaw County board of supervisors. In February this committee met with the health committee of the county board. A verbal agreement was reached providing that the county health director should serve part time as city health officer and arranging necessary details.

Citizens Lend Support

Meanwhile the Ann Arbor Citizens Council, the League of Women Voters and the County Medical Society became active in support of city-county health coordination. The *Ann Arbor News* wrote three editorials supporting the proposal and gave extensive news coverage. The Washtenaw *Post-Tribune,* a weekly, ran a special feature story on the "Kalamazoo plan."

Late in February the city attorney and the county prosecutor drafted the necessary formal resolutions for the respective city and county committees. Finally, on March 6, the city council passed a resolution, requesting the mayor to appoint the county health officer as city health officer, by a vote of nine to four. Three days later the county board passed a resolution authorizing the county health officer to serve in this dual capacity. On March 20 the mayor announced he would make the appointment in due course. This proposal carried because it was a compromise form of coordination, rather than consolidation of city and county health departments.

Study of the same problem by a special committee appointed by the mayor in 1947 had favored consolidation of the city and county health departments, but this would have required a charter amendment and was, politically speaking, too advanced for the council. Coordination was a constructive step forward, but it was achieved only by councilmanic time and energy and by hammering out the issue in committee. Had the city and the county been operating with managers, such a plan could properly have been achieved by administrative study, recommendation and final city council and county board action.

Price of Weak-Mayor Charter

The price of a weak-mayor, strong-council charter lies in the extra effort which all concerned must put into informal techniques of coordination and cooperation. In major issues the departmental chief, the lay administrative board, the appropriate council committee, the council and the mayor must ultimately reach agreement on policy. At a minimum this means the meeting of minds of some twenty busy persons. When new problems arise which cross departmental lines, the tendency is to set up a special council committee to pull all the forces together. This

PERIODICAL DE

runs the total of persons to be consulted to 30 or more.

Reformers in Ann Arbor have long pointed to the council-administrator relationships as inefficient because of the lack of an executive focus between administrators and councilmen. They have urged a manager, single-headed departments and a streamlined, nonpartisan council, elected at large, without functional committees. If the mayor under the weak-mayor charter were to try to cut off direct councilman-administrator relations, he would be violating both the letter and spirit of the law. There is no alternative, if a major change is desired, other than complete charter revision.

Waste of Time and Energy

Only those individuals who can afford to devote 300 to 400 hours per year to the city's business should undertake to serve as councilmen in our city. They should be prepared to deal in administrative details as well as in policy. They must be willing to cooperate and coordinate to the fullest extent with mayor, fellow councilmen, lay administrative board members and administrators. Only by extra-special effort by the councilmen can the system be kept in balance. This is part of the price of a weak-mayor, strong-council charter. Another aspect is that administrators are sometimes confused by the divergent layers of authority in control at the top. Finally, citizens are sometimes doubtful as to just where final responsibility does rest for policy and administrative action.

COMMUTERS AID CITY

(Continued from page 277)

tacked it. Editors of New Jersey newspapers love to editorialize on "taxation without representation." The answer usually given to that argument is that both residence and location of employment of the taxpayer have come about because of the individual's choice and the status of either may be changed as he wishes.

The earned income tax has the following advantages: (1) it distributes the tax burden to nonresidents who have an economic interest in the welfare of the city; (2) it reaches the individual directly, giving him a greater awareness of his financial participation in the city's government; (3) revenues obtained are sufficiently large to avoid the necessity of numerous taxes and hidden taxes (Philadelphia has not taken advantage of this characteristic, for it has a great many minor taxes including an amusement tax, a parking lot tax and literally hundreds of license fees); (4) an advantage accrues to real estate owners through the continuance of a low real estate tax rate.

The disadvantages are: (1) administrative costs for comprehensive collection are high, whereas without comprehensive collection inequities result; (2) revenues rise and fall rapidly with changes in income and therefore require careful checks to prevent large surpluses or major deficiencies in the budget, (3) last but not least, is the relatively heavy tax load on persons of low income.

What Do the Citizens Think?

Louisville's mayor uses opinion research techniques to see how the man in the street feels on public questions.

By JULIAN L. WOODWARD and ALAN SCHNEIDER*

MOST political scientists agree that city government in the United States is, in general, less efficient and more graft-ridden than federal government. There is agreement, too, that citizens are less interested in what the city fathers do, and know less about it, than they do about what happens in Washington.

There is also consensus that, if citizens knew more about the government of their municipality, they would participate more fully in it and that it would then be better government.

How to get them to do this is the problem. Today we hear much talk of community forums, citizens planning commissions, neighborhood councils and "our government" programs on the radio. Most of us are also aware of the activities of civic associations like the Rotary Club, Chamber of Commerce, local labor council, the churches and Parent-Teachers Associations. All these are good activities and help promote the partnership between municipal government and the citizen.

There is another less well known device, however, that can be of considerable aid both in developing civic spirit and in improving the service city government renders to its constituents. This device is the local public opinion survey. With the aid of modern opinion research techniques the citizens can be made articulate on local issues. What is more important at this stage, their degree of understanding of these issues and the amount of their interest can also be measured.

Take Louisville, for instance. It is a city of 400,000 population with most of the problems of other American cities of similar size. Louisville has slums, overcrowded schools, traffic problems, racial problems, a smoke nuisance, a housing shortage.

But, in addition to this, Louisville has something that sets it apart from other cities. It has a most unusual mayor—a man who has fresh ideas about what a city government ought to do for its constituents. Of course, like other conscientious mayors, Charles Farnsley wants to cope with slums, with the smoke nuisance, with traffic problems and every other problem that besets municipal administration today.

But Mayor Farnsley also has visionary ideas concerning things which a city government can do in the fields of education, race relations and local neighborhood organization. To do the relatively new things he has in mind, as well as to carry on the ordinary business of municipal government effectively, the mayor must have the support of the people. He has to find out if they want the things he wants for them, and how much. This is where the Louisville Citizen's Survey comes in.

---

*Dr. Woodward, research executive with the market and public opinion research firm of Elmo Roper in New York City, was formerly an associate professor of sociology at Cornell University. In 1945-1946 he was assistant to the director of the Office of War Information. Mr. Schneider is public relations director of Louisville and administrative assistant to Mayor Farnsley. Previous to his appointment he practiced law in Louisville.

The survey arose in part as the result of a long friendship between Mayor Farnsley and Elmo Roper. Roper had done several surveys in Louisville in the days when Wilson Wyatt was mayor but these were one-shot jobs, dealing mostly with immediate political issues. Mayor Farnsley has made the survey into a regular institution. Three times a year, at city expense, the Roper organization does a survey in Louisville, talking each time to a scientifically selected cross-section of the adult population. The citizens are interviewed in their homes and information is gathered from them that helps the city government decide what to do on various problems. The education survey will illustrate how the city administration uses the device as an adjunct to government.

Education Problems

As the first step in the education survey, the mayor set up a committee headed by the superintendent of schools and including the president of the local university, the head of the university adult education program, the head of the local parochial school system and the city librarian. This committee met with the survey director to discuss the content of the survey. Each committee member was asked to talk to the question, "What problems in my department have I that I would like to consult the people of Louisville about?" The official was urged to confine his answers to those problems where the public's opinion could have some direct bearing on administrative decisions. In a democracy, however, that is not much of a limitation.

It took a little time before the committee members grasped the kinds of things that the survey could do for them. Then the problems came fast and furious.

The superintendent of schools wanted to know whether he had public backing for his much discussed policy of coeducation in the city's senior high schools. He wanted to know, too, what people thought of giving sex education as a part of the public school curriculum. And he was very much interested in getting some kind of estimate of the probable support for a night school adult education program he was launching. How many people would even consider attending free evening classes and what kinds of courses would they be most likely to register for—automobile mechanics or home making or "the world's great books," or what?

The university president and the librarian were both excited about the mayor's program of college classes in neighborhood libraries that they were undertaking cooperatively. What kind of interest was there in taking university courses with your neighbors as fellow classmates? Or would people prefer to take the courses over the radio in their own homes, tuned in to an actual class on the campus but doing "home work" on mail assignments?

The university representatives were also extremely curious concerning the knowledge local citizens had about their municipal higher education institution. Did they think it actually was tax supported and to what extent? Did they think it should be?

The librarian wanted some information about use of library cards. He knew how many cards he had issued but not how many people were using each card. And he was interested in finding out what kinds of people, in what parts of the city, were the heavy users. He wanted statistics that could be gathered by a census but that a sampling survey could quickly and cheaply provide.

Survey Results

All these questions—plus many others—added up to a survey. The Roper organization took them and wrote a questionnaire, tested it, then interviewed a thousand Louisville citizens in a carefully designed pattern so as to make them an accurate representation of the 250,000 adult residents of the city. The anonymous questionnaires were then taken back to New York City for tabulation and analysis and Roper rendered a detailed report of the findings to Mayor Farnsley.

What was done with this report? First, it was sent to the original committee. But it was also made available to everybody. Some of the findings were published in the local press and copies of the complete report were put in all the city libraries. The mayor believes that when a city consults its citizens the citizens have the right to know what they said collectively. He thinks also that publication of the survey findings is one of the best ways to make the people aware of the problems the government is facing on their behalf and conscious of their own responsibility to help solve these problems.

But the results should not only be published, they should also be acted on. This was done, too, in Louisville. The school superintendent found that he had strong support both for coeducation and for sex education, so he dismissed his doubts about them and continued the present policy in effect. He discovered that he had a large potential public for evening classes, especially for such subjects as homemaking, how to be a better parent and how to make a family budget, so he went ahead on setting these classes up.

The university officials learned that they had an information job on their hands to explain to the people that the university *was* a tax-supported municipal college. The librarian discovered that half the families in Louisville never took books out of any city library at all and consequently that he, too, had an information problem.

All in all, one can say that the education survey helped the city administration by checking on public support for some programs already in effect and by suggesting the need for specific new programs. The people as a body are not expert on many things but, on what they themselves think and feel and want, they are the only ones qualified to have an opinion—they *are* the experts.

The education survey is only one example of how Louisville is now consulting the people. Another example is the survey on taxation, done to find out which of three ways of raising additional money the citizens would "dislike least." The results of this study were also published but the mayor did not adopt the plan favored by the majority. He stuck to his own plan and had it adopted, although he modified it somewhat in the light of the survey results.

Explanations in Order

This action of the mayor in going counter to a survey majority can be defended as sound democratic procedure. After all, democracy does not mean that an elected official should always act in accordance with popular mandate — especially when the mandate comes from a public opinion poll. A majority of the citizens did favor an increase in the tax load in order to do certain things they felt were needed in Louisville, so the mayor was differing with them not on the general end but only on the best means to attain it. The choice of appropriate means—in this case the choice among three tax plans—is in some sense a technical matter, involving knowledge that a poll respondent does not always have.

The public may well approve of a general policy (the end to be reached) and yet disapprove of a specific measure (means) to carry it into effect. When this happens it should be a red flag to the city officials. They should not necessarily change the policy but they had certainly better recognize the need to explain it and the means used to put it into effect. Mayor Farnsley did recognize this on his tax program. He used the press, radio and his weekly "beef sessions" as forums in order to better explain his ideas.

The survey technique can be employed in connection with all sorts of problems of city government officials. Here are some illustrations of things the Louisville Citizen's Survey could find out:

1. What laws and ordinances people believe in and are willing to obey, what laws they believe in but will violate when opportunity offers, what ones they definitely do not believe in. Also what laws and ordinances they know are in existence and what ones they are ignorant of.

2. What people think of the police—their honesty, efficiency, courtesy. How does the reaction to the "cop on the beat" near one's home differ from the reaction to the "force in general."

3. The amount and kinds of medical, dental and nursing service people now use and the adequacy of the service now available to them. Also, what they know about the kinds of service that are available.

4. The nature and extent of the housing shortage. Who wants new accommodations, at what rental level, in what part of town? What should the city do to help solve the housing problem? A survey on housing was the third in Louisville.

5. What do citizens of Louisville think about gambling in general and bookies, bingo games and slot machines in particular? How rigidly should the city enforce the laws against them? Should the laws be changed? Some questioning has already been done on this topic.

6. How much do people know about the structure of their city government? Whom should they go to to get different questions answered or things done? Do they know who the city officials are?

7. Why do so many of Louis-

ville's ablest young people leave the city? What do young people think Louisville lacks as a place to grow up and get ahead in?

There are some very definite limits on what surveys can find out and also some uses to which surveys should definitely not be put.

Surveys should *not* be used to investigate people's attitudes on issues that are, at the time, heavily involved in local politics. In Louisville the mayor can't run for reelection after a full term in office but, if he could, he should not use survey results as a basis for claiming that he is the "people's choice." So long as the survey is financed by public funds it must stay out of local politics just the way the U. S. census stays out of national politics. There is no quicker way to kill the survey than to put people in a position to say, "Oh, that's the mayor's little device for proving he and his party are always right."

No Referendum

It is a mistake also to claim that the survey is a referendum. People are not voting when they answer survey questions on doorsteps. They are expressing snap judgments — judgments that might be altered by the information that would reach them during the course of an election campaign. It is better to think of the survey as a means through which citizens can give free advice to their government and not as a formal mandate from them to do something. The survey is not yet a substitute for the ballot box and, for our part, we hope it never will be.

Finally, the survey results should not be trumpeted forth in bare percentages—"X" per cent answered this way, "Y" per cent that, on each given question. The percentages always need expert interpretation. For, like any measuring device, the survey has an error in it the magnitude of which varies in different circumstances. Survey users must listen to the technicians to learn what they can properly infer from the public's answers to a survey question. Figures can lie in public opinion research. So can words. Also liars can figure! So, a citizen's survey must be conducted by people who are trained in both the technique and the spirit of science. Then they will not only do research that is honest and competent—they will also be able to interpret its results to the officials who will act on them.

If these limitations are accepted, the citizen's survey can become a government tool of major importance. After all, public administrators really have three kinds of problems. They must first find out what the people want, then they must devise programs through which these wants will be satisfied and, finally, they must get the cooperation of people to make these programs effective in action. On the first and the third of these problems the citizen's survey can be helpful. It can help make city government more democratic by consulting the people on what they want. It can help make city government more effective by finding out on what things people's cooperation will be freely given, on what things it must be developed through an educational program and on what things it cannot be gained at all.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

New Jersey Provides 14 Optional Charters

Broad Home Rule Powers Go Along with New Forms

A NEW local government law, providing fourteen optional charters with additional variations as to size of councils, was adopted by the New Jersey legislature in May. The law was the result of two years' work of the New Jersey Commission on Municipal Government,[1] supported by the New Jersey Citizens Committee on Municipal Government, representing important state civic, business and labor organizations and various local committees.

The new law is based on the second report of the so-called Faulkner Commission. The fourteen options include six variations on the strong-mayor plan, four on the council-manager plan and four designed especially for municipalities under 12,000. The strong-mayor and council-manager options are available to all municipalities. The differences among the options in each category relate to the method and times of election and arrangement of terms of the mayor and members of council.

The mayor-council options provide for either nonpartisan spring elections with a run-off where necessary or partisan fall elections. They also permit choices between staggered and non-staggered terms and between election at large and a combination method of election at large and by wards.

The same variations are permitted in the council-manager plan except that all elections are nonpartisan. The council-manager options follow the National Municipal League's *Model Charter* closely. They eliminate the provision for qualified tenure for the manager in the old New Jersey city manager act, which has discouraged adoptions in recent years.

The strong-mayor options are standard except that they call for council confirmation of appointment of department heads. They provide for a department of administration headed by a "business administrator" as the principal managerial agent of the mayor in fiscal and personnel administration.

The small municipalities plans provide streamlined versions of borough and township government. They place principal responsibility for administration in a mayor elected either by the council from among its own members or separately by the people. The mayor appoints other officers with the advice and consent of the council. The treasurer is the chief financial officer and it is possible to combine offices so as to give the mayor a general managerial assistant. The mayor will be a voting member of council and the other members, in accordance with township and borough tradition, will be permitted a more active role in administration than is contemplated in the other plans.

Any municipality adopting one of the optional charters will be relieved of much existing mandatory legislation and will, in the words of the commission, have "the widest possible discretion . . . to determine the organization of its departments, the compensation of its officers and employees, the range and character of its services, subject" only to general law applicable to all municipalities.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, December 1948, page 603; March 1949, pages 114 and 159; April 1949, page 197; and April 1950, page 190.

The new options may be adopted either by direct petition and referendum or on recommendation of an elected charter study commission. Changes in the program made by the legislature include elimination of a provision requiring a vote not later than 1959 on the question of electing a charter commission and increases in petition requirements particularly in smaller municipalities.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Iowa City, Iowa, (1940 population 17,182) voted 3,132 to 2,286 to adopt the council-manager plan at a special election on April 17.

A council-manager charter was adopted in **Sterling, Colorado,** (7,411) May 2.

The voters of **Negaunee, Michigan,** (6,813) on April 3 adopted a council-manager charter, similar to one rejected in 1945.

The village of **Tuckahoe, New York,** (6,563) on May 8, adopted an ordinance creating the position of village manager. This officer, however, is to act only with "the consent and approval of the village board," is appointed for two years and is designated as an executive assistant to the mayor. He may hire and fire village employees excepting department heads and other officers.

The following Maine towns adopted the council-manager plan at town meetings in March: **Lisbon** (4,123), **Carmel** (870) and **Brooks** (744).

In **Lebanon, Maine,** a committee of five has been appointed to study the manager plan for possible consideration at the 1951 town meeting.

The town of **Eliot, Maine,** recently defeated a manager proposal, 240 to 63.

The **Manchester, New Hampshire,** Taxpayers' Association has voted to continue its efforts to promote the council-manager plan. A bill introduced in the 1949 legislature passed the House but was killed in the Senate.

The town of **Madbury, New Hampshire,** a rural community of some 400 people, is considering adoption of the manager plan in conjunction with one or more other towns.

A committee to study the manager plan has been appointed by the town moderator of **North Andover, Massachusetts,** as authorized by the annual town meeting March 18. The committee is to report to the 1951 meeting.

The town moderator of **Brookline, Massachusetts,** has appointed a committee to study the manager plan.

The town of **Holden, Massachusetts,** has authorized a committee to study the manager plan and to report by November 15.

In **Bristol, Rhode Island,** James T. Pierce, formerly active in Democratic politics, has petitioned the town council to consider the advisability of abolishing town meetings and have a town manager under the control of the council. The latter took the proposal under consideration.

The **Harrisonburg, Virginia,** Chamber of Commerce called a mass meeting for May 23 to discuss the council-manager plan, which is favored by the chamber's executive committee. Harrisonburg now has a city superintendent or manager with limited authority.

Greenville, South Carolina, is expected to vote at the general election on November 7 on adoption of the council-manager plan. The referendum was authorized by the 1950 legislature.

In **Savannah, Georgia,** the council-manager plan was discussed at a public forum on April 21 under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce. One candidate for the State Senate pledges his support of the manager plan. A letter from a senator running for reelection stated his intention to introduce legislation for a referendum vote on the plan.

A charter commission in **Livonia, Michigan,** is drafting a new charter. The Good Government League advocates the council-manager plan.

A strong element in the **Illinois** State Chamber of Commerce is reported to favor enabling legislation to permit any municipality to adopt the council-manager plan. At a panel discussion in Bloomington, Illinois, on April 25, attended by 70 presidents and managers of local chambers, it was recommended that the state organization actively support such legislation. At present in Illinois only municipalities under 5,000 population may adopt the manager plan by referendum. Villages may adopt it by ordinance.

In **Washington, Missouri,** Mayor Bernie Hillerman favors the council-manager plan and the Washington *Missourian* advocates a study.

The **Boonville, Missouri,** Junior Chamber of Commerce is sponsoring an educational program on council-manager government.

A proposed manager charter for **Pueblo, Colorado,** was defeated on April 18, 6,526 to 5,998. The city will continue, therefore, under manager amendments adopted last November.

Chickasha, Oklahoma, voted 1938 to 785 on April 4 to retain its manager government.

Clarksville, Texas, continues the plan by virtue of a vote of 439 to 266 on March 28.

After a campaign marked by bitter controversy and confusion of issues, all council-manager amendments to the city charter were defeated in **San Antonio, Texas,** at the May 9 election. The group of thirteen amendments to convert the charter into a council-manager type, sponsored by Mayor Jack White's committee, was defeated 22,461 to 18,068. The rival "single-shot" manager amendment was snowed under 6,235 to 3,384.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Kennewick, Washington,** is studying the manager plan, which is again becoming an issue in that city.

The **Madera, California,** Chamber of Commerce is studying the plan.

St. Louis Board Agrees to Strong-Mayor Charter

The Board of Freeholders of St. Louis, Missouri, which has been working for a year on the draft of a new city charter, met on April 5 for final approval of the document, which is to be voted on by the people at an election to be called by the board of aldermen—at the August 1 primary, the November 7 general election or, as recommended by the charter board, at a special election.

Salient points of the proposed charter are summarized in an "address to the people" which was adopted by the board on April 4. They are as follows:

1. Places responsibility for administration clearly in the hands of the mayor and provides him with "more adequate machinery to discharge his responsibilities";
2. Requires the city to live within its income and operate within its budget;
3. Provides for a city auditor appointed by the board of aldermen to make an independent audit of all agencies under the mayor—the auditor is given power to institute court action as may be necessary;
4. Reorganizes administrative departments, boards and agencies "providing the framework for more efficient and economical performance of city services";
5. Reduces appointive offices and

boards from 42 to 22 and eliminates city officials as ex-officio members;

6. Provides the board of aldermen, for the first time, with means of continuous investigation of the administrative departments to determine whether they are operating economically.

7. Gives city greater home rule by making all so-called county offices subject to budget control and authorizes the city, through the board of aldermen, to levy an earnings tax, but limits the tax to 1 per cent.

8. Strengthens the merit system and extends it to cover the offices of the treasurer, revenue collector and license collector;

9. Provides for easier recall of the mayor and board of aldermen and extends recall to the county offices.

10. Requires the water department to keep financial records on the same basis as a private utility to show its true financial condition;

11. Establishes an aviation commission to operate city airports "on a businesslike basis";

12. Provides that every 25 years the voters be given the opportunity to vote on a new or revised charter.

The charter also provides for a chief administrative officer, who would perform such duties as the mayor may direct in order to coordinate and improve the administration of the various departments and agencies and carry out the executive policies of the mayor. The job would be appointive, not covered by civil service nor subject to confirmation by the council.

Administrative Assistant Proposed for Philadelphia

The Philadelphia Charter Commission has decided upon a "strong mayor" type of charter, rather than the council-manager form, but proposes that the mayor have an administrative assistant or managing director, who would make all appointments of department heads except the city solicitor or law officer, who would be appointed by the mayor.

Much controversy has arisen over the question whether the city council should be empowered to confirm the mayor's selection for his administrative assistant. On April 25, by a vote of seven to six (with two members absent), the commission approved such confirmation. However, by a vote of eight to three, it decided that the mayor could dismiss his assistant without council permission but that the assistant could have a hearing before the civil service commission. Should the latter decide that the grounds for dismissal were insufficient, the assistant would be entitled to full pay until the end of the mayor's term, although the dismissal would stand.

It had been hoped that a new charter would be ready for voter action at the November general election but it now appears that a later special election may be necessary.

Norfolk Revises Zoning Law, Makes Administrative Changes

Norfolk, Virginia, is now operating under the first major revision of its zoning law in a quarter-century. Instead of permitting practically all uses of property except those explicitly forbidden, as was formerly the case, the new ordinance specifically designates the uses of property according to well defined zones. It increases these zones from seven to thirteen.

It requires that in the newer, outlying districts, future builders of the larger commercial establishments must provide off-street parking and loading space, according to a prescribed formula, if they are situated on two thoroughfares, and that new buildings and additions of 50 per cent to present buildings in the central area, under certain conditions, must provide for off-street loading.

Appeals from interpretations of the ordinance by the board of zoning appeals will be to the courts instead of to the council.

The city has created a new department of parks and recreation on the recommendation of City Manager C. A. Harrell, who stated that budgetwise recreation in Norfolk today ranks with such departments as welfare, safety, public works and health, and that the welfare department, where these matters were in the hands of bureaus, had too many heterogeneous subjects for effective supervision.

In January the city established a new centralized payroll procedure and two months later council appropriated $7,500,000 to create a central records bureau in the police division.

Court Says Yonkers Employees Did Not Strike

The Appellate Division, Second Department, of the New York Supreme Court ruled on March 9 that the work stoppage of garbage collectors[1] in March 1949 was not in violation of the Condon-Wadlin law declaring strikes of public employees to be illegal as had been claimed by the city.

Quinquennial Census of Governments Proposed

A bill to require the Department of Commerce to take, compile and publish a census of governments, for 1952 and every fifth year thereafter, has been introduced in Congress by Representative Tom Murray, chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, to which committee it has been referred. Such census would cover much valuable information, including data on taxes and tax valuations, governmental receipts, expenditures, indebtedness and employees of states, counties, cities and other governmental units.

Missouri Governor Shakes Up Kansas City Police Board

Following the murder of political boss Binaggio in Kansas City, Missouri,[1] Governor Forrest Smith, who has the power of appointment and removal of police commissions in that city and St. Louis, has appointed a former member of Kansas City's legal staff to fill a vacancy on the police commission and is reported to have asked three present members to resign. Another vacancy occurs July 1.

Easier Amendment Urged for Kentucky Constitution

The 1950 session of the Kentucky General Assembly, which adjourned March 17, received a report from the Constitution Review Commission, established in February 1949 by executive order of the governor to make a thorough study of the constitution of Kentucky.

The commission did a remarkably thorough job, considering the limited time at its disposal. Much of its work was done through subcommittees which utilized the talents of many experts from various professional and business pursuits. It recommended that 68 of the constitution's 263 sections be changed or deleted, and that five additional sections be given further study. It recommended also that the changes be made by amendment rather than by convention and suggested that priority be given to an amendment to the amendatory clause. The General Assembly adopted this recommendation and submitted an amendment to a vote of the people. If adopted at the general election in 1951, the amendment will accomplish the following important purposes:

---

[1] See the REVIEW, April 1949, page 181.

[1] See "Behind the Scandal," REVIEW editorial, May 1950, page 223.

1. Remove the provision that not more than two amendments can be submitted at one time;

2. Permit the General Assembly to provide for a single vote on a group of amendments;

3. Require the submission of amendments at the next "general election" instead of the next "general election for members of the House of Representatives";

4. Permit amendments to be proposed at a special session of the General Assembly, if stated in the original call.

No other amendment was proposed by this legislative session, although the review commission had asked that one be submitted which would permit the legislature to establish specialized courts.

The General Assembly did act favorably on the commission's recommendation that a permanent Constitution Review Commission be established by legislative act. It is to be hoped that this commission will be able to achieve some success in bringing the constitution up to date and keeping it abreast of the times.

The next important step in Kentucky is passage of the amendment in 1951.

Among the commission's recommendations for the future are these:

1. To permit extension of the biennial legislative session of 60 days to 90 days on a vote of two-thirds of all members elected to each house;

2. To permit the legislature to provide for appointment rather than popular election of the secretary of state, treasurer, commissioner of agriculture, labor and statistics, superintendent of public instruction, clerk of the Court of Appeals and members of the three-man Railroad Commission, or to abolish any of these offices or make them subordinate to other departments—the attorney general would remain elective;

3. To remove the one-term restriction imposed by the constitution on all elected executive and administrative officers;

4. To remove the prohibition against establishment of any courts not provided for in the constitution;

5. To permit a compulsory workmen's compensation law to be passed;

6. More home rule for cities and removal of obstacles to county reform.

J. E. Reeves

University of Kentucky

Connecticut Governor Modifies Reform Plan

In order to facilitate the accomplishment of most of the changes proposed by the Connecticut Commission on State Government Organization, Governor Chester Bowles on April 18 sent a special message to the legislature suggesting various modifications of certain commission proposals that seemed impossible of adoption at this time. He stated that these points constitute only 10 to 15 per cent of the total proposal.

Instead of attempting complete constitutional revision at present he suggested a series of amendments to be initiated by the legislature under the present three-year procedure. They include elimination of the constitutional offices of treasurer, comptroller, attorney general, county sheriffs, justice of the peace, town courts and probate judges, the functions of these to be handled by statutory appointive officers or agencies.

Other proposed amendments would liberalize the amending process, provide for annual legislative sessions, require a two-thirds vote instead of a majority of both houses to override a governor's veto, raise legislators' salaries, prohibit a legislator from holding another state position, and provide the direct primary, initiative, referendum, recall and home rule.

Aside from the proposal for separate amendments instead of a new constitution, the chief changes from the commission's plan would be seventeen instead of fourteen executive departments, Senate confirmation of department heads, a specific salary ($15,000) for the latter, and retention of five existing special funds instead of merging all present funds (over 100 in number) into one.

One House Legislature Proposed in Vermont

At a public meeting in Montpelier, Vermont, conducted on April 17 by the commission to consider amendments to the state constitution, Professor Daniel B. Carroll of the University of Vermont urged establishment of a unicameral legislature, as generally favored by political scientists. He recommended a body of 60 members apportioned among the counties on the basis of population.

Professor Andrew Nuquist of the university spoke for more equitable legislative representation than at present. Referring to the 38 largest towns, all over 2000 population, and the 38 smallest (under 300 population) he stated that in the latter group there is one member of the House of Representatives for an average of 179 persons, while in the large towns there is one member for an average of 5,420.

Louisiana Adopts Recodification of Statutes

The Louisiana legislature met in special session in March, primarily to enact a codification of statutes, according to the Council of State Governments. The new code, prepared by the Louisiana Law Institute, is the first recodification in that state since 1870. Provision was made for continuing revision in the future.

Georgia Electoral Methods Survive Court Test

In two recent decisions the United States Supreme Court refused to interfere with two aspects of electoral methods in Georgia—the long established county-unit voting system and the new literacy tests for voters.[1]

On April 17 the court considered the county-unit system used in primary elections, whereby the results depend upon county units instead of direct popular vote; these units range from two to six per county despite vastly different ratios of population. Thus the sparsely populated rural counties are greatly favored to the detriment of the urban counties. The court, by a seven to two vote, designated the matter as a political issue arising from a state's geographical distribution of its electoral strength among its political subdivisions, and declined to pass upon it. Vigorous dissent on the part of Justices Douglas and Black took issue with the hands-off attitude of the majority on an issue where fundamental democracy is involved and where equality of voting privileges is so grossly impaired.

On May 1 the court announced its refusal to review the Georgia statute of February 1949, calling for a reregistration of Georgia's 1,200,000 voters and empowering the registrars of voters to require registrants to read and write sections of the state and federal constitutions or else to give

(Continued on page 305)

---

[1] See "Georgia Legislature Weakens Democracy," the REVIEW, July 1949, page 339.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Virginia Counties Seek Manager Plan

Efforts in Lane County, Oregon, Fail for Present

PETITIONS were reported being circulated in Norfolk County, Virginia, calling for a special election on adoption of the manager plan. A committee of civic leagues of the county visited Warwick County recently to see the plan in actual operation. Proponents are seeking to have deputy county treasurers attend civic meetings where the plan is discussed to collect the poll tax, thus making such taxpayers eligible to vote. Opponents claim the plan is being advocated merely as a political maneuver by a group recently defeated in an election.

In the same state, in Fairfax County, where the manager plan has been endorsed by various civic groups and petitions are being circulated to place it on the ballot, a group has been formed to combat the movement. It contends that a commission, about to be appointed by the county commissioners, should first study the alternative plans of government from which the county might choose.

Lane County, Oregon, failed to place a proposed manager plan charter on the May 19 primary election ballot, as announced in this section last month.[1] The petition with over 3,800 signatures proved to be two short of the 3,308 necessary, after the election commissioners disqualified a large number of signatures. The deadline for filing was placed at 5:00 P.M. instead of midnight as on previous occasions, and several hundred signatures were uncounted because they were submitted shortly after the deadline. In the last minute confusion, several pages of signatures failed to be notarized, and they too were rejected. The charter committee, in the face of this defeat, is determined to renew its efforts in 1952.

The Garden City, Kansas, *Telegram* offers to support any candidate for governor who pledges himself to favor adoption of the county manager plan. The Salina, Kansas, *Journal* comments that no such candidate will be forthcoming but continues, "Not that the idea isn't a good one. The success of city managers indicates that county managers could do as much. But there is so little public interest in such a plan that no sensible governor would-be would make such an issue his own because of the opposition it would arouse from the small army with a stake in the status quo."

The new manager government of Montgomery County, Maryland, has gone to court in an attempt to secure nonpartisan elections for the county council. The points at issue involve apparent inconsistencies in the state law. Recently the council appointed a Citizens Advisory Committee on Housing.

Merced County, California, will elect fifteen freeholders this month to draft a new charter. The county manager plan is receiving consideration.

The board of commissioners of King County, Washington, has set November 7 as the date for the election of an official board of freeholders to draft a charter for the county. An unofficial 35-member King County Advisory Commission, appointed by the county commissioners last year, has been working on a proposed charter which

---

[1] Page 250.

Library Kansas City, M

will be submitted to the official body when it is elected. The Advisory Commission has decided to recommend a nine-man board of county commissioners, which will appoint a county administrator to whom will be delegated the responsibility for operating the various county departments.

City-County Relations under Discussion

The commissioners of Dickens County, Texas, met recently with the Spur city council to discuss construction of a city-county hospital.

Frederick County, Maryland, representatives met recently with those of the city of Frederick regarding cooperative action to improve health and sanitation standards.

The Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee, has issued a study on *City-County Educational Relationships in Tennessee* showing the complex web of relationships between the city and county school systems. Recent changes in the allocation of sales tax revenues have caused cities to gain revenues for school purposes at the expense of the counties.

Harrison County, Texas, commissioners are planning with the Marshall city council regarding the filing of joint delinquent tax suits.

A proposal has been submitted to the city commission of Salt Lake City, Utah, that the incorporated city "secede" from the remainder of Salt Lake County.

More Discretion Urged for County Welfare Boards

A report issued by a committee of the Kansas County Commissioners Association states that county boards of social welfare have been shorn of practically all authority while being further loaded with financial responsibilities and administrative burdens in conduct of the county social welfare program.

"County boards are without adequate authority to establish the amounts to be given their needy citizens," the report states. "The trend of the laws and the State Department of Social Welfare regulations is to over-simplify the means of measuring need to the point where the county board and its staff can exercise little or no discretion in the amounts given to a person once recognized to be in need."

As an example the report points to two increases ordered by the legislature for old age assistance cases. The 1947 session required the blanket addition of $5 per month to their grants, regardless of need. Another increase of $7 per month was ordered by the 1949 legislature, this time including aid to the blind. Both these became effective in the middle of the county budget year, making it impossible to grant corresponding increases to other needy groups.

Recommendations to the Kansas Legislative Council were made by the committee:

1. Revision of state laws and regulations to give county boards authority to determine need and to give public assistance under general laws and rules whereby statewide uniformity would be attained, to provide a uniform degree of comfort and security rather than a uniform amount of household goods, medical assistance and house rent measured in dollars.

2. Repeal of laws that require county boards to pay arbitrary amounts to certain needy citizens, regardless of need.

3. Enactment of a lien law by which county boards could encourage needy aged persons to keep their homes and the county would be per-

mitted to aid in making improvements to such properties for increased comfort and security in a more economical manner, yet with the assurance that the county welfare fund would be subsequently reimbursed.

4. Enactment of a law requiring signed applications for public assistance, to make it clear to the applicant that he is making a claim for public funds and that he is responsible for his statements in support of his claim.

5. Enactment of laws permitting cooperation with welfare departments of other states in maintaining responsibility of deserting husbands and parents for support of their needy dependents.

Los Alamos County Seeks to Avoid Hatch Act

The U. S. Civil Service Commission has refused to exempt employees of Los Alamos County, New Mexico, from operation of the Hatch Act, but county officials have declared they will continue their efforts to lift the restrictions. At present approximately one-fourth of the county's working population consists of federal employees in the atomic energy installations and, under the terms of the Hatch Act, they cannot engage in partisan political activity. The act permits exemptions only if a majority of the working population consists of federal employees, but Los Alamos County officials may seek corrective legislation to bring the county within the exempt category.

Virginia Legislature Approves School Consolidation

The Virginia legislature has approved a proposed constitutional amendment that would permit the legislature to consolidate, under a single board, the school districts located in two or more counties or cities.

County Officials' Publication Revamped

The County Officer, monthly publication of the National Association of County Officials, has been extensively revised and expanded to serve as a truly national organ of the association. The April 1950 issue, marking this departure, contains 32 pages including articles of general interest such as "Jefferson and Local Government," "Local History Is Living History" and "Postwar Trends in County Finances."

In a letter to all county officials, the association's president comments: "The final step has been taken to make all of the functions of the National Association of County Officials entirely national in character. This issue of the *County Officer* magazine comes from the association's general offices in Washington, D. C., and the material in it is adjusted fully to the level of the nation-wide program of the association."

Washington Counties Join Retirement Plan

Thirty-six of Washington's 39 counties have elected to join the employee retirement plan adopted by the legislature in 1947 and made optional to counties although mandatory upon the state. The employee contributes 5 per cent of the first $3,600 of his salary; the governmental unit contributes 5 per cent of the entire salary. Of the 21,000 members, approximately one-fourth are employees of highway departments.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

British Liberals Name P. R. as Price of Union

May Consider Churchill Plan for Cooperation Against Labor

THE Liberal party of Great Britain will consider union with the larger Conservative party, according to an address by Lord Moynihan at Leeds, England, on May 6, echoing the results of a conference of the leaders of the party in London on May 2. Such consideration would be only if the Conservatives will pledge to support electoral reform (some form of P.R.) and will assure the Liberals an autonomous status in the joint organization.

"Liberal independence can most surely be safeguarded by electoral reform," said Lord Moynihan. "Are the Conservatives really sincere—will they show their sincerity in a practical way? Will they, for instance, guarantee that if they come back into power electoral reform would rank with the highest priority on their list?"

Conservative interest in enlisting the cooperation of the Liberals doubtless stems from the considerable gain in Conservative members of the House of Commons made at the election last February. The Conservatives now hold 47.4 per cent of the seats and the Liberals could provide a margin of victory, if not with the few seats now held by them then perhaps by the assistance of their more than two and a half million voters at a future election.

The remarkable attrition of the Labor party majority in the last election resulted only in small part from a shift in the popular vote. A change in the somewhat unpredictable variable factors of the single-member district system of representation was chiefly responsible.

Whereas in 1945 the Labor party had obtained 61.9 per cent of the representation with only 47.9 per cent of the popular vote, in 1950, with 46.4 per cent of the popular vote, it obtained only a slight preponderance of the representation, 50.6 per cent. The Conservatives made a modest gain in popular vote—from 39.9 per cent to 43.4 per cent, but their membership in Parliament increased from 29.5 per cent to 47.4 per cent.

Thus it may be said that, whereas the distortions of the representative system in 1945 favored Labor on the whole at the expense of all other groups, in 1950 these distortions largely compensated each other as between the two major parties, both of which shared an overall advantage at the expense of the Liberals. The latter elected but 1.4 per cent of the House although they polled 9.1 per cent of the vote—and perhaps might have drawn more votes if it had not been clear from the outset that a great proportion of Liberal votes would be wasted.

The combined Conservative and Liberal vote in 1950 exceeded the Labor vote by 1,857,864, but the combined Parliamentary representation of the former parties is eight less than the Labor representation, according to figures taken from the *Times* (London) House of Commons Book. Some 187 of the 625 seats were gained by less than an absolute majority of those voting in the constituency in question.

Netherlands Voters Elect Provincial Councils

Little change in the political strength of the major parties resulted from the election of provincial councils in the Netherlands on April 26. The elections were by P.R. (list plan). Results, compared with those of the last provincial elections held in 1946, are given in the accompanying tables. These show the consolidated nationwide results and those for the largest province, South Holland, which includes the city of Rotterdam. (Figures were supplied by the Netherlands Information Bureau from Dutch newspaper reports.)

The number of votes cast was 4,844,336 as compared with 4,674,129 in 1946. The greatest change was the drop in the Communist representation, from 56 to 31 out of the 590 state council seats. The so-called liberal parties — Christian-Historical Union and Freedom and Democracy party—registered the largest gains. The overall results show a continuation of trends noted in the last national election held in 1948.[1]

The Labor party, second largest in the consolidated results, led the poll in provinces containing large cities, as the figures for South Holland show. The Catholic People's party was decisively ahead in other provinces and obtained the largest consolidated vote, 31.6 per cent of the entire poll.

---

[1] See the REVIEW for September 1948, page 454.

NETHERLANDS PROVINCIAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS, 1950 AND 1946

Party	*Votes and Percentage 1950*	*Votes and Percentage 1946*	*Seats and Percentage 1950*	*Seats and Percentage 1946*
Catholic People's	1,529,483(31.6)	1,468,847(31.4)	189(32.0)	188(31.9)
Labor	1,243,654(25.7)	1,206,267(25.8)	156(26.6)	157(26.8)
Anti-Revolutionary	599,038(12.3)	590,870(12.6)	77(13.1)	78(13.2)
Christian-Historical	507,176(10.4)	452,803(9.7)	70(11.9)	62(10.5)
Freedom and Democracy	411,936(8.5)	297,524(6.4)	49(8.3)	37(6.3)
Communist	329,365(6.8)	533,096(11.4)	31(5.3)	58(9.8)
Political Reform	110,143(2.3)	100,196(2.2)	11(1.8)	10(1.7)
Catholic National	32,024(0.7)		1(0.2)	
Reform League	27,214(0.6)		1(0.2)	
Middle Class	22,124(0.4)		2(0.4)	
Catholic Independent	8,921(0.2)		1(0.2)	
Catholic Democratic	8,010(0.2)		1(0.2)	
Socialist Union	5,949(0.1)		1(0.2)	
Others	9,299(0.2)	23,806(0.5)		
	4,844,336	4,674,129	590	590

SOUTH HOLLAND PROVINCIAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS, 1950 AND 1946

Labor	371,677(31.0)	335,411(29.2)	27(32.9)	25(30.5)
Catholic People's	223,815(18.7)	220,678(19.2)	16(19.5)	16(19.5)
Anti-Revolutionary	187,612(15.7)	191,303(16.7)	13(15.9)	14(17.1)
Christian-Historical	136,001(11.4)	115,253(10.1)	9(11.0)	7(8.5)
Freedom and Democracy	120,690(10.1)	95,773(8.4)	8(9.8)	7(8.5)
Communist	79,674(6.7)	141,436(12.3)	5(6.1)	10(12.2)
Political Reform	50,991(4.3)	47,453(4.1)	3(3.7)	3(3.7)
Catholic National	15,281(1.3)		1(1.2)	
Others	9,858(0.8)			
	1,195,599	1,147,307	82	82

Final Figures on Greek Parliamentary Election

A final report from the Greek Information Service on the March 5 election of that country's Chamber of Deputies gives the distribution of the 250 seats as follows: Populist party, 62 seats (24.8 per cent); Liberal party, 56 (22.4 per cent); National Progressive Union, 45 (18.0 per cent); Democratic Socialist party, 35 (14.0 per cent); Democratic Front, 18 (7.2 per cent); Independent Political Coalition, 16 (6.4 per cent); National Regeneration Front (Unionist party), 7 (2.8 per cent); National party, 7 (2.8 per cent); Agrarian Front, 3 (1.2 per cent); New party 1 (0.4 per cent).

These figures differ slightly from those listed in a table in this department last month but are the same as those given in a footnote to that table, reported by the *New York Times*.

P. R. League Loses Valued Trustee

Clarence A. Dykstra, provost of the University of California at Los Angeles, whose death May 6 is reported elsewhere in this issue,[1] was long a supporter of P.R. As city manager of Cincinnati he was in a position to observe the workings of the Hare system at first hand for a number of years. Mr. Dykstra was a member of the council of the Proportional Representation League from 1925 until the time of his death and a member of its board of trustees since 1938.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 299)

"factually correct answers" to at least ten of 30 questions relating to the governments of Georgia and the United States. The law, when passed, was obviously aimed at reducing if not eliminating the Negro vote.

The South Carolina legislature on April 13 gave final approval to a bill somewhat similar in content and purpose to the Georgia statute. It requires registration for primary and general elections and establishes literacy tests which, however, can be omitted upon proof of certain property ownership.

Federal Personnel Efficiency Studied

A subcommittee of the House of Representatives Committee on Post Office and Civil Service is investigating over-staffing and personnel efficiency in administrative agencies, according to the National Civil Service League, which has been asked to assist. The subcommittee is headed by Congressman John Bell Williams of Mississippi. The first thing to be done is an analysis of personnel utilization.

Philippine Local Government Review Published

A monthly magazine, *The Local Government Review*, published in the interests of the provinces and municipalities of the Philippines, completed its first year of publication with the December 1949 issue. It is printed in Quezon City, published by Mrs. Petra O. Rivera and edited by Juan F. Rivera, who is at present a graduate student of municipal government administration at the University of Wisconsin.

The publication contains a wide variety of official and unofficial information for local governments including items of new legislation, executive determinations, rulings of the general auditing office, certain court decisions, news on activities of local governments, information for civil servants, patriotic material, etc.

---

[1] See the League's Business, page 270.

Legislatures Enact Tax and Fiscal Measures

Kentucky Raises Income Tax for Two-year Period

REVERSING the previous trend of the 1940s toward reductions in state income taxes, the Kentucky legislature this year enacted modest increases in its income tax for a two-year period. The rates on corporate net income were raised from 4 per cent to 4½ per cent and on personal net income over $8,000 from 5 per cent to 6 per cent. The tax credit for married couples was lowered from $50 to $40.

The Kentucky legislature also lowered the ad valorem tax for state purposes on unmanufactured agricultural products from 50 cents per $100 of value to 25 cents, imposed a use tax to supplement the existing cigarette sales tax, and imposed a flat tax of $10 on all coin vending machines with amusement features to replace licenses based on the operating cost.

Affecting property tax administration, the legislature enacted a law making it possible for county boards of supervisors to review and change any assessment upon recommendation of the county tax commissioner, State Department of Revenue, county judge, chief finance officer of any city using the county assessment, or the superintendent of any school district in which the property is located. Formerly these agencies could recommend review only to a county circuit court or the State Tax Commission.

New York Gets Modified Assessment Review Law

New York was another state where the legislature revised the procedure for reviewing property assessments. One of the new laws provides that where a tax assessment has been increased in spite of a court order or administrative determination fixing a lower assessment, or where the assessment is found grossly discriminatory, the taxpayer may recover $500 from the municipality as an additional allowance above the court costs.

Another law shifts from the taxpayer to the municipality the cost of proving the municipal assessment ratio (ratio of assessed to full value) if the municipality refuses to stipulate the ratio. This law is expected to be of value in some upstate areas where assessments are made at less than full value.

Both laws are expected to make it feasible for taxpayers with grievances involving small amounts of tax savings to contest assessments. The laws were strongly supported by Governor Dewey but opposed by New York City and by the New York State Conference of Mayors, who claimed that the laws would result in excessive costs to the municipalities and open the door to "a flood of unwarranted and unnecessary tax litigation."

Toll Roads Approved by Legislatures

A major piece of legislation in New York was that providing for financing the construction and operation of a $450,000,000 New York State Thruway. This 486-mile artery, to run from New York City via Albany to Buffalo and thence southwesterly to the Pennsylvania boundary, is already under construction with state highway funds.

The new law establishes a three-member State Thruway Authority, which will have power to finance and construct the facility on a self-liquidating basis through the sale of special license plates. The license fee schedule has not yet been announced, but is reported to range from $5 for passenger cars to $80 for trucks, with details not yet worked out on the method of collecting from out-of-state users.

Virginia's legislature has also turned to toll roads as an aid to express-highway acquisition. At this year's session there was created a Coastal Turnpike Authority to construct a toll road from Virginia Beach into North Carolina.

The Virginia action brought to seventeen the number of states which since the late 1930s have authorized the investigation of toll roads or constructed or started construction of such facilities. According to Henry K. Evans, transportation specialist of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, in *Better Roads* for April 1950, seven states have toll roads under investigation or in the planning stage, two now without toll roads have such roads under construction and five have toll roads in operation. Three states have authorized toll roads but they have not gotten to the planning stage.

Chronologically, the first of the recent toll road developments was initiated by Florida, which in 1937 opened the overseas toll highway from Miami to Key West. In 1940 Pennsylvania opened the famed Pennsylvania Turnpike, now being extended, and Connecticut completed the Merritt Parkway, whose surplus revenues provided for the subsequent construction of the Wilbur Cross Parkway. In 1947 Maine opened the Maine Turnpike and the Hutchinson River and Saw Mill River Parkways in Westchester County, New York, were placed on a toll basis.

Under construction, with completion expected this year, is the New Hampshire Turnpike, spanning the state's narrow coastal section to connect with the Maine Turnpike, and the New Jersey State Turnpike, an ambitious project which eventually will link the northeast corner of the state with the Delaware River Memorial Bridge.

States with toll roads in the planning or investigation stage, in addition to Virginia, are Colorado (between Denver and Boulder), Massachusetts (a link between Connecticut's Wilbur Cross Parkway and the New Hampshire Turnpike), North Carolina (a coastal route), Ohio (a route westward from the Pennsylvania Turnpike to the Indiana border), Oklahoma (between Tulsa and Oklahoma City) and West Virginia (between Bluefield and Moundsville). No action has been taken in Illinois, where toll roads were authorized in 1941, and enabling legislation dating from 1947 is also available in both Georgia and Maryland.

Roanoke Excise Taxes Upheld by State Court

The Roanoke, Virginia, local taxes attacked last year in the courts have been upheld by the Virginia State Supreme Court. The taxes at issue were a two cents per pack tax on cigarettes, a 5 per cent tax on floral designs and a 5 per cent tax on transient rooms. The local hustings court had previously upheld their validity.

Missouri Gas Tax Defeated

Reputedly for the sixth time, Missouri voters on April 4 overwhelmingly defeated an effort to raise the state gas tax above its traditional 2 cents per gallon, lowest in the nation. A rise to 4 cents had been enacted by the 1949 legislature, but circulation of referendum petitions necessitated the calling of a special election. One cent of the increase would have been earmarked for county roads, under state supervision. As in preceding elections during the past twelve years, bitter controversy attended the referendum. The increase was supported by Governor Smith, but opposed by the Automobile Club of Missouri among others.

Dayton Voters Adopt Local Income Tax

The Dayton municipal income tax, declared invalid March 8 by the Ohio Supreme Court, was readopted at the polls on May 23, 33,277 to 11,013.

The tax had been enacted last year by ordinance of the city commission. Effective April 1, 1949, it would have provided some $2,250,000, or more than a third of the anticipated 1950 general fund revenues. In the nine months in which it was in operation $1,675,700 was collected.

The issue reached the Ohio Supreme Court after lower courts had decided favorably for the city on a taxpayers' suit challenging the constitutionality of the tax, which affected all persons working or living in the city. The Supreme Court decided, however, that a sentence in a 1945 charter amendment had an ambiguous meaning. That amendment, dealing with ad valorem taxes, said there would be no additional tax without vote of the people. The court believed the wording was ambiguous but said that it would favor the taxpayer as against the taxing authority, holding that the sentence applied to all taxes, not just ad valorem.

The March 8 decision, which in no way questioned the constitutionality of the income tax as such, automatically threw out the city's 3 per cent admissions tax. Dayton and other Ohio cities had adopted the admissions tax after the state vacated the field. But this tax, too, had been adopted in 1947 by the city commission without referendum. It raised $120,000 in 1949.

The city commission immediately ordered elimination of all city positions inaugurated since the income tax had become effective. The retrenchment program, affecting many new and improved city services and involving 324 employees, nearly 15 per cent of the total, became effective March 22.

Since the charter makes no provision for the placing of non-property tax issues on the ballot by the city commission, the initiative method was selected as the means to reenact the income tax program. With signatures of 25 per cent of the registered voters needed to place the issue on the ballot, 48,000 signatures, out of nearly 105,000 registered voters, were obtained in a whirlwind campaign (87 per cent of them valid). The campaign for adoption of the income tax was sponsored by the Civic Representatives Committee. The new program will become effective July 1, 1950, and continue until December 31, 1954.

MAXWELL NATHAN

Information and Research Assistant
Office of City Manager, Dayton

Trained Assessors Urged by Georgia Legislature

A special committee of the Georgia legislature studying the state's revenue and tax structure has recommended sweeping changes in tax assessment procedures which would include employment of a full-time trained assessor in each sizable county and the qualification of assessors by examination.

Other recommendations were for the preparation of assessment manuals by the State Revenue Department, provision for tax supervisors in each congressional district to oversee the assessors in that district and state assistance to meet part of a minimum pay scale for assessors.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Planning Group Activities Grow

Problems Include Housing, Pollution, Zoning, Traffic

THE year 1950 marks the growing usefulness of citizen planning and redevelopment groups many of which are working with official planning commissions to solve the pressing problems of cities whose hit-or-miss growth of the past has created major crises.

A delegates meeting of the Philadelphia Citizens Council on City Planning recently held a discussion on proposed charter provisions relating to city planning. A commission is now drafting a new charter for the city.

The council's *News Letter* reports that Philadelphia's school program for the study of city planning was cited as an outstanding example at the 1949 National Planning Conference in Cleveland. Speaking at the conference, Miss Margaret Carroll, planning technician of the Tennessee State Planning Commission, said: "We covet the rich variety of learning experiences of Philadelphia's children, their Youth Planning Council, their opportunity to participate as *citizens* and not just as school children engaged in a project."

Latest report of the council discusses the Recommended Program of Public Improvements for 1950-1955 as issued by the Philadelphia City Planning Commission. The program schedules expenditure of some $537,000,000 for the six-year period as compared with approximately $185,000,000 spent on projects completed or under contract during the five years 1945-1949. A four-page, illustrated leaflet in two colors, just issued by the council, sets forth "some facts pertaining to the background and problems of zoning in Philadelphia."

Nine additional organizations have joined the council: the Philadelphia branch of the National Association of Power Engineers, the Friendship Cooperative House, Inc., Point Breeze Community Council, Institute for Research in Human Relations, Lincoln University, St. Joseph's College, Haverford College, Beaver College and the Greater Olney Civic Association.

The Toledo Regional Planning Association recently conducted a lively discussion on the question, "Shall the City and County Health Offices be Consolidated?" This was a joint meeting with the Toledo Town Meeting of the Y.M.C.A.

The Toledo group's annual dinner heard an illustrated report on "The Progress of Our Master Plan," by Lloyd T. Keefe, director of the master plan, Toledo-Lucas County Plan Commissions. Colonel Robert C. Downie, vice chairman of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, described the movement to rebuild Pittsburgh and the means by which completion of the task is planned.

Poughkeepsie Active

A membership campaign was launched in February by the Poughkeepsie Area Development Association. The campaign included a number of speaking engagements by association representatives and a brochure setting forth the "punch lines" of the association's program. An exhibit was also held, showing what planning is, what it can do for interrelated communities, the prospective role of the association and how the citizens may fit into the picture.

The association's fourth survey report, *Traffic,* released in February, has been well received. Certain of its recommendations have caused much discussion and comment, one of the most controversial dealing with the possibility of instituting one-way traffic on certain streets in the business section. Net result of the discussion was that four important streets have been set aside for one-way traffic during a 90-day test period.

The San Francisco Bay Area Council has made a report on *Air Pollution in the San Francisco Bay Area* (16 pages). The council recommends establishment of a Bay Area Air Pollution Group made up of authorities in the field of sanitary and industrial engineering in industry, government and private or public technical agencies, and establishment of voluntary community programs in which industry, business and the general public will cooperate to reduce existing or potential "smog" nuisance or air pollution which is controllable.

The United Housing Council, sponsored by the Allegheny Conference on Community Development (Pittsburgh) has issued *A Review of 1949 and Prospects for 1950—Progress and Developments in Housing in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County* (seven pages).

The Allegheny conference has announced formation of its Recreation, Conservation and Park Council, chairmanned by Adolph W. Schmidt. James F. Hillman is vice chairman for parks, M. Graham Netting vice chairman for conservation, and Stanton Belfour vice chairman for recreation.

About the Cincinnati Master Plan, published by that city's Citizens Development Committee, answers the question "What will the master plan do for Cincinnati?", pointing out some of the more vital projects included in it.

A citizens committee of 180 has aided Wichita Falls, Texas, in drafting a long range improvement program. Appointed by the city council in 1949, the committee represents all important groups in the city. It worked out a long range capital improvement program which it presented to the citizens by means of forums, radio talks and the newspapers. The bond proposals necessary to carry out the program were adopted at the polls by more than three to one.

Prospects Brighten

The Passaic-Bergen Community Planning Association report, *Some Observations at the Close of the First Quarter of 1950,* announces, "Prospects for progress in realizing the association's objectives are much brighter at the close of the first quarter of 1950 than they were at its beginning." The year began with a greatly curtailed staff because of a reduced budget. Funds were available only for five months. Since then, however, the city of Passaic has budgeted $10,000 for a master plan and has designated the association as the agency to prepare it. Clifton, another city in the area, has contracted with the association for a survey to "determine the number of Clifton families with incomes that make them eligible for low-rent, federally subsidized housing."

The association plans to issue its *Community Planning News* monthly "to provide continuous comment and information." The March number is devoted largely to "Why Passaic Needs a Master Plan."

Representatives of some seventeen North Jersey shore communities met in Rumson, New Jersey, late in March to listen to experts in the municipal and industrial planning fields and to discuss organization of a sectional planning board to produce a program for the development of eastern Monmouth County. Many towns and cities in this area are so closely joined they appear as one community, but each has its separate city officials, fire and police departments, schools, business sections, etc.

A Community Development Conference, sponsored by the University of Texas and the Department of Texas of the American Legion, had delegates from 53 Texas cities, the states of Tennessee, Oklahoma, Mississippi and New Mexico, as well as Mexico, according to a report in *Planning and Civic Comment*.[1] The conference passed a resolution requesting appointment of a permanent committee to follow the recommendations growing out of the conference and to make recommendations to the Texas governor and legislature on the furtherance of the planning movement on a permanent basis. As a result of the conference many Texas communities have already voiced their active interest in overall planning.

Citizen School News

"Desuetude and inertia inevitably collapsed under the force of young ideas as 322 of the brightest minds in high schools of the commonwealth took over its direction, from the post of governor down," said the Boston *Herald* editorially on April 1. The newspaper referred to Massachusetts' annual Good Government Day, conducted by the Massachusetts Civic League and sponsored by Senator Sumner G. Whittier of Everett.

The public schools committee of the Seattle Municipal League is "embarking on a project to find out whether or not Jimmy and Susie are being prepared by their teachers in the Seattle school system to become alert, intelligent, discriminating and conscientious citizens of Seattle," according to the *Seattle Municipal News*. The committee is cooperating with the supervisors of the school system. The league invites its members and other lay citizens, school teachers and pupils to contribute their views and suggestions on the project. It is expected that the survey will take about six months to complete.

The Seattle committee, boasting some 50 members, has been divided into four subcommittees on teaching of history and structures of national and state governments; teaching of structures and services of local governments including Seattle, its school district, King County and the Port of Seattle; teaching of attributes of good citizenship; and best practices in teaching citizenship employed in other school systems.

* * *

Women Voters Hold Sessions

This spring marked the biennial convention of the National League of Women Voters. Meeting at Atlantic City with almost a thousand delegates present, the league took action on its program for the next two years, elected officers and listened to such speakers as James H. Rowe, Jr., who spoke on highlights of the Hoover commission report; Howard Penniman of the State Department, who discussed the place of political parties; and Mrs. Edith Welty, former mayor of Yonkers, on tips for working in parties. Highlight of the conference was the dinner addressed by Paul G. Hoffman, administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration. Miss Anna Lord Strauss, who has been national league president for six years, retired. She was succeeded by Mrs. John G. Lee of Farmington, Connecticut.

Practically all the state leagues of

---

[1] Published by the American Planning and Civic Association and the National Conference on State Parks, Washington, D. C.

women voters held annual sessions in May at which programs for the coming year were adopted and reports on the past year's activities discussed. Among the proposals on state programs were: Connecticut—reorganization of state government to assure responsible and responsive government in the public interest; Indiana—revision of the state constitution and a survey and correlation of problems of local governments for the purpose of recommending changes in the interest of greater economy and efficiency; Wisconsin—state finance and taxation including measures to provide adequate revenues for essential services through taxes based as largely as possible on ability to pay as well as support of a single overall executive budget with full biennial legislative review; Massachusetts—study of state government with a view to supporting changes needed to make it more responsive and representative, equipped to meet efficiently and economically the changing needs of its citizens, and support and extension of council-manager government with proportional representation for cities and towns.

Mrs. Edith Welty, former mayor of Yonkers and a pioneer in the city manager movement in her city, addressed the League of Women Voters of Hoboken at its annual dinner meeting.

The annual convention of the New York City League, meeting all day May 23, heard Dr. Luther Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration and newly appointed executive director of the mayor's committee to survey the city's administration.

* * *

Local Civic Groups Meet

The 38th annual meeting of the Detroit Citizens League was held on May 9. Phil S. Hanna, business columnist of the Chicago *Daily News*, addressed the group on "How Much Debt Can We Stand."

The Citizens Union of New York City held its 53rd annual meeting at a luncheon on May 13. Speakers and guests of honor included Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison of New Orleans; Maurice Evans, actor and playwright; Luther Gulick, head of the Mayor's Committee on City Management Survey; and Richard S. Childs, chairman of the union. The occasion marked Mr. Childs' retirement as chairman of the organization. He is succeeded by Milton M. Bergerman, chairman of the union's committee on candidates.

The 47th anniversary dinner of the Chicago City Club was held April 25. Speakers included Mayor Martin H. Kennelly, Dr. Herold C. Hunt, superintendent of schools, and Dr. Charles E. Merriam, emeritus professor of political science of the University of Chicago.

* * *

New Civic Club Bulletin

April marked the issuance of the first number of *Civic Bulletin for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County*, published by the Civic Club of Allegheny County. Its editor is Clarence G. Reid. The new bulletin is devoted in large measure to the activities of the organization. This issue lists the club's committees, urging members to sign up for those in which they would like to work.

* * *

Voters Directories Appear

Spring brings its usual crop of reports on candidates running for primary elections. *Greater Cleveland*, published by the Cleveland Citizens League, devotes its April 24 issue to a report on primary candidates for

(Continued on page 317)

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Public Schools vs. City Government

Administrative, Political, Fiscal Problems Discussed

IS PUBLIC education properly a function of government, a government in itself, or a thing apart from or even above government? This question in various forms is being widely discussed, largely as a result of an active campaign by some professional educators for virtually complete independence of education from what they call political government from the United States Office of Education down to the smallest school district. Recently, however, Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York has aked Dr. Luther Gulick, in charge of the current study of that city's government, to include investigation of the possibility of making the school board and its fiscal operations entirely independent of the city government. This query on the part of the mayor is because of increasing pressure on the city government for larger school expenditures.

Two reports, arriving at opposite conclusions on the question of "fiscal independence" for city schools, provide background for this inquiry: *Fiscal and Administrative Control of City School Systems, New York State,* by Frederick C. McLaughlin, published last year by the Public Education Association of New York City for 25 cents and *Should New York City Adopt Fiscal Independence for Education?* by the New York Citizens Budget Commission (1950).

The study by the Public Education Association makes a long excursion into the confusing history of laws affecting city school districts in New York State, discusses friction between the New York City schools and city government especially during the LaGuardia administration, and quotes extensively the findings and opinions of numerous reports on school government. Its philosophical base is perhaps best developed in a 1937 study by Charles A. Beard for the Educational Policy Commission, entitled *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy.* It quotes extensively, mainly to query or disagree with its conclusions, a 1938 study by Henry B. Nelson and Jerome B. Kerwin, *Schools and City Government.*[1]

The latter concludes that "no particular structural pattern of school and city relationships constitutes a dependable safeguard against politics in the schools" and in general argues for substantial amalgamation of schools and municipal government. The Beard report, on the other hand, supports what he finds to be the traditional concept that the authorities in charge of public schools "are to stand apart from the executive and legislative branches of the government which respond annually, biennially, or quadrennially to the majority or plurality of votes cast in popular elections at the close of political campaigns."

The report by the Citizens Budget Commission summarizes arguments for fiscal independence as developed by the Public Education Association and others, and gives its own arguments *contra.* It concludes: "Removing politics and meddling from education are laudible objectives. But these objectives can be achieved by methods less drastic and more effective than fiscal independence."

---

[1] University of Chicago Press.

An unfortunate result of the traditional separation between education and other public functions has been the tendency to divorce research on the organizing, financing and overall control of public education from other governmental research. Professional educators have tended to regard research in these fields as their own private preserve and to deplore intrusion by political scientists and governmental researchers as such. The latter have, on the other hand, tended to shy away from such research and sometimes when they have entered the field have done so with rather limited perspective and objectives.

Consequently, it is refreshing to receive from the New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research a comprehensive 66-page study of *Administrative Organization and Relationships in the New Orleans Public School System* for the Orleans Parish school board. The study outlines present organization and procedures and makes comprehensive recommendations for reorganization along lines familiar to modern students and practitioners of public administration.

Although the superintendent of schools is nominally responsible to the Orleans Parish school board for "virtually all of the school program" the study found that "the board has, in effect, reduced the authority of the superintendent by dealing directly with individual subordinate administrators on specific problems." Pointing out that this requires an "unreasonable . . . contribution in time from the members of the school board" and is "devastating to the morale of employees at all levels" the study recommends defining the relations between the governing body, the chief administrator and the staff in terms familiar to students of the council-manager plan.

There is no doubt that similar findings would be in order in many other school districts where boards of education are bogged down in administrative details or where responsibility for management is divided between the superintendent of schools, the business manager, the secretary of the board of education and other functionaries reporting directly to the board.

An examination of the New Orleans bureau's report confirms the belief that students of administration, both in education and in local and state government, would benefit considerably by a freer and more cordial collaboration and exchange of experience and ideas.

The National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, which has headquarters at 2 West 42nd Street, New York City, is currently promoting widespread citizen action for improvement of the public schools throughout the country. This is stimulating an increasing number of surveys, amateur and professional, of local school programs and administration.

Citizen Action for Schools

Since one of the objectives of the National Citizens Commission is wider useful citizen participation in educational planning and government, it will doubtless be interested in finding ways to conserve civic energy now being wasted by lay members of boards of education on administrative and other details that ought to be handled by a professional staff. The New Orleans study reported that one of the members of the local school board "stated that he devoted the equivalent of 69 full working days to school problems in 1948, exclusive of evening and night sessions of the board or participation in community activities relating to schools."

Bureau Notes

The 1950 conference of the Governmental Research Association will be held at the Berkeley-Carteret Hotel in Asbury Park, New Jersey, September 6, 7 and 8. The presentation of the 1950 GRA award is one of the events.

The newly organized Public Research Council of Louisiana, with headquarters at Baton Rouge, has elected F. Hugh Coughlin as its president, Parrish Fuller as executive vice-president, and a vice president from each of the seven areas of the state which the council will serve. W. Floyd Williamson was chosen secretary and Walter B. Jacobs, treasurer.

The *1949 Annual Report* of the Civic Advisory Council of Toronto, addressed to the members of the board of control and the city council, describes, among other things, its year's work in connection with municipal-provincial relations, metropolitan problems, community councils and administration.

The official record of the *Proceedings of the 1949 Ninth Annual Conference of the Western Governmental Research Association* is now available at one dollar. Apply Box 13, Library Building, University of California, Berkeley. Plans are now under way for the association's tenth annual conference, September 28 and 29, at San Francisco.

The 28th annual report of the Nevada Taxpayers Association appears in the April 1950 issue of *Nevada Tax Review*, Reno.

The March 9 issue of the Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau's *Just a Moment* is titled "1949 in Review." March 30 marks issue No. 1,000, the nineteenth year of uninterrupted publication.

The first issue of *Town and City*, official monthly publication of the Tennessee Municipal League, is that for January-February. Its supplement, "How M.T.A.S. Can Serve Tennessee Cities," by Gerald W. Shaw, announces establishment of the Tennessee Municipal Technical Advisory Service, under the direction of the University of Tennessee.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Jack A. Rhodes, assistant director of the Oklahoma Legislative Council, has been appointed director of the council succeeding L. D. Melton. Mr. Rhodes, who has been studying under a fellowship in England, will return to the United States in late June to assume his new duties.

Dr. Christian L. Larsen, director of the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Maryland, succeeds Dr. Joseph M. Ray as executive secretary of the Maryland League of Municipalities. Dr. Ray will be retained as a consultant to the league.

In the fall of 1950 Professor Edward W. Weidner of the University of California at Los Angeles will join the staff of Michigan State College where he will be responsible for developing a program in training and research in public administration.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Airports

Municipal Airport Revenues. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment*, April 13, 1950. 2 pp.

Budget

Statement by Harold Riegelman, Counsel to Citizens Budget Commission, on the 1950-51 Executive Budget. New York, Citizens Budget Commission, 1950. iv, 27 pp.

Civil Service

Civil Service in Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* April 15, 1950. 3 pp.

Debt

Debt of the State of Tennessee. Nashville, Tennessee Taxpayers Association, 1950. 7 pp.

Providence Owes More. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 1950. 1 p.

Industrial Development

Industrial Development in South Dakota. With Special Reference to the Tax Climate for Business and Industry. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Business Research Bureau, 1950. 23 pp.

Parking

Parking Provisions for New Buildings. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* April 27, 1950. 2 pp.

Planning

Boston Needs a Better Planning Law. Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* April 10, 1950. 3 pp.

Police

Police Survey Committee Recommendations. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* April 27, 1950. 2 pp.

Referendum

Government by the People. Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* March 3, 1950. 5 pp.

Research

Current Research Projects in Public Administration, 1950. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1950. 54 pp. $1.

State Government

State Government Reorganization—A Promise and a Challenge. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *Special Bulletin,* March 8, 1950. 2 pp.

Streets and Highways

Administration of City and County Roads in Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* March 1950. 4 pp.

What About Highways? No Function Can Be Viewed Alone. By J. Roy Holland. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* March 1950. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Assessment Totals Higher. Tax Revenue Rise Will Help in Meeting City Budget Deficit. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* March 28, 1950. 3 pp.

City's Rank in Tax Revenues. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* April 25, 1950. 3 pp.

Costs for Towns and Smaller Cities. Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *Iowa Taxpayer,* March 6, 1950. 1 p.

County Property Taxes. Total for One Level Tops Quarter Billion. By Maxine M. McSweyn. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* March 1950. 13 pp. 25 cents.

Local Revenues. I—The Local Revenue Problem. II—Property Tax Limitation. Newark, New Jersey, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1949. 22 and 29 pp. respectively.

The Montana Property Tax Dollar. Helena, Montana Taxpayers' Association, *Montana Taxpayer,* March 1950. 1 p.

1935-1950 Revenue Trends in Milwaukee County Reflect Growing Urbanization of Entire Area. Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* February 25, 1950. 2 pp.

Pertinent Financial Data, City of Baltimore. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, 1950. 16 pp.

Property Tax Rates in Erie County. A Summary of the Tax Rates of the Three Cities, 16 Villages and 25 Towns in Erie County. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, 1950. 24 pp. $1.

State and Local Tax Trends. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* March 1950. 7 pp.

Status of Economic Commission's Recommendations. Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 2, 1950. 3 pp.

Status of the Property Tax 1945 and 1949 in 43 Cities and Towns Within the Boston Metropolitan Area. An Experiment in Methods of Municipal Analysis. Cambridge, Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration, Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, 1950. 68 pp. Charts. $2.

A Ten Year Analysis of Minnesota's State Fiscal Operations. St. Paul, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1950. 4 pp.

Third Annual Report on the Taxing Units in Harris County. Part III. Financial Information. Houston, Texas, Tax Research Association, 1950. 52 pp. Tables.

Total Taxes in Wisconsin Up Again; Near All-Time Record. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* April 1950. 6 pp.

Traffic

The Cross-River Tide Keeps Rising. (Statistics on vehicular traffic across Delaware River in the vicinity of Philadelphia.) Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* March 7, 1950. 4 pp.

Transportation

Transportation Rates, Products Transported and Trade Barriers Important to South Dakota, 1949. (Chapter VI deals with trade barriers between states as a result of motor truck regulations of weights, sizes, equipment, licenses and regulations.) By L. A. Poth. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Business Research Bureau, 1950. 110 pp.

Water Works

Rochester and Its Water Works. Rochester, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Bulletin,* March-April, 1950. 4 pp.

CITIZEN ACTION

(Continued from page 312)

federal, state and county offices. Included is a statement of the principles governing the report.

Several issues of the *Oregon Voter,* published in Portland, list candidates with their biographies, platforms and slogans—"Some grave, some gay, some vapid," says the front cover.

The Civic Club of Allegheny County and the Allegheny County League of Women Voters have published their joint *Voters' Directory* for the May 16 primary. These groups make no recommendations as to favored candidates. On the other side of the fence is the Seattle Municipal League, whose *Municipal News* not only publishes facts about the candidates but gives its opinion as to their fitness for office. The Seattle league has also made recommendations on several local questions—an administrative aid to the mayor, a transit commission, daylight saving time, self-service gasoline stations and additional low-rent public housing.

The Ohio League of Women Voters' broadside on state candidates for the primary elections, in addition to biographical material, carries replies to its questionnaire asking: (1) What is your opinion of a fixed formula for the distribution of the local government fund; (2) What changes, if any, do you favor in the structure and administration of civil service in Ohio.

The Commonwealth Club of California discussed state proposals on the June ballot at a luncheon meeting. These include a proposed bond issue for veterans' farms and homes, giving the legislature permission to exempt veterans buying homes under state loans from taxes, and pledging parking meter funds to finance off-street parking.

Books in Review

Our Sovereign State. Edited by Robert S. Allen. New York, Vanguard Press, Inc., 1949. xxxviii, 413 pp. $5.

This is a companion volume to *Our Fair City* and, like that collection, consists of descriptions of local politics by local political newspaper reporters who were apparently urged by the editor to "make it hot." The jacket blurb calls it "a devastating exposé of corruption" and the editor's ambition to be a second Lincoln Steffens—and sell books—shows itself in his introduction.

Nevertheless, taken with salt, this volume provides vivid, and occasionally lurid, accounts of the worst that could be found in the state polities of twelve states—California, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Utah and Wisconsin. (Three of them overlap the chapters which V. O. Key, Jr., in his *Southern Politics* devotes to each of eleven southern states. The two books thus provide a total of twenty up to date, if oversimplified, source descriptions of state governments.)

The credibility of the stories is improved by the failure of most of the twelve local authors to rise to Editor Allen's heights of invective. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the Nebraska account, written in a mood of honest pride, with a particularly useful picture of the working of its single-house legislature. But Mr. Allen, seizing on the only item of it that suits his thesis, writes in the introduction, "Senator George Norris's unique unicameral legislature defiantly wipes out rent control at the behest of Omaha realty interests." Whereas the chapter author had said, "The rent-decontrol bill . . . could have been attributed to Nebraska's hatred of controls, its opposition to regimentation, especially in the rural areas which furnished the votes for decontrol. Only five of the more populous Nebraska communities were troubled by housing shortages."

But broadly the tirade against the political conditions of state government is warranted. Malapportionment of legislative seats is desperately bad and common, state officers are often political adventurers or party stooges, legislators are of low competency with high turnover, and decent leadership at the state level is scarce, despite some able governors. The evidence supports the doctrines of the National Municipal League — that governors should appoint all other state administrators, the primaries should be reformed to make party officials sponsor their candidates subject to contests, legislators should be fewer and more important and in a single house, cities and counties should have home rule, constitutions need simplification of structure and language.

R. S. C.

Communities for Better Living. By James Dahir. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1950. xiii, 321 pp. $4.

An immense collection of cases, briefly described and illustrated, of effective non-governmental activity by citizens organizing to improve their community environments.

The narratives range from Ebenezer Howard's garden cities to the Committee for Kentucky.

Municipal and Other Local Governments. By Marguerite J. Fisher and Donald G. Bishop. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950. viii, 664 pp. $6.35.

The authors are associate professors at the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, and this orderly text has grown out of their courses. It is designed to take the laity as well as advanced students into techniques of local administrative departments so far as lay citizen interest warrants and to provide some basis for judgment of municipal performance.

The Book of the States 1950-51. Edited by Frank Smothers and M. Clair Cotterill. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1950. xi, 839 pp. $7.50.

This eighth biennial edition brings down to date its familiar array of rosters of officials and legislators in all states and a total of 850 pages of factual data together with brief reviews of new developments in state governmental activities and trends.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Airports

Administration and Financing of Municipally Owned Airports in Michigan. By Eugene G. Moody. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1950. 24 pp. $1.50.

Civil Rights

Civil Rights in the United States in 1949. A Balance Sheet of Group Relations. New York 23, American Jewish Congress and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1950. 71 pp. 25 cents.

Council-Manager Plan

Recent Council-Manager Developments and Directory of Council-Manager Cities. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1950. 27 pp. $1.

County Government

Laws of Montgomery County 1949. Edited by David Macdonald. Rockville, Maryland, Office of County Attorney, 1949. v, 187 pp.

Highways

Highways in Our National Life. A Symposium. Edited by Jean Labatut and Wheaton J. Lane. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1950. xvi, 506 pp. $7.50.

International Relations

Aiding Underdeveloped Areas Abroad. Edited by Halford L. Hoskins. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* March 1950. viii, 259 pp. $2.

Metropolitan Areas

Economic Base Study of the Philadelphia Area. Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, 1949. 79 pp. charts, tables.

Personnel

Have You Met "Milo" Greene . . . ? (Handbook for City Employees). San Jose, California, Civil Service Department, 1950. 25 pp. illus.

Our Job with Portland. (Handbook for City Employees). Portland, Oregon, Civil Service Board, 1950. 30 pp.

State Distribution of Public Employment in 1949. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950. 21 pp.

Your Career with the City of Dayton. A Manual of Information for Municipal Employees. Dayton, Ohio, Office of City Manager, Personnel Section, 1950. 38 pp. illus.

Your Security: Present and Future as a City of Norfolk Employee. An Important Message to Every City Employee. Norfolk, Virginia, Board of Trustees of the Employees' Retirement System, 1950. 15 pp.

Planning

Saratoga Springs Looks to the Future. Toward a Balanced Community Life—Modern Hotels, Stores, Housing, City Services, New Industries, Modern Schools, Recreation, Community Center. Saratoga Springs, New York, City Planning Board, 1950. 35 pp. illus. maps.

Ports

The Port of New York. Crossroads of the World's Ship and Air Lanes. (Promotion Kit) New York 11, The Port of New York Authority, 1950. Variously paged.

Sewage Disposal

Municipal Sewer Ordinances. Prepared under Direction of the Committee on Sewage Works Practice by the Subcommittee on Municipal Sewer Ordinances. Champaign, Illinois, Federation of Sewage Works Associations, 1949. 44 pp.

Snow Removal

Snow Removal Practices in Cities under 200,000 Population and Snow and Ice Control. Report of the APWA Committee on Street Cleaning and Snow Removal. Chicago 37, American Public Works Association, 1950. 66 pp. $2.

State Government

American State Government and Administration. A State by State Bibliography. Compiled by W. Brooke Graves, Norman J. Small and E. Foster Dowell. Chicago 37, The Council of State Governments, 1949. 84 pp. $1.

Taxation and Finance

Federal Taxation and Federal Aid in Tennessee 1948-1949. By Robert G. Allison. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1950. 34 pp.

Federal Taxes and Expenditures. By Committee on Federal Finance. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1950. 14 pp.

Important Municipal Bond Offerings by Dealers in 1949. New York 4, *The Bond Buyer,* 1950. 135 pp.

Local Tax Legislation in 1949. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* March 1950. 12 pp. 25 cents.

Report to the Legislature for the Year Ending December 31, 1949. Boston, The Finance Commission, 1950. 33 pp.

Summary of State Government Finances in 1949. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950. 17 pp.

Taxing Municipal Bond Income. By Lyle C. Fitch. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1950. xi, 161 pp. $2.50.

Your Money and Mine. State Finances 1948-49. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1950. 55 pp.

Traffic

Directing Traffic—Signals and Gestures. Directing Traffic—Vehicle Movements. Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University, Traffic Institute. 9 and 21 pp. respectively. 15 cents each.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion for July 1950. Theme: **Vacation Driving.** Chicago, National Safety Council, 1950. Variously paged.

The Price of Indifference. The Safety Kit. Chicago, The Advertising Council in Cooperation with the National Safety Council, 1950. Variously paged.

Water Rates

Rethinking Water Rate Structures. Panel Discussion presented at Chicago June 2, 1949. New York 18, American Water Works Association, 1949.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

LY 1950 VOLUME XXXIX, NO. 7

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo
PERIODICAL DEPT.

Strengthening the Home Front .... *Editorial*

Future of an Oversize City .... *Luther Gulick*

How Tammany Holds Power .... *Justin N. Feldman*

The Durable City Manager .... *Lewis C. French*

Virginia Reorganizes Again .... *Raymond B. Pinchbeck*

New Hampshire Gets Partial Reorganization 344

San Mateo County Retains Manager Plan 353

P. R. Continues in Massachusetts 355

New Jersey Tax Commission Reports 357

Kansas City Revives Civic Group 360

Prescription for Better Legislatures 365

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the Review by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor
ELSIE S. PARKER, Assistant Editor

Contributing Editors

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

State Correspondents

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
JAMES GIRAND, *Arizona*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN, *Maryland*
STUART A. MacCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
HARVEY WALKER, *Ohio*
YORK Y. WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *President*
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J., *Vice President*
J. W. Clise, Seattle, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York, *Treasurer*
William Collins, *Finance Chairman*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
John E. Bebout, *Assistant Secretary*
George H. Hallett, Jr., *Associate Secretary*

Council

Richard S. Childs, New York, *Chairman*

William Anderson, Minneapolis
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
Frederick L. Bird, New York
Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati
William Collins, Yonkers, N. Y.
L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Mo.
James A. Cunningham, Chicago
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
C. A. Dykstra, Los Angeles
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
B. H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Clarence Francis, Bronxville, N. Y.
Arnold Frye, New York
Lloyd E. Graybiel, San Francisco
Harrison S. Hires, Berwyn, Pa.
Robert W. Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
John S. Linen, New York
Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis
Mrs. Thomas H. Mahony, Boston
D. K. Pfeffer, New York
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Walter M. Phillips, Philadelphia
Lawson Purdy, New York
Harry W. Schacter, Louisville, Ky.
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Henry L. Shattuck, Boston
George S. Van Schaick, New York
Richard Weil, Jr., New York
A. C. (Jack) White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

Publication Office: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
Editorial and Business Office: 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXIX, No. 7 **Total Number 401**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for July 1950

EDITORIAL COMMENT 322

FUTURE OF AN OVERSIZE CITY .... *Luther Gulick* 324

HOW TAMMANY HOLDS POWER .... *Justin N. Feldman* 330

THE DURABLE CITY MANAGER .... *Lewis C. French* 335

VIRGINIA REORGANIZES AGAIN .... *Raymond B. Pinchbeck* 339

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 344

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 353

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION .... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 355

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 357

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 360

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 365

BOOKS IN REVIEW 370

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Index to Legal Periodicals,* the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Copyright July 1950 by
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

PERIODICAL DEPT.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Editorial Comment

Strengthening the Home Front

"LOCAL self-government is our oldest political institution and it should be the most vigorous." In a single sentence the Commission on State Government Organization, in its recent report to the General Assembly and Governor of Connecticut, expressed both a truth and a hope about the American system of government that deserve our concern.

The essential genius of our American system rests on local self-government in our states and home towns. Effective and respected local government with an informed and participating citizenry is the surest defense against the erosion of democracy from within and the overthrow of our system from without. It is as well the best assurance against the foundering of our system through increasing top-heaviness due to the unchecked flow of initiative, responsibility and function from the lower to the upper levels of government.

While from all reports state reorganization in Connecticut is at the moment dead, the need remains insistent and alive. And no need is more pressing in Connecticut than provision for constitutional home rule for towns and cities. When one contemplates this fact, and the present setup of the Connecticut state government with its 200-odd separate disunited parts both unmanaged and unmanageable by any central authority, one realizes how real is the need for action.

The task which is presently before the citizens of Connecticut is the same one that is before the citizens of every other state—to discover how to achieve a responsible, manageable government whose burdens do not grow heavier every year. The way of renewal everywhere in the land is the way of reinvigorating state and local self-government.

At the home front stands the individual citizen who is the ultimate sovereign authority in our republic. His communal needs are the reason for the government; his aspirations define its reach and rule. Woodrow Wilson once asserted that self-government is "not a mere form of government. . . . It is a form of character." Thus the character of our system depends upon the character and, in particular, the devotion and participation of our citizens.

Citizen participation is the ultimate source of public power as well as the inspiration in any effort to strengthen the home front. The best way to develop the habit of citizen participation is to begin with some organized citizen effort for an important reform like home rule or a new city charter.

It was just such organized citizen action that raised Cincinnati from the rank of the worst governed to that of one of the best governed cities in the United States, an improved rank which has been maintained because the city won a good charter and the citizens stayed on the job through the City Charter Committee to make that charter give the kind of service it was designed for. It was that kind of organized citizen action that finally won the almost century long battle for a new state constitution in New Jersey and more recently won for the communities of that state a new set of badly needed optional charters.

It may very well be the failure as yet of any similar cross-section organized citizen support to develop around the proposals of the Connecticut Commission on State Government Organization or any specific modified version of those proposals that made it possible for the Connecticut legislature to adjourn in a manner that justified a recent Hartford *Courant* editorial, "Another Special Session Goes Up in Smoke."

The experience of New Jersey, as one laboratory in constitutional democracy, may be instructive to the citizens of Connecticut and other states who have met with reverses in the effort to revise the fundamental structure of state government or to achieve home rule for cities and towns. Our first word is to be of good cheer, "you may have lost the skirmish but not the war."

From the outset in New Jersey we recognized that constitutional revision is inherently the people's business. It must become a people's crusade for a people's charter.

A state will never get constitutional revision or thoroughgoing reorganization on the initiative and by the sole action of the established party organizations and elected officials. Nor even by determined leadership from elected officials, or the governor himself. Nor by the labors or leadership of the bench and bar. Nor by an effort to secure partisan advantage from its ultimate accomplishment. Nor by any effort to rush the program through to a vote without full and ample discussion.

The ingredients of a successful citizens campaign are many.

First of all it must begin at the grass roots, be sustained at the grass roots, and the final achievement must be related to the grass roots.

There must be a citizens committee that represents a true cross-section of every important element in the community who must feel that they have a full opportunity to express their views and that their views will be respected and considered.

Contact, consultation, cooperation and communication—these are four "C's" of such an effort. And the fifth is *cash!*

Constitutional revision or any other worthwhile reform costs money! There is no use pretending that a long term citizens campaign can be conducted without money and staff. It can't.

Finally, it takes time, planning, patience and perseverance and the volunteer efforts of countless citizens who have been caught up with a vision of service to their state and the generations to follow.

Only through such devoted nonpartisan organized citizen action can the common good be heard above the clamor of special interests. Only through such action can democracy's home front in its home towns be kept strong and healthy.

Adapted from address by SPENCER MILLER, JR., New Jersey highway commissioner and president-elect of American International College, Springfield, Massachusetts, at Northeast Regional Conference on the Council-Manager Plan, New Haven, Connecticut, June 2.

Public Library

Future of an Oversize City

Director of Mayor's Committee on Management Survey lists problems New York must solve if it is to remain great.

By **LUTHER GULICK***

NEW York City is the governmental heart of a metropolitan area of fourteen million men, women and children, of whom slightly under eight million live in the central city. While the very center of this human cyclotron is losing population, the outer rings are still expanding at such a dynamic rate that the entire metropolis is bursting out all over.

The people of New York make their income from commerce, management, finance, small industries involving high skill and rapid style change, and from servicing the population of the area and the visitors who stream in to thrill to the benefits New York enjoys as a matter of habit. The level of income is far above the national average and has the distinction of being the highest level attained for a large mass of population anywhere in the world at any time in history. While this is due in part to favorable geographic location, to a world trade economy, to past history and the energy and imagination of our forebears, it is not maintained without three important factors:

(1) The peoples of this area work at a higher level of creative output than do other populations. If commutation time is counted, they also work longer hours than most city populations though the extra time is not directly productive;

(2) The enterprise of the area is more competitive and diversified, and therefore more elastic and quickly adaptable in meeting the changes of a changing world, than in other centers; and

(3) The services and the tools with which the population works are more advanced, more modernized, more technological than in any other similar situation. Among these higher levels of service are those of the city government.

Neither New York City nor any other area can make a living by taking in its own wash, that is, by mutual internal services. To exist we must render indispensable service to the rest of the national economy and to the world. For every five workers in New York, two work for the outside economy.

How do we know that New York is "oversize"? We call boys and girls

---

*Dr. Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration, has been made executive director of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey, recently appointed by Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York City. Well known in the field of public administration and research, Dr. Gulick has held important government wartime posts, among them director of the Office of Organizational Planning of the War Production Board, consultant to the National Resources Planning Board and member of the President's Commission on Administrative Management. He was a member of the U. S. Reparations Mission staff at Moscow, Potsdam, Tokyo and other cities during 1945-46. This article is based on Dr. Gulick's address before the League of Women Voters of New York City, May 23, 1950.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

"overgrown" when they have shot up fast, outgrowing their clothes and shoes, and when they display a gawky awkwardness for a time. Then they stop rapid growth, their nervous system catches up, and the girls become graceful and beautiful women and the boys become well coordinated and vigorous men.

An Over-size City

By these standards New York is overgrown. The greater city is now just over 50 years old though the old city was incorporated in 1653. The population growth by decades since 1900 reads like this: 39 per cent, 18 per cent, 23 per cent, 7.6 per cent, and about 4.5 per cent in the last decade. We have certainly outgrown housing, water supply, schools and hospitals. And, like a small boy whose feet foreshadow his stature, New York has burst out of its shoes, that is, its means of locomotion—streets, subways and other transport facilities. It is choked by its own traffic.

While these statistics might indicate that the city may have come to the end of its growth, this is illusory. The census gets this result only by counting people in bed where they sleep. Even so, it is only the inner city which has stopped growing while the periphery—the suburbs—is still expanding at a rapid rate, so that the total metropolitan area will probably show a growth of about 10 per cent in this past decade. There is still every indication that the metropolitan area will go on growing for several decades to come.

Most city planners have been saying for at least a generation that this area would and should now begin a population and economic decline. Mayor LaGuardia said that New York is too large and that we must take steps to reduce the town. The population experts put flies in a bottle and prove that nature will take care of the problem and bring us down to a reasonable figure.

And yet, people still come to the city; population still presses into the metropolitan area. And the people who come are the adventurous and the energetic, seeking to advance their own interests and to enhance their standards of living.

Why will New York continue to grow in all probability? For the simple reason that people like to be here. They are drawn by the higher income, the higher standard of living, the greater opportunities, higher concentration of economic and management power, the larger measure of personal freedom, the extraordinary wealth of association, the diversity and quality of leisure time activities, and the amenities of individual and communal life.

There is, I think, something even more fundamental in the growth of the great city. Aristotle put his finger on it over two thousand years ago when he said, "Man is by nature a political animal." The word he used for describing man's nature was from the Greek word meaning city. So he really said "man is by nature a city dweller." Bees live in hives, ants in hills, wolves in packs, certain birds in flocks and men—when they can—in cities.

What about the future? What are its major problems? These seem to

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

fall into four main categories: economic problems, having to do with the way we make our living; political problems, having to do with the way we govern ourselves; administrative problems, having to do with the way we organize and manage our government; and governmental policy problems, having to do primarily with what we do through government. It is this last set of problems which will be discussed here. Some of the things the city must face are these:

(1) *War and Peace.* Aerial warfare takes a hideous toll of the cities. The destruction of the physical fabric is more serious than is the disruption of the economic or social fabric. But in any future war, the destruction of the city will be far more extreme. This fact is of particular significance for New York City because of the propaganda value of an initial attack on this center. While this observation justifies special thought for dealing with disaster, it should redouble our efforts for peace and for those national policies of trade, finance, international cooperation and action which tend to eliminate and restrict the dangers of war.

(2) *Transportation.* I strongly suspect that the limiting factor not only for growth but for the maintenance of a high level of income, production and of the good life in this area is found in transportation. We are already stifling manufacturing, merchants, commerce and amusement activities by traffic congestion on and under the streets. We are already stretching out the working day, portal to portal, by approximately 45 to 100 minutes more than it need be. This is a tremendous toll of our most precious resource, the energies of the people.

We will have to do some spectacular things about transportation. Even an expenditure of say three to five billion dollars for transit, traffic, street and freight improvements and housing located to prevent needless traffic, would probably pay out in a very few years and at the same time preserve some five billion dollars of downtown values which may otherwise disintegrate.

Cleanliness Problems

(3) *Water.* The lack of this can be appreciated when it is realized that New York City has enjoyed an excellent and abundant supply of water. While we know the value of cool, clear, soft water as individuals, we must not overlook its value also in industry and in the health and safety of the city as a whole. Water is also the great secret of economical city cleanliness, especially for the future, as we go more and more into mechanization of household and general city sanitation.

(4) *Air Pollution and Harbor Pollution.* Though these are costly to remedy the way out is clear. All that is required is some civic determination and the imposition of reasonable controls.

(5) *Housing and Slum Clearance* is an eternal problem, because all housing gets old with time, most housing gets obsolete as standards rise and much housing is neglected as to maintenance, especially when rents are fixed and profits to marginal landlords are wiped out between the pressure of rent limitations

on top and the rise of wages and costs below.

(6) *Port of New York.* This is one of our great assets provided world trade continues at a high level and that port efficiency is maintained at a level sufficiently high to absorb the higher per hour wage levels and higher rentals without producing higher costs. The city made a spectacular and imaginative step in this direction when it set up the Port of New York Authority in 1921. That was a stroke of economic and political genius. And the Port Authority has done wonders with its tunnels, bridges and inland terminals and is pressing forward similarly with the airports.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

But at one point the Port Authority has come up against a stone wall, made up of the railroads on one side and of labor on the other. It is fortunate that the mayor has appointed a special committee to explore this situation before New York accidentally kills the goose while it squabbles over the golden eggs.

Expanding Education

(7) *Education.* The new pressures for schools and for the expansion of education come from the sudden rise of the birth rate, part of which seems to be temporary, and also from the increased appreciation of the value of education beyond high school designed to make the rising generation more effective workers, better citizens, better homemakers and better equipped to enjoy life. Then, too, more grown-ups reach for the gains which come from adult education. This question of how much income we can and must put into education raises problems of deep significance, because education is apparently the ladder by which mankind rises from level to level in the process of civilization.

(8) *Health, hospitals and Medical Research.* No advance in city life in the past 50 years has been so spectacular as in the field of health. This remarkable advance is the direct result of medical research followed by professional public administration and general public education. In the field of health these three steps have done the trick: (1) research leading to a new technology, (2) technological administration free from politics, and (3) the mass education of the people to make good use of their rising economic resources.

We need a new concept of the health function in local government. With all the discoveries of medicine, psychology and sociology over the past generation, how sensible is it to confine the work of the city health department to communicable diseases? No city can exist without that basic health service but that alone is a poor utilization of what we now know about the conditions which will make a happy, efficient and hardworking human being in the environment of the great city.

(9) *Zoning, Building Codes and Planning.* The city undertakes to restrict private enterprise and individual initiative in construction as a protection for the community as a whole and for the safety and values of the neighbors. There are always three dangers: that we will end up by protecting special privilege rather than the community, that we will

fail to accept new developments as promptly as we should, and that we will underrate the creative force of private enterprise in community planning, once the broad outlines have been determined through cooperative public and private action.

We must watch our step, because in our kind of world bad plans are worse than no plans. We are not yet very skillful at relating our activities in housing, speedways, streets, subways, tunnels, bridges and schools to the fundamental economic and social structure by which we live. That is why we must see that revised zoning, up-to-date building codes and planning of a distinctly higher level are major problems for the future. But we must not throttle that future by too great confidence in our own timidity.

Crime an Urban Problem

(10) *Crime.* We are now in the midst of a new nation-wide review of a rising tide of organized and of juvenile crime. Congress and the Federal Bureau of Investigation are deeply concerned. Various governors have started investigations and the mayors of the larger cities called for help over a year ago. In New York recent disclosures have shocked us into a new awareness.

Crime is peculiarly a problem for the great urban areas, not because city people are more vicious than are country people but because the freedom and anonymity of city life relax the immediate controls of family and community. Also the congestion of the city, the lack of "chores" for city youth and the tawdriness and passivity of amusements, even if one has some spending money, bottle up the atomic energy of youth to a dangerous degree. But, whatever the causes, we face in the challenge of crime an old problem in a new guise, which will demand our best thinking in the immediate future.

(11) *Cleanliness.* I put this last, because it sums up so much that has gone before—water and air and housing, health and education, even crime—these are all related to this question of plain decent cleanliness.

My heart is sad when I see the thoughtless filth of this city. The matchless Hudson River, the green Sound and the blue harbor are open sewers; the air is often choking and filthy; the streets are wind tunnels of litter.

It is easy to blame some of this on the city government. But progress is being made and will be both significant and expensive over the years. But the real trouble is right at home in the habits of the people.

We are a literate people, so nearly everybody reads the newspaper—and then drops it in the subway or on the street. We go to extremes in wrapping everything to guarantee that each candy, stick of gum, loaf of bread, handkerchief or what have you reaches the customer in sanitary condition—and then the wrapper is dropped just anywhere.

The filthy river and the grimy and fume laden air can be cured by engineering and by the imposition of controls. This will take time and money, but it will be done.

Similarly the street cleaning and the waste disposal problems will be solved as soon as we get to work on the engineering problems involved. What we need is more and better mechanization as well as some controls.

But what about the habits of the people? What may we expect from the homes and the schools? As to this, though thoroughly disgusted right now, I am still an optimist. But isn't it time we started to make private cleanliness in public a habit from which the city dweller gets personal satisfaction as he does from any other decency of human behaviour?

These are the great problems with which the city must wrestle. Every one but war is primarily a local problem, which cannot be solved except with the aid of the city government. That is why city government, and efficient city government, is of such importance. And that is why Mayor O'Dwyer has set up his Committee on Management Survey.

Mayor's Committee

Chairman of the committee is Comptroller Lazarus Joseph. The mayor has enlisted also the aid of other top city officials, of career city employees, of representatives of business, finance, labor and the professions, and the leaders of the major civic organizations.

The first management survey which the committee has launched, and which has received the approval of the Board of Estimate to the tune of $220,000, is the study of taxation and city finance. This is precisely the project which the League of Women Voters of New York City suggested two years ago, with the aid and collaboration of eleven other civic groups which met under its call.

In this field of finance and taxation, as well as in all the others which the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey will tackle, the experts will not come up with final and conclusive answers on all matters. The technical experts and engineers will give us the facts. They will give us the value of their best judgment based on experience, with many new and creative ideas.

But, in the end, the committee, the mayor and board of estimate, and the citizens of New York will have to make the really important policy decisions; and they will have to furnish the will to act. A management survey can give us knowledge, it can give us outlines for better methods, but it cannot dictate the decisions, it cannot produce the determination to do something.

How Tammany Holds Power

Democratic machine can smother all opposition because New York primary laws permit a party to make its own rules.

By **JUSTIN N. FELDMAN***

TAMMANY Hall may consider the New York primary law a nuisance but never an obstacle. The long cherished hopes of Charles Evans Hughes which eventually developed into New York State's primary election system have been completely frustrated by failure of the law to prescribe rules for the internal management of political parties.

How does the notorious Tammany Hall organization operate to perpetuate its control of the party's machinery despite a direct primary law. It should be made perfectly clear at the outset that, while this story deals with the Democratic party organization on Manhattan Island (New York County), the techniques described and, yes, even some of the incidents, are often duplicated in the Republican party.

Tammany Hall is the popular name for the executive committee organization in Manhattan. Once the dominant influence over the party organization in the entire city, Tammany has lost much of its power in recent years because of its failure to offer any real service to the voters, its loss of contact with the average Democratic voter for whom it presumes to speak, the emergence in the other counties within the city of strong leaders, such as Ed Flynn in the Bronx, and the vehement denunciations it has had to withstand from many respected citizens.

Still, it is Tammany Hall which, by controlling the party machinery, designates the party's candidates for public office. It is Tammany which sends large delegations to the all-important state and national nominating conventions. It is Tammany which dispenses whatever city, state and federal patronage falls to the Democrats. And it is Tammany which, under the election law, is authorized to make the rules by which the party in Manhattan is governed.

In Manhattan the Democratic vote regularly exceeds that of the Republican party. In most areas of the island a victory in the Democratic primary is tantamount to election. As less than 10 per cent of the Democrats in any given area of Manhattan ever vote in even the most hotly contested primary, Tammany, capitalizing on apathy, on its control of the machinery and on the obstacles it knows how to put in the way of insurgents, rules the roost.

Manhattan has sixteen assembly districts, each of which elects a representative to the lower house of the legislature. Each assembly district is divided into election districts

---

*Mr. Feldman, a New York lawyer, is a member of the new Manhattan intra-party group known as the Fair Deal Democrats. Long active in public affairs, he was formerly chairman of the speaker's bureau of the Democratic State Committee and director of veteran affairs of the American Veterans Committee.

(voting precincts) on the basis of the number of registered voters in the area. The number of election districts varies from 28 in the fourteenth assembly district to 105 in the fifth. The boundaries of the various assembly districts and of the election districts are set by the city council, which is commonly controlled by the Democratic party, and Tammany can thereby gerrymander the boundaries to suit its own convenience.

District Leaders

Each of Manhattan's sixteen assembly districts has one vote in the party's executive committee and is represented there by at least one district leader and a woman co-leader, sometimes more. The co-leader is entitled to divide the district's vote and cast her portion as she likes but by force of long tradition she usually remains in the background and exercises her vote in accordance with the wishes of her leader. The value of the district's vote on this executive committee depends further upon the number of leaders there are from that particular district. For the number of leaders and co-leaders who will be recognized and entitled to sit on this party executive committee with fractional votes is determined, not by statute or by the enrolled Democrats or by the geographical size or party registration of the assembly district, but by the whim or the carefully calculated design of the executive committee itself.

Most of the assembly districts in Manhattan have thus been carefully subdivided by the executive committee to the advantage of its veteran members. An assembly district may be represented on the executive committee or "in the hall" by two, three or even seven district leaders and an equal number of co-leaders. The assembly district in which I reside, for example, has seven leaders and seven co-leaders on the Tammany executive committee; each of these leaders and co-leaders is entitled to 1/14th of a vote.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

The leader is an extremely important person. Aside from his countywide power as a member of "the hall," he helps control nominations in "his" county subdivisions which elect assemblymen, state senators, congressmen and certain judges.

But how is this key leader (executive committee member) chosen? In other counties of greater New York, Democratic district leaders are elected by the voters direct; likewise in other parties. But to make boss control of the party easier in Manhattan, the leader is not voted for in a party primary directly by the voters but is selected by the members of the county committee in his portion of the assembly district.

Now, let's look at this county committee. It is a massive barrier. By state law two county committeemen must be elected from each little election district. The party may by its rules provide such additional memberships on the county committee as its chairman deems desirable, so long as the additional membership for each election district is kept in proportion to the party vote for governor in the last gubernatorial race. So each election district in Manhattan elects some ten to twenty committeemen. The number of committeemen in each assembly district consequently comes to 1,125 or more![1] Most of the members of the county committee are friends and relatives of the party's election district captains (whom the leader appoints) and don't even know they are on the committee, much less what its function and power may be.

Railroaded Action

In calling a meeting of the county committee members in his part of the assembly district, it is not uncommon for the leader to notify only those persons whom he knows to be friendly. Tammany Hall appoints the temporary chairman and secretary of the meeting. A script is prepared in advance and distributed to the "actors" who have been given particular parts for the evening. The chairman, working from a copy of his script, will only recognize those persons whose names appear on it although scores of other voters howl concertedly for a chance to speak or nominate. Often the meetings are held on the street. A truck is backed up in front of the local district club house. Passers-by are treated to a routine bit of mumbo-jumbo from the chairman on the truck. The stalwart Tammany committeemen who are present rubberstamp the top command's choice for leader. Who can prove that there, in the open air, no quorum of county committeemen was present?

An insurgent seeking to elect sufficient county committeemen pledged to support him for leader has an almost insuperable task confronting him.

He must print and circulate nominating petitions bearing the names of a different slate of county committeemen for each little election district. If a name is misspelled on the petition, or if the signer uses an initial in signing instead of his full given name, or if the color of the petition differs in tint from the prescribed shade, or if the petition sheet uses an abbreviation in the name of an avenue or street, or if any one of several hundred pitfalls which have been read into the direct primary law are not avoided, the petitions will be whittled down and voided by the Board of Elections.

Under New York State law the Board of Elections is composed of four commissioners, two designated by the Democratic executive committees for the counties of New York and Kings (Brooklyn) and two by the Republicans. In all internal fights whereby the control of the dominant factions of the "regular" organizations are threatened, one hand very definitely washes the other.

If the insurgent candidate for leader succeeds nevertheless in getting his slates on the ballots, he must deal with the further difficulty that his name does not appear anywhere on the ballots, and the task of informing even an aroused electorate, so that they may pick out his ten or twenty supporters on the primary ballot, is extremely difficult.

---

[1] The whole county has about 20,000 county committeemen. Except for one occasion in 1933, however, no meeting of the entire county committee has ever been attended by more than 500 persons.

Now, assume—if you can—that you have succeeded in electing a majority of the county committee in your bailiwick! Isn't that enough? Won't your candidate then be duly elected by the committeemen who have thus been pledged to vote for him? Surely if Tammany in calling the meeting has notified all of the persons entitled to attend, and if the persons whom you have elected attend, and if the Tammany-appointed chairman of the meeting acts fairly, and if the Tammany-appointed secretary of the meeting counts the votes accurately, and if the police repulse Tammany attempts to pack the meeting, you will elect the district leader? Oh, no! Not so simple! There are many other obstacles which Tammany may put in your way. They may do any of the following under the rules they have set up since the law empowers them to concoct their own rules:

You Can't Win!

Suppose you run a candidate for district leader in an assembly district which contains 99 election districts. There have always been three leaders in that district and the fellow you are anxious to oust is in charge of election districts one through 33. You file your petitions for those districts. You elect your slates for county committeemen in twenty of the 33 districts and are feeling pretty secure about the prospective meeting of the county committeemen when called to select the leader.

Tammany, however, has the right to decide *after* the primary that the man you opposed will now govern only thirteen safe districts and the remaining twenty, wherein you were successful, will be added to the territory of the fellow who previously had the 33 adjoining election districts numbered 34 to 66. You now control only twenty districts out of the revised group of 53.

Under Tammany rules, the executive committee—that is, the other leaders—may sit as judge of the qualifications of its own members and may veto the choice made by the county committeemen and substitute a man of their own selection. And this decision, again under the rules, may be made by the outgoing executive committee on which the leader you opposed is entitled to vote.

But this is not all. They have other devices! In 1947 a group of Democrats in the fifteenth assembly district organized to elect a district leader. After a hard and bitter fight waged against a leader who had been in control of that particular district for fourteen years, they elected a majority of county committeemen. Through the use of pressure on other party leaders they were able to get acceptance for their choice by the executive committee.

Some months later, however, the Tammany county leader, chairman of both the county committee and its executive committee, called a meeting of the county committeemen of that assembly district and, accompanied by some of his strong-arm men, attended this meeting which was chaired by his designee. When he walked in, he distributed copies of a script for the meeting to his ac-

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

complices and the meeting went off like a well rehearsed radio program.

Following a line by line recital of the script, the assembly district, which had heretofore had only one district leader casting a full vote in the councils of the executive committee, was declared split. A second district leader was selected—someone whom nobody in the district had heard of. The meeting was declared adjourned and the master light switch was pulled so that the meeting could not continue and objectors could not be heard.

A new henchman of the dominant faction of Tammany had been installed and from that time forward the leader chosen by the county committeemen of the district no longer enjoyed a full vote in the executive committee but was relegated to a half vote, offset, of course, by the half vote of the newcomer.

Tricks of the Trade

In the 1949 primary an insurgent candidate in the first assembly district filed petitions in the election districts covered by two incumbent Tammany leaders. He won a majority of the election districts in one portion of the assembly district, but not in the second. When the meeting of the county committee was called, he found that it was a combined meeting of both portions of the district and the majority he had in one section was completely swallowed up in the larger meeting.

There being sixteen assembly districts, one might think there would be a total of sixteen votes on the executive committee. But the chairman of the executive committee has an additional vote by virtue of his office. He has the further right to appoint—and remove—three subcommittee chairmen each of whom may cast a full vote in addition to his vote as a district leader. In this way the chairman controls four votes out of twenty.

All these extremely undemocratic methods are the result of a direct primary law which allows the party executive committee to make its own rules—rules that thus fortify tight clique control. It is in this way that a coterie of political leaders in Manhattan is able to frustrate insurgency, hold power for generations and select its successors. Those who are concerned with political and democratic techniques must turn their attention and that of the public to the important problem of ensuring democracy in the internal structure and machinery of parties.

Samuel S. Fels, Industrialist and Philanthropist, Dies at 90

Samuel S. Fels, honorary vice president and former League Council member, died June 23 in Philadelphia at the age of 90 after a brief illness.

Mr. Fels, who had functioned actively as president of the Fels Naphtha Soap Company until he went to the hospital June 8, was noted for his philanthropies and for the modesty which kept many of them from public notice. He was devoted to research, particularly in governmental affairs and medicine, financing many projects through the Samuel S. Fels Fund, of which Frederick P. Gruenberg is secretary-treasurer.

The Durable City Manager

PERIODICAL DEPT.

'Henry Traxler won't last,' Janesville said 27 years ago, but he has brought economies and progress out of collapse.

By **LEWIS C. FRENCH***

HENRY TRAXLER, the durable city manager of Janesville, will complete his 27th year in office next September 15.

Only one other municipal manager in the country, Herbert L. Woolhiser of Winnetka, Illinois, who took his job in 1917, has been on the job longer than the chief municipal executive of the Rock County seat.

The impressive aspect of City Manager Traxler's long term is that Traxler has stuck despite being continually subject to variable political whims and demands. Janesville residents take their politics seriously; a whisper at breakfast time about some political gripe becomes free wheeling gossip by lunch time and on every lip by dinner.

How does any municipal official remain in good standing with voters that long?

Traxler is both tough-crusted and efficient. Henry has a valuable habit of using his impaired hearing to ignore insults and ride out every political storm. He outperforms and outlasts his political opponents. Those elected to the council to unseat him become converts.

The ride has been rough at times, including flare-ups in the police department where officers shouted about "dictatorship." But each election time voters looked at their low tax bills, the municipal improvements and the general efficiency, and continued to back their city manager.

To appreciate fully City Manager Traxler's record it is necessary to scan the Janesville scene before he came here.

Thirty years ago Janesville was a conservative, solid municipality of about 18,000 in a fertile farm area. It had top notch farmers and mixed industry, including the Parker Pen Company and the old Janesville Machine Company, both founded by residents.

Periodically in those days there were political fights in municipal elections. The population was about divided between Protestants and Catholics and it was solidly Republican. Ballots often were marked on religious lines.

Industry then was mostly nonunionized. Labor leaders drew unfriendly stares.

This pre-Traxler era was also the time of the spectacular boom of the Samson Tractor Company under the direction of William C. Durant, president of General Motors. The building of the tractor plant on the Spring Brook flats sent property values climbing and the population rising.

---

*Mr. French has been reporter and writer on the Milwaukee *Journal* for the past 25 years. Previously he was employed on the Janesville *Gazette* where he was an observer of the city's political and civic campaigns, becoming familiar with the early administration of Mr. Traxler of whom he writes. His article is reprinted from the Milwaukee *Journal* of April 23.

With a rather lordly air, Durant would make inspection trips with the city officials. He urged them to expand the hospital, build a new high school, pave streets and to plan for a city of 100,000. Janesville was going to have the world's biggest foundry and tractor plant. The city fathers gasped, but there was a general feeling that General Motors and Durant would pay the bill. The municipal budget soared.

But when a showdown came in farm implement manufacturing, the Ford Motor Company outdistanced GMC and left General Motors with a costly set of empty buildings at Janesville. The boom was over.

When the city fathers figured the cost of municipal improvements in the upswing, they shuddered at the thought of facing the taxpayers.

And smack into the middle of this situation stepped a young engineer with Jewish blood. At first Janesville was a bit flabbergasted and skeptical. There was many a knowing wink—"He won't last long." That was 27 years ago.

With that engineering mind of his Traxler went to work in the city hall to figure out a financial solution and a long time program. Even then there was a calm determination that the city would not slip back into a rut.

Traxler took a look at the Rock River. To the north was Goose Island, a swamp and garbage dump. Across the river was a bramble of woods; to the south another swamp, Monterey marsh, a haven for muskrats and at times ducks. On the drawing board he doodled a sketch of a parkway that people could use and enjoy—somewhat of a dreamy hope—that is, if he lasted. He did and the dream is a reality—the Blackhawk Parkway program.

Traxler, born in Milwaukee, was graduated from the old East Division High School. His father, Max, came from Vienna and was in the coal business in Milwaukee. He died when the son was eighteen.

Played Movie House Drums

Traxler was graduated from the University of Wisconsin as a civil engineer in 1910. Music paid for most of his education. Henry was a bear with the drums. He and his brother Arthur attracted the attention of Thomas Saxe and Oscar Ostoff of Milwaukee, who hired the pair for their movie emporiums.

"Music is all right for fun and quick money but I am an engineer," reasoned the new graduate. He went to California and later became a consulting engineer in Clarinda, Iowa. Came the lean years and Traxler took the job as city manager of the Iowa city of 5,000. That was 34 years ago.

Janesville, weary of political turmoil, was one of the first to adopt the city manager type of government. The classmates of Henry Traxler at Wisconsin plugged for the young engineer in Iowa. Traxler got the job.

Janesville began pulling itself out of the collapse of the Samson Tractor Company. General Motors got out of the farm implement business. Durant was out as president. The Janesville plant was converted to a division of Chevrolet Motors, and people went back to work. Janesville began a steady climb to around 26,000 population.

Janesville finally paid the boom bills. The people dug down for the hospital. The city soon found out its manager was a whiz at municipal finance.

"We couldn't do what we wanted in a year, but we made certain that there was money available to pay," says Traxler.

Municipal affairs were centralized. In the old days departments did their own purchasing and zealously guarded their equipment, stored most of the time.

Now the fire department buys all the hose, keeping the new and the best. The old is graded and passed down to do the rough work of the street department. The compressors at the waterworks and the street department digging machines are passed around. The graders when not working on streets are used on the parks.

"Saves money and gets the work done," says Traxler. "Just because an engineer is assigned to the waterworks is no reason why he cannot help on the public parks at times."

Sticks to His Job

Over the years Traxler poured oil on any troublesome municipal issues. Any robust kick aimed at him never got to a vote. It was smoothed out.

"One of the basic things to keep municipal harmony is to stick strictly to administrative and executive work, never butting in on council legislative matters," he says. "I hewed to that line from the start, giving advice on municipal laws and legislation only when asked."

The miracle is how the city has done so much with so little money.

Janesville in 1922 had a valuation of $28,800,000 and a tax rate of $26.76 per thousand—the highest in 27 years.

Without any material increase in individual assessments in the last 20 years, the 1949 valuation was up to $43,340,000 and the tax rate for both 1948 and 1949 at $23.50 per $1,000.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

The city has no bonds outstanding. Nor does the city collect a cent for general city administration from the personal property taxes. It pays cash under a well documented budget system, generally figured a year in advance.

Keeps Taxpayers Satisfied

Total municipal receipts in 1948 were $953,000 and only $497,500 went on the tax rolls for general city administration. In 1949 the receipts topped $1,151,000 with only $660,000 on the municipal tax rolls and this year the budget is just over a million with $625,000 coming from the general taxpayers.

"You cannot beat reasonable taxes," testify the Janesville residents. "Traxler and the council kept the rate down, far below the average of other cities in the state."

The lowest tax rate during the regime of Traxler as city manager was $18 per thousand in 1932. "But look at the accomplishments," say Janesville citizens.

In 1923 there were 21.75 miles of paved streets. Now there are 84.56 miles. Only three and one-half miles in the city limits are unpaved.

There were 43½ miles of sanitary sewer when the city manager started. Now there are 74 miles.

There were less than eight miles of storm sewers and often there were flooded streets. Now there are 34½ miles carrying the rush of rain water to the river.

There are a modern water filtration and sewage treatment plant and artesian wells with a ten million gallon reservoir.

The parks are the pride of Janesville. The city acquired the Monterey marsh, filled in the land and built a stadium and athletic field. The land cost $1,500. Donations and city planning at the old Goose Island dump transformed the area into a fine park. The river was shored up for a winter sports area.

Across the river is a municipal golf club better than the dues paying country club, a park for family picnics and a place for the youngsters to play.

On the fringe of the city is wooded La Prairie Park. Useless gravel pits from which much Wisconsin highway material came were put to public use. One is for trap-shooters and marksmen. The banker, pen grinder and automobile assembly plant worker have fun there.

The Lions Club sponsored another project. A second gravel pit has been converted into a bathing beach. As many as 7,000 use it. New bathhouses are being built. Donated land of the Palmer and Jeffris Parks has been landscaped and made useful.

Every old grade school in the city was replaced by a modern school. The city is planning a new high school to cost more than three million dollars—on 45 acres adjoining Palmer Park. The present high school will go for a junior high school.

The 1950 budget calls for expansion of the sewage treatment plant. Every improvement scheduled will be paid for without upping the tax bill too much, the result of long time planning.

"Traxler makes every cent count. You would think it was his money the way he nurses it," say council members.

Those parks have had an effect. When Monterey district home owners saw that muskrat swamp blossom into a stadium park they got out the paint brush, rebuilt houses and planted gardens to the new river front.

This change so stirred Sam Grundy, tobacco dealer, that he bought a pet dog for the city manager's son, Sidney. "I never expected to see such a civic lift," said Grundy.

Labor Does Its Part

Janesville elections are still hotly contested but on more tolerant lines. You seldom hear any mention of religion.

More, the city found out union labor men as well as business and professional men think and act for civic improvement.

Five out of the present council of seven members have distinct labor background. The council members are elected at large, eliminating ward heeling politics.

"We work in full harmony and think of the city as a whole," says Harry Johnson, council president.

(Continued on page 343)

Virginia Reorganizes Again

Saves at least $1,500,000 during past year and creates permanent post to make improvement process continuous.

By **RAYMOND B. PINCHBECK***

THE reorganization of state administration in Virginia, provided by the 1948 General Assembly and inaugurated by Governor William M. Tuck, should bring "annual savings conservatively estimated at $1,500,000," according to Charles J. Duke, Jr., appointed by the governor to direct the reorganization program. And the surface has barely been scratched, Mr. Duke said when he presented his final report to the governor last November.

The reorganization came about as the result of a 1946 joint resolution of the Virginia General Assembly creating a Commission on Reorganization of the State Government under former U. S. Senator Thomas G. Burch, chairman. The commission, aided by Griffenhagen and Associates, consultants in public administration and finance, reported to the governor in December 1947. He presented proposals based on the report in a forceful address to the General Assembly in January.

A considerable number of the commission's recommendations were adopted by the 1948 legislature which, in addition, took a significant step by providing for a technical staff to work out reorganization details. Governor Tuck appointed Mr. Duke, bursar of the College of William and Mary, as chief of staff to direct the program. He served until late in 1949. Mr. Duke and his technical assistants from Griffenhagen and Associates made nearly 30 detailed studies of state departments and agencies in the course of putting the reorganization program into effect.

Latest development is creation of the position of executive assistant to the governor by act of the 1950 legislature. This office is a permanent one, designed to carry on the reorganization plan continuously, and is providing a powerful drive for improvement in the operation of state agencies.

Governmental reorganization is not new to Virginia. One of the significant results of the report of the Virginia State Commission on Economy and Efficiency of 1916 was adoption of the state budget law in 1918. This beginning was undertaken at the time Illinois was receiving national recognition for reorganization under the leadership of Governor Frank O. Lowden.

In 1922 the Virginia Commission on the Simplification of the State Government was appointed by Governor E. Lee Trinkle, reporting its findings two years later. This was followed by two significant reports in 1927. One was on the proposed reorganization of the state government and the other on the reorganization of county government. Both were made by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research (now the Institute of Public Administration) under appointment by Governor Harry Flood Byrd. Governor Byrd named a constitutional commission of 38 citizens to study the 1927 reports and to make recommendations on constitutional amendments to effect the reorganization. The amendments passed by the General Assembly were adopted by the voters in 1928.

---

*Dr. Pinchbeck has been dean of Richmond College, University of Richmond, since 1932 and professor of applied economics at the university since 1929. He has held numerous appointments on both state and federal government commissions, was chairman of the Virginia Commission on County Government and a member of the Virginia Council on Public Administration. He has been a member of the Virginia Tax Commission since 1948.

Agencies Consolidated

The reorganization of 1927-28 abolished more than 30 agencies and consolidated some 95 more into eleven departments and the governor's office: highways, education, conservation, corporations, agriculture, finance, health, industrial relations, law, welfare and taxation. It also included provision for the most modern system of state accounting, budgeting, pre-audit, post-audit and financial reporting. It placed the governor in the position of central control of the entire state government in a manner similar to the modern business corporation president. It shortened the ballot by making the superintendent of public instruction, judges of the corporation commission and the commissioner of agriculture appointive officials by the governor, subject to approval of the General Assembly.

The reorganization legislation authorized the General Assembly to provide optional forms of county government which could be adopted by the voters in a given county. In 1932 the General Assembly enacted the optional forms act providing for the county manager and county executive forms of administration. The same General Assembly provided for uniform accounting systems in all counties, mandatory annual audits by the state auditor of public accounts or certified public accountants approved by him, for the publication of uniform statistical and accounting reports on all counties by the state auditor, for more adequate bond security for public county funds in the banks and held by public officials, and forbade county officials to maintain county funds in their private bank accounts.

Governor Byrd, in his message to the General Assembly in 1928, stated that the reforms actually adopted would save approximately $800,000 annually. Two years later, however, State Budget Director J. H. Bradford is quoted as estimating actual savings at about $450,000 annually.

During the depression years of the 1930s few efforts were made to reorganize state government further. The number of independent state agencies, which had been reduced to approximately 60 in 1927, increased to 68 by 1937—the Burch commission found at least 70 in 1947.

The 1934 General Assembly did create an Advisory Legislative Council for the study of governmental problems between legislative sessions, which has made many valuable studies, some of them bearing on administrative reorganization. In 1942 the General Assembly adopted some of its recommendations—establishment of the Department of Mental Hygiene and Hospitals, Department of Corrections, a statewide system of probation and parole, a state retirement system and the beginning of a state personnel system.

1948 Recommendations

The Burch Commission on the Reorganization of the State Government recommended to the 1948 General Assembly that the 70 state agencies be reorganized into "eleven so-called operating departments to render direct services to the public, and six organizational units which render auxiliary, facilitative services to the operating departments. Some of the latter are placed in the governor's office because they have been and are so closely associated with so many of the administrative actions which the governor must take."

The commission outlined its proposed reorganization plan with three groupings of agencies under the governor: (1) Immediate office — secretaries, Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Division of the Budget, Division of Personnel; (2) departments with auxiliary staff functions—Accounts and Purchases, Treasury, Taxation; (3) departments rendering direct services to the public—Agriculture and Immigration, Alcoholic Beverage Control, Conservation and Development, Public Education, Labor and Industry and Employment Security, Health, Highways, Military Affairs, Professional and Occupational Registration, State Police, Welfare and Institutions.

The commission proposed to leave the Department of Corporations as an administrative agency headed by the Corporation Commission, which is elected by the General Assembly as provided by the constitution. No change was made in the office of the attorney general who is elected under the present constitution. The auditor of public accounts is elected by the General Assembly since his office is a legislative agency. No changes were proposed for administration of institutions of higher learning supported by the state.

The commission argued that, in addition to permitting comprehensive savings, these advantages would result from its proposals:

1. It would reduce the number of agencies responsible to the governor from 70 odd to eleven operating departments and six staff agencies, thus making possible the effective direction of the state's administrative program by the governor.

2. It would simplify the structure of the state's executive branch. The public would deal with fewer agencies and delay, lost motion, indecision and lost time would be avoided.

3. It would eliminate unnecessary duplications of work.

4. It would fix responsibilities, functions and activities in more suitable places in the organizational structure.

5. It would "provide more effective service. This would be true with respect to almost every one of the proposed new departments. It would be especially important with respect to the proposed departments of welfare and institutions; conservation and development; labor, industry, and employment security; and public education."

The General Assembly did not adopt all the commission's recommendations. Instead of reducing the 70 separate agencies to seventeen, the 1948 reorganization act provided for about 40 agencies. Most of the advantages listed above have been substantially achieved, however. Substantial savings have been identified. For example, as a result of the internal reorganization of the Department of Welfare and Institutions, the Department of Conservation and Development and the Department of Accounts and Purchases, annual savings of approximately $1,500,000 were made. More effective service was also made possible.

Reorganization Accepted

Perhaps the largest accomplishment of the Virginia reorganization program came through the acceptance of a new attitude toward governmental reorganization. For the first time in Virginia, and one of the few times in any state, reorganization came to have a dynamic meaning beyond mere statutory juggling. It came to embrace a new approach, a reappraisal, a new set of values. The latter included a greatly increased consciousness of the need for management. The Byrd reorganization of a generation ago went a long way toward improvement. The current reorganization program was aimed at extension and refinement of the earlier efforts, and at correcting the situation that had developed since then.

In his final report to Governor Tuck, Mr. Duke urged that further proposals by the Burch commission be effected. These included:

1. Merger of the Department of Labor and Industry, the Unemployment Compensation Commission and the Industrial Commission.

2. Merger of the Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries, Fisheries Commission and State Water Control Board with the Department of Conservation and Development.

3. Inclusion of all autonomous boards—eight of the seventeen were excluded by the 1948 General Assembly—in the new Department of Professional and Occupational Registration.

4. Reassignment of the functions of the Commission for the Blind—its public assistance program to the Department of Welfare and Institutions and its workshops, rehabilitation and sight-saving classes to the Department of Education.

5. Either abolish the Milk Commission or merge it with the Department of Agriculture.

6. Transfer functions of the Department of Agriculture's food and dairy division to the Health Department to avoid "one of the most flagrant existing duplications in the state government."

7. Merge most functions of the Division of Motor Vehicles into the Department of Taxation. This refers to its revenue collecting activities.

8. Transfer to the Corporation Commission the Motor Vehicle Division's functions on licensing "for hire vehicles" and administering the motor vehicle dealer licensing law.

9. Transfer eye clinics from the Commission for the Blind to the Department of Health.

10. Merge the mental hospital system with the Department of Health. The Burch commission recommended that it be merged with the Department of Welfare and Institutions.

Mr. Duke urged that the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council study several areas of the state government in which he saw "major potentialities for improved efficiency and economy." These include:

1. State use industries. "The present employment opportunities for inmates [of state institutions] are inadequate to keep them fully occupied. Additional outlets for their energies must be developed. It is the opinion of your staff that a well planned program of state-use industries and the integration of the farms into a single farm system would supply this need and also effect savings to the extent of several hundred thousand dollars annually."

2. Coordination of office space and rentals for the many branches of state agencies outside of Richmond would effect substantial savings. He recommended that the Virginia Public Buildings Commission make this study.

3. Abolish special funds, except those of a trust nature such as highway funds, unemployment compensation funds and the like, and consider the conversion of the revenues from special funds, other than trust funds, into the general fund to be appropriated by the General Assembly on the basis of budgetary needs.

4. "An examination of the established policies and procedures governing the administration of the public assistance programs at the local level." He suggested consolidation of local welfare units to reduce administrative costs.

5. An impartial study of the state institutions of higher learning. This was a Burch commission recommendation which was not adopted by the General Assembly and a study that ought to be made by a lay commission appointed by the governor and provided with a competent and adequate technical staff.

6. Laboratory services for various state agencies ought to be coordinated and centralized.

THE DURABLE CITY MANAGER

(Continued from page 338)

Johnson is an employee of Chevrolet and a union man. Dale Lawton, a survivor of the heroic Bataan tank corps, works at Chevrolet. Leo Monaghan works for the Parker Pen Company.

Councilman Mark E. Egbert, now in a transfer and storage business, is a former union man. Waldo Luchsinger from the Parker Pen public relations department was one of the founders of the union at the Chevrolet plant.

Dr. Melville V. Smith, dentist, and Herman Preilipp, automobile dealer, complete the council.

"In the first place you cannot elect a hoodlum or a racketeer in Janesville," says Preilipp, the veteran of the council. "We never have any rows and never a closed meeting.

"Traxler has stayed on the job because he watched the pennies and proved a record of efficiency. There have been times when candidates were elected with the objective of unseating him or giving him trouble. But once on the council and having a good look at the program of harmony, they came around.

"Traxler never waited for a program or plan to catch up with him. He thought out and pushed the plan, all the way from financing to location. If there is one term as to why he has been 27 years on such a vulnerable job it is 'municipal thrift'."

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

New Hampshire Secures Partial Reorganization

State Administrative Setup Revamped After 165 Years

THE state government of New Hampshire had never once been overhauled in its 165 years of existence when the 1949 legislature, by an almost unanimous vote, authorized Governor Sherman Adams to establish a bipartisan commission of nine to prepare plans for reorganization of the executive branch, the governor to take from these proposals such as he chose for submission to a special legislative session.

The commission was appointed in April 1949, but did not begin work on a major scale until June. Its activities had not proceeded more than three months before the likelihood of extreme opposition to some of its proposals loomed and observers conceded that much of the reorganization program would probably never become law.

Actually, however, the special legislative session concluded May 18th adopted all the major provisions of the reorganization bill as submitted by the governor and struck out only one minor part which would have altered the supervision of a single clerk. Furthermore, the governor, in preparing his reorganization bill, weakened the recommendations of his reorganization commission only in regard to a single state institution and in several other provisions strengthened the proposals.

It seems reasonable to assume that $500,000 annually can be saved within the next few years and eventually economies of perhaps twice that much may be possible. It should be realized that this reorganization program is being superimposed on top of substantial cuts made in the 1950-1951 budget, which the 1949 legislature reduced by $3,700,000. This so-called "austerity" budget had already forced considerable reorganization in many departments.

The reorganization act of 1950 was essentially a compromise. Less was done than some supporters wanted on these items: consolidation in the field of natural resources was avoided and a conference arrangement only was set up; the Soldiers Home was continued in operation; structural consolidation of small departments like Cancer, Veterans Council, Fire Marshal, Aeronautics, Insurance, Banking was not achieved and only 'housekeeping' or clerical savings will be sought.

Nevertheless, certain basic changes are authorized:

1. State highways will be part of a comprehensive Department of Public Works, to serve all using departments on construction and maintenance.

2. The six state institutions, together with Probation and Parole, will be consolidated as to business management into two agencies, a Department of Corrections and a Department of Hospitals.

3. Fiscal consolidation and overall raising of the business management of the government will be achieved through a Department of Administration and Control. The departments of the Comptroller, Purchasing Agent, Personnel, and Buildings and Grounds will be placed within this new department, and two new positions—business supervisor and farm supervisor—will

be created to work particularly with the state institutions.

4. Many small departments will be wholly or in part integrated with larger ones: Alcoholism with Health, Weights and Measures and Milk Control with Agriculture, the fourteen professional examining boards with Health or with Secretary of State.

5. The onerous, petty details which the governor and council now must handle will be assigned to department heads who actually handle them anyway. Ex-officio memberships will be greatly reduced. The number of departments reporting directly to the governor and council is expected to be cut from 83 to about 45.

Reasons for Approval

What caused this final overwhelming approval of New Hampshire's first real reorganization plan?

1. The 1949 legislature appropriated only $7,500 for the reorganization survey. Almost immediately this clearly became far too little for the bulk of the work to be done by professionals. Princeton Surveys, able consultants for the research study, did the basic analysis and prepared recommendations in about ten of the fifteen areas chosen for consideration. They could not, however, on the small sum available, give the time to check all proposals with department heads and other interested groups, nor could they spend all the time required to prepare proposals on the other five areas. So the governor decided New Hampshire people would have to do the work, and without getting paid for it. He increased the original nine-member statutory commission by setting up an advisory commission of 34 more people. These 43 persons were assigned to fifteen subcommittees, which held some 110 meetings. The commission itself met 24 times, a full day each.

2. A definitely New Hampshire flavor resulted from this major activity by 43 citizens, and obviously also there were 43 people who were enthusiastic salesmen for reorganization.

3. First meetings of the commission were closed, but the press objected to this secrecy. Furthermore, rumors began to spread about what the commission was doing, many of them in error. It then decided to risk publicity so that the public would have the full truth. Early in the summer the meetings became public and, surprising to many, newspaper publicity on every meeting was front page news. The people wanted to be told and reorganization was our number one story over the past year.

4. The 43 members not only attended all meetings without pay or expense, but they also decided to tell their story to the people. They organized a speakers bureau which over a period of nine months made over 300 speeches.

5. As commission proposals became public, opposition would appear. If this seemed strong the commission would seek it out, sit down with its leaders in friendly fashion and try to hammer out a compromise. As one veteran department head put it: "You fellows settled all your battles without any bloodshed, before the special session was ever held. You lowered everybody's boiling point down to the simmer point. As a result, while some of these people didn't really like the reorganization, they were no longer mad enough to fight about it."

6. A major quality of strength in the commission was its genuine bipartisan nature. The Democratic floor leaders of both House and Senate were members, the 1948 Democratic candi-

date for governor and the Democratic circuit court judge also. Not a single decision was partisan and almost all votes were unanimous. Democrats and Republicans fought side by side not only in commission meetings but in public hearings held last December and in the hearings conducted by the recent special session.

Every newspaper editorial on reorganization was favorable. Governor Adams reinforced this support by twice holding special informative meetings with the publishers and managing editors of every paper in the state, at which he welcomed questions. He not only attended every commission meeting except one but also helped the commission to reach compromises where critical opposition loomed.

A major step in publicizing reorganization was an Institute of Public Affairs held December 16 at the University of New Hampshire. In preparation every major civic organization in the state was reached and a commitment of interest and support obtained. The successful all-day program was climaxed by the first major policy speech on reorganization by Governor Adams.

Since there were no funds for traveling expenses, members of the speakers bureau met their own. Correspondence costs were met by the university, which allocated half the time of its Bureau of Government Research to reorganization problems. Civic organizations aided. The district governor of Rotary International urged all clubs to devote a program to reorganization. The Grange made such a discussion required. The Federation of Women's Clubs and many other groups sought participation by local units.

John D. Langmuir, Secretary
New Hampshire Reorganization
Commission

Connecticut Reorganization Minimized by Legislature

The Connecticut legislature ended its special session on state reorganization[1] on May 26 after approving a meager portion of the comprehensive plan submitted by the Commission on State Government Organization. The Republican-controlled House of Representatives adjourned on May 25 after having sent to the Democratic Senate several minor reorganization bills. Those passed by the Senate included one for a separate Public Works Department, a somewhat strengthened Purchasing Division within the Finance Department (one of various agencies dealing with state finances) and one providing a four-year term (beginning March 1, 1951) for department heads and permitting the governor to designate which legislative house he would like to have confirm such appointments. Four still less important bills were adopted.

On May 24 the Republican members of the House voted in caucus to withdraw from the special session. Previously it had seemed that agreements between the leaders of both parties would pave the way for a modest reorganization.

As stated in the New York *Herald-Tribune* for May 25, "In nonpartisan circles the reorganization proposal was believed to have great merit. . . . The organization commission's report found the state's government to be a bewildering thicket of overlapping, autonomous agencies, and called for centralization and streamlining with increased powers for the governor and a new court system. The commission had a Republican majority."

---

[1] See "Broad Reorganization Urged in Connecticut," the Review, March 1950, page 140; "Connecticut Raises a Standard," April, page 170; also April, page 191; June, page 298; editorial this issue page 322.

Reorganization Studies under Way in California

The Senate Interim Committee on Governmental Reorganization, created in California in June 1949, has issued its first report on the progress of its work. It does not make definite and final recommendations on reorganization but outlines areas for further study, including boards and commissions, informational services, property management, water resources and tax administration.

As to boards and commissions, proposed studies dealt with clarification of functions and of relationships with related administrative departments and the practice of burdening the governor and certain other state officials with service on many boards.

Studies of informational services look to improvement in the system of preparation, distribution, storage and availability of department reports and publications as well as appraisal of their purposes and worth.

Topics under property management included better purchasing methods, pooling of temporarily surplus departmental equipment and disposal of other surplus equipment; in-service training for storekeepers; and improvement in inventory records.

Coordination of various state agencies interested in water resources is to be investigated; also coordination of the work of soil conservation districts with the Soil Conservation Commission.

As California state revenues come from many sources and are handled by various agencies, studies of consolidated revenue-collecting systems in other states were emphasized.

The California lower house has an Assembly Interim Committee on State Government Reorganization which is cooperating with the Senate committee.

Constitutional Revision Urged in Maryland

The League of Women Voters of Maryland, at its annual convention on May 11, and the Bar Association of Baltimore City, through its executive committee and a special committee on May 24, recommended a favorable vote on the question of calling a constitutional convention at the general election on November 7. Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League, spoke at the convention. John E. Bebout, League assistant secretary, addressed an earlier meeting of representatives of various groups.

The Maryland constitution, dating from 1867, requires that every twenty years the question of calling a constitutional convention shall be submitted to the voters; but no subsequent convention has been held.

The constitution has been changed considerably in piecemeal fashion, 59 amendments having been added, one-third of them in the last ten years.

The League of Women Voters stresses the need of home rule for cities and counties, more equitable representation in the legislature, and a rewriting of the constitution in the interests of codification, clarification and elimination of obsolete provisions.

The Bar Association advocates consideration of various specific additional items, including extension of the appointive principle in judicial offices, the proper functions and limitations of the annual legislative session, the governor's power of unlimited veto after adjournment of the legislature, the number of terms for the governor, the necessity for a lieutenant-governor, senatorial confirmation of and minority representation on state boards, prescription of salaries in the constitution, the method of amendment, provisions for initiative and referendum, budgeting, distribution of taxing powers, and abolition of the orphans' courts.

The Maryland League of Municipalities advocates constitutional revision, chiefly in connection with home rule and better representation.

Constitutional Revision Sought in Oregon

A movement has been started in Oregon for a constitutional convention to revise the state constitution, dating from 1857. Senator Richard L. Neuberger is active in the undertaking.

Arizona to Vote on Constitutional Changes

The Arizona legislature has adopted three resolutions dealing with proposed constitutional amendments to be voted on by the people at a special election on September 12, 1950. One of these would establish a four-year term for state officials, one would institute annual legislative sessions and the third would designate six elective county officers, as well as three elective supervisors, to be elected for four-year terms. The proposals for annual sessions and for four-year executive terms (but with fewer executives) were recommended by the Special Legislative Committee on State Operations.

16 U. S. Reorganization Plans Become Effective

Of the 21 reorganization plans submitted to Congress by President Truman on March 13,[1] sixteen have been allowed to go into effect. The five disapproved included one to give the Secretary of the Treasury full control of treasury functions, including that of the semi-independent Comptroller of the Currency; one to strengthen the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture; one to abolish the independent office of general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board; and plans for the Interstate Commerce Commission and Federal Communications Commission that would have enabled the president to designate their chairmen, each of whom would be placed in administrative control of his commission. However, a similar change as to the Federal Trade and Federal Power Commissions was permitted, as with certain other agencies.

A revised plan to give the Secretary of the Treasury full authority over all functions and personnel of his department except for the Comptroller of the Currency is now before Congress. Other pending proposals are to make the chairman of the National Security Resources Board the administrative head of the agency; to transfer the Federal National Mortgage Association—a government-operated secondary mortgage agency—from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to the Housing and Home Finance Agency; to transfer the RFC's lending powers in the prefabricated housing field to the HHFA; to transfer the RFC to the Department of Commerce; and to transform the Federal Security Agency into a Department of Health, Education and Security.

The last two proposals are opposed by the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report as contrary to the Hoover Commission's recommendations, which would place the RFC in Treasury and keep health and education separate from the Security Agency, though the latter could properly be elevated to cabinet status.

---

[1] See "21 More Hoover Items Submitted to Congress," the REVIEW, April 1950, page 189.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Delta, Colorado, (1940 population 3,717) voted 751 to 234 on May 23 to adopt a council-manager charter, effective January 1, 1952, following election of a five-man council at the November 1951 election.

The town of **Stoughton, Massachusetts,** at its annual town meeting in March, authorized the moderator to appoint a committee of five to make a study of Stoughton's present town manager government and to file a report with the board of selectmen by November 1, 1950. It is contemplated that more centralized control by the manager will be sought.

The **New Haven, Connecticut,** Citizens Committee for a Council-Manager Charter is expected to petition the board of aldermen for an advisory referendum on the manager plan at the November 7 election. Alderman Norton M. Levine has announced that he will seek the board's approval for appointment of an eleven-man charter commission.

The **Lancaster (Pennsylvania)** *Intelligencer-Journal* editorializes that, "The manager form of government seems to be the only sensible way. Legislation in Pennsylvania makes that, at the moment, impossible for cities. But it is possible in boroughs and we are certain that, as it grows, not even the politicians will be able to long keep it from the cities and other municipalities."

In **Buena Vista, Virginia,** the *News* is encouraging the idea of a referendum on the question of shifting to the manager plan.

At a mass meeting of over 100 citizens in **Harrisonburg, Virginia,** on May 23 the almost unanimous opinion was that efforts should be made to obtain real council-manager government, rather than the present form with a city superintendent of closely limited powers. Petitions were distributed for the purpose of obtaining a referendum on the subject.

The Charter Revision Committee of **Opa-locka, Florida,** is studying the model council-manager charter of the National Municipal League.

The **Michigan** Municipal League reports that the city of **Harbor Springs** adopted its second council-manager charter on June 6. Two other cities having the manager plan have revision commissions preparing their second manager charters, **Big Rapids** and **Manistee.** The city of **Marquette,** which has been operating as an official council-manager city under an ordinance, has a commission preparing a council-manager charter. The village of **Grosse Pointe Park,** which has operated for some years with the manager plan, has voted to become a city and its charter commission has decided to provide for the manager plan.

A committee of the city council of **East Jordan, Michigan,** is investigating the feasibility of a change to the council-manager plan.

Charter revision is under consideration in **Mason, Michigan,** with the city council reported as in favor of revision to include a "city superintendent."

Several members of the charter commission of the village of **Napoleon, Ohio,** are reported to be favorable to the council-manager plan.

In **Anniston, Alabama,** a study of the manager idea is under way.

The **Biloxi, Mississippi,** Businessmen's Club has authorized a committee to study the manager plan.

Petitions are being circulated in **Grenada, Mississippi,** calling for adoption of the council-manager plan. The *Grenada County Weekly* is advocating the plan.

Natchez, Mississippi, rejected a proposed manager plan charter by a vote of 1,449 to 683 on June 6.

Neosho, Missouri, upheld the manager plan 698 to 670 at a special election on May 16.

In **Hot Springs, South Dakota,** a group headed by Dr. D. W. Sewright is urging consideration of the council-manager plan upon organizations in that city.

The Governmental Affairs Committee of the **Hastings, Nebraska,** Chamber of Commerce is making a study of the manager plan.

The educational committee of the League of Women Voters in **Lincoln, Nebraska,** is collecting and disseminating information on the council-manager plan.

The newly formed City Planning Association in **Chanute, Kansas,** is making a study of the manager plan, with the ultimate objective of bringing the question of its adoption to a vote of the people.

A City Managers' School was held at the University of Kansas April 26-28 and attracted 36 managers from five midwestern states.

Texas managers held their spring meeting May 7-9 at **Kerrville** with 63 attending.

A meeting of 22 **Oklahoma** managers was held May 10-11 at **Oklahoma City.**

The annual conference of the International City Managers' Association will be held in **Houston, Texas,** November 26-30, at the Shamrock Hotel.

Annapolis Annexes Six Times Its Own Area

Annapolis, 300-year-old capital of Maryland and home of the U. S. Naval Academy, has, through the annexation of ten bordering suburban communities, increased its population by about 60 per cent to 25,000, its area by 650 per cent to five and one-half square miles, and its assessed valuation by 60 per cent to $21,700,000.

Municipal services will be furnished to the new area and the city tax rate of one dollar, unchanged from Colonial times, will be made uniform throughout the new city.

In accordance with a law recently enacted by the Maryland General Assembly, the citizens of the annexed area alone voted on the annexation proposal. The referendum passed by a majority of 113 votes.

At the same time the suburban voters chose eight new aldermen to represent the four new wards created by the annexation. The new sixteen-member council is now made up of eight Democrats, five Republicans and three independents.

D. Benton Biser, Director
Commission on Governmental
Efficiency and Economy, Inc.
Baltimore, Maryland

Other Outstanding Annexations

Memphis, Tennessee, recently annexed nineteen square miles and an estimated 25,000 people along the entire east and south sides of the city. The city immediately began providing fire and police protection, bus service and other municipal services, although residents of the area will not pay city taxes until 1951. Annexation action added 68 miles of road to those the city must keep in repair.

The Missouri Supreme Court has upheld the action of Kansas City in annexing nearly twenty square miles. The city had passed the annexation ordinance in September 1948 and municipal services were extended to the new area on January 1, 1950.

Britton, Oklahoma, with a population of 6,000, recently voted to dissolve its city government and become annexed to Oklahoma City.

In Ohio the cities of Fairfield and Osborn were consolidated at the beginning of the current year as the city of Fairborn with estimated population of 10,000. Osborn adopted the council-manager plan two years ago and the new city is operating under that charter and is employing the Osborn manager.

Tarrytown Merger Defeated at Polls

At a special election on June 13 the voters of the village of North Tarrytown, New York, decided 1,782 to 1,219 against merger with the adjoining village of Tarrytown into a single city.[1] The voters of Tarrytown approved the merger 1,429 to 1,183, but consent of both villages was required; furthermore the combined vote was against merger, 2,965 to 2,648.

A city charter drafted for the proposed municipality was approved by the state legislature and signed by Governor Dewey in April.

The village of Tarrytown, though incorporated, is also a part of the town (township) of Greenburgh, and North Tarrytown is a part of the town of Mount Pleasant. As a city one of the advantages would have been complete separation from the towns and their governments.

Virginia Commission to Study Urban Growth

The Virginia legislature has established a commission of eleven members to make a study of the problems of urban growth and their impact upon rural areas; two members are from the Senate, appointed by its president, five from the House, appointed by the speaker, and four from the state at large, appointed by the governor. It is to consider urban and rural differences relating to annexation, and is to report by October 1, 1951, with recommendations as to state policy to aid the orderly growth of urban areas, ease the impact of such growth on rural areas and assist harmonious integration of contiguous rural areas with urban areas.

By other action the legislature has prohibited the instituting of new city annexation efforts prior to July 1, 1952, except by mutual agreement.

Single Traffic Commissioner Replaces New York Commission

On June 7 Mayor William O'Dwyer signed a New York City local law creating a department of traffic headed by a single commissioner in place of the seven-member city traffic commission. Lloyd B. Reid, former Detroit traffic engineer and consultant to the outgoing commission, was sworn in as commissioner to head the new department.

Appointment of a city parking authority, as authorized at the last session of the state legislature, has been deferred indefinitely, awaiting the results of an engineering survey in progress to determine the financial soundness of erecting five city-sponsored parking garages.

Manitoba Cities Form Organization

In the province of Manitoba, Canada, the Urban Union of Municipalities has recently been organized, to include the larger urban centers such as Winnipeg, St. Boniface, etc. The long established Union of Manitoba Municipalities is reported to be made up chiefly of small units, largely rural, whereas the larger municipalities have different problems. The two organizations are expected to cooperate.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, February 1947, page 93; May 1947, page 275.

Many Attend Inter-American Congress of Municipalities

Nearly 200 municipal officials and others active in municipal matters, from 22 countries of North, South and Central America, attended the Third Inter-American Congress of Municipalities in New Orleans, May 1-5. The five-day congress program focused on problems of housing, planning, traffic and intergovernmental relations in the Western Hemisphere.

Mayor Morrison of New Orleans was elected president of the congress to serve until the next congress meets two years hence in Montevideo, Uruguay. A new constitution was adopted and Canadian municipalities were invited to join the Inter-American Municipal Organization. Dr. Carlos Moran was reelected as secretary-general.

At the closing session of the congress, the delegates unanimously adopted a resolution reaffirming their belief that self-governing municipalities endowed with broad powers of political, administrative and fiscal self-determination constitute the most reliable single bulwark of constitutional democracy and freedom under the law. A second resolution urging municipal autonomy advocated strengthening the financial resources of municipalities to permit them to meet their obligations promptly.

Civil Service Assembly Meets in Atlanta

The Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada will hold its 1950 annual conference at the Atlanta-Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia, November 27-30. Previous tentative plans to hold it in Miami, Florida, were abandoned.

The assembly announces that in 1950 almost 95 per cent of all federal employees are in classified civil service, twenty states have comprehensive civil service programs, 25 have merit systems for agencies administering federal grants (three including some other departments), 303 out of 808 cities of over 10,000 population have all employees under civil service, 317 have partial coverage and 185 out of 3,069 counties have a merit system.

Stevens Institute Plans Municipal Program

Courses in municipal government will be offered at Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, New Jersey, beginning with the fall semester, as announced by President Harvey N. Davis. The courses will be part of a four-point program originated under the Department of Management in the Graduate School, which will (1) provide in-service training for municipal government officials, (2) establish the Stevens Bureau of Municipal Research to provide expert guidance for municipal officials, (3) give courses in local government to both graduate and undergraduate students, and (4) eventually provide a graduate program in local government leading to a master's degree in this field. The program was set up after an intensive survey made by Professor Arthur Lesser, Jr., head of the Department of Management, of activities of colleges and universities in the field of local government.

New Public Administration Training Course Offered

Southern Illinois University, at Carbondale, is establishing a new public management curriculum in its department of government for training in public administration at local, state and national levels.

It is expected that training and research facilities will soon be made available for helping to solve administrative problems of state and local officials through student research.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

San Mateo County Retains Manager Plan

Defeats Attempt to Return to Election of Executive

By a vote of 42,688 to 12,152—over three to one—citizens of San Mateo County, California, on June 6 defeated another attempt to abandon the charter's provision for appointment of a county manager and return to election of the executive.

San Mateo County originally voted for an appointive county executive plan in 1932, for an elective executive in 1935 and a return to the appointive form in 1948, effective in 1951.

A rousing campaign to "Vote 'No' on Proposition A" was conducted by the Citizens Committee for Better Government, which pointed out that the seventeen years under an elective executive have been years of discord. The committee had the support of many of the county's civic groups. The League of Women Voters and other women's groups distributed literature to thousands of commuters at railroad stations. They made house-to-house distribution of leaflets in the newer communities where a large proportion of the voters were newcomers, unfamiliar with the county manager form of government. Such distribution was supplemented by telephone calls and other work by longtime residents. Editorials and cartoons in local newspapers condemned the proposal.

The provisions for change were contained in nine amendments to the county charter. While they failed to repeal the 1948 provision for a return to an appointive manager, the amendments provided for election of the executive in 1952, retained the present elected executive in office until then, and gave him "dictatorial" powers "virtually stripping the supervisors of customary and long established powers over purse and personnel," according to campaign literature. The executive would have been given an increase in salary of $5,000, frozen into the charter, but salaries of all other elective officials except one would have been reduced.

Montgomery County Wins Achievement Award

The Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada has presented its achievement award this year to Montgomery County, Maryland. Given to a unit of government for outstanding improvements during the previous year, the award was presented, in the form of a plaque, to Alex K. Hancock, director of the county's department of finance, at the association's 44th annual conference in June at Montreal. The plaque reads: "For outstanding improvements in fiscal management, organization, public and financial reporting, including the preparation and installation of a capital budget, the preparation of an assessor's manual, and the compilation and codification of local laws."

PERIODICAL DEPT.

Cuyahoga Charter Commission Recommends Strong Mayor

The Cuyahoga County (Ohio) Charter Commission, elected in November, has decided to recommend a strong mayor plan of government. Its proposed home rule charter establishes a county commission of nine with full legislative powers including authority to reorganize county offices, sets up an elective county mayor, abolishes all other elective offices except that of prosecutor, and vests in the county such municipal powers as sewers, water, public transportation, health, welfare, main highways and airports.

The proposed charter is similar in most respects to that proposed by the Citizens League of Cleveland except that the latter called for an appointive manager rather than an elective mayor.

Four proposals were before the commission: (1) the county manager plan, (2) an elected administrator and prosecutor with a nine-man elected commission, (3) extension of the city of Cleveland to the county line with a single government to be headed by the mayor of the city, and (4) an elected executive to handle the new county-municipal functions such as sewer and water operations with the county government otherwise remaining the same with three elected commissioners and elected department heads.

Virginia County Continues Efforts for Manager Plan

The Fairfax County, Virginia, board of supervisors has recently appointed a 21-member commission to study possible revisions in the county structure. As chairman it appointed David Lawrence, newspaper columnist. Public hearings by the commission have been scheduled during June and July, in which county residents can express their views as to governmental changes necessary.

A petition calling for a referendum on the manager plan already is on file with the circuit court judge. This plan is advocated by the League of Women Voters and it is expected that the question will be on the ballot next November. Until its report is prepared, the commission's members have been asked not to participate actively in organizations either opposing or favoring changes in the county's government.

Baltimore County Circulates Charter Petition

The Baltimore County Charter Petition Committee, appointed by the county commissioners, has begun its circulation of a petition to place the home rule question on the ballot next November. At least 10,000 valid signatures will have to be secured by October 1 to reach this goal.

The committee, as well as the county commissioners, is taking no position on the question of the desirability of a home rule charter. Both groups believe, however, that an expression of public opinion should be secured. As individuals, there are members on the committee who favor and there are those who oppose county home rule by adoption of a charter.

To explain its objectives the committee has issued a leaflet, *The Charter Question.* It emphasizes the desirability of signing the petition, but on the question of a charter it presents the arguments both for and against as well as a neutral position. The arguments for are these:

1. The county has grown to a population of approximately 250,000 and three county commissioners cannot be expected to reflect the opinion and wishes of those who live in thickly settled towns as well as those who live in rural areas.
2. The county should have power to pass its own laws instead of looking to Annapolis for local legislation.
3. All sections of the county should be represented in the lawmaking body.
4. Under home rule the administrative head of the government can be either the elected president of the county council or an appointed county manager.
5. If the charter is well drawn, there should not only be no net increase in the cost of government but,

(Continued on page 372)

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Continues in Massachusetts

Proposed Repeal for Six Cities Defeated by Senate

A BILL to abolish P. R. elections in those Massachusetts cities which had adopted it, together with the manager plan, prior to 1949, was defeated on May 16 by a tie vote in the Massachusetts Senate. This action killed repeal legislation at this session. The Senate has recently shown a small majority against P. R. on most occasions while the House has had a small majority in its favor.

The bill, which had previously been passed on second reading,[1] was called by its supporters without debate on May 15 and was then defeated by a 19-19 tie with two senators not voting. After reconsideration was voted 20 to 19 the following day, another vote was taken which again resulted in a 19-19 tie, finally defeating the bill. The measure would have prevented the six cities of Cambridge, Lowell, Worcester, Revere, Medford and Quincy, as well as the town of Saugus, from continuing to have P. R. elections under their Plan E charters.

The close contest on this bill has focused civic interest on the choice of legislators, especially in the cities which would have been directly affected by the measure.[2] The Medford *Mercury* reported that the Medford Plan E Association is taking part in a movement to oppose a state senator who voted to repeal P. R. and the Worcester *Gazette,* after noting with approval that both senators from Worcester voted against repeal, although one of them had to buck all the rest of his party in the Senate to do so, singled out for disapproval three members of the lower house who had voted for repeal and also a few others who, although they did not vote for this measure, voted for last year's law preventing use of P. R. by cities which had not yet adopted it. "We believe Worcester and other cities ought to be allowed to decide the matter for themselves," was its editorial comment.

Discussing the vote, the Haverhill *Gazette* said editorially: "It seems to us a good idea that the legislature finally has defeated efforts to repeal the proportional representation part of Plan E charters. . . . P. R. is one means of improving the quality of persons elected to city councils. This means that P. R. makes it harder for the professional politicians to get elected. Such a system naturally is resented by professional politicians but the voters in general should welcome it."

King's Supporters Win Belgian Majority

Belgium's largest party, the Christian Socialists, obtained a bare majority of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies election on June 4. The method of election was a party list system of proportional representation in use in that country since 1899.

The election was precipitated by the issue of whether to permit the return of King Leopold III, as to which the previous government was unwilling to take action without an election in which the matter was clearly before the voters.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, May 1950, page 252.

[2] See also page 361, this issue.

Although the Christian Social (Catholic) party, as in last year's election,[1] fell just short of obtaining a majority of the popular vote, it succeeded this time in securing a majority of the parliamentary seats. This result was promptly reflected in the naming of a cabinet of ministers selected entirely from that party instead of on a coalition basis.

The party is expected to control the upper house of Parliament, which is in part chosen by indirect election and in part by direct election, as it has managed to do in the past few years. This party favors the return of King Leopold whereas most members of the other parties appear to be disposed to the contrary. The results of the election are given below:

BELGIAN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, ELECTION OF JUNE 4, 1950[a]

Party	*Votes and Percentages*[b]	*Seats and Percentages*
Christian Social	2,354,965 (46.7)	108 (50.9)
Socialist	1,804,967 (35.8)	76 (35.8)
Liberal	557,019 (11.1)	21 (10.0)
Communist	234,325 (4.7)	7 (3.3)

[a] Slight discrepancies in proportionality are explained by the districting. Figures furnished by Belgian Information Center, New York City.

[b] There were a few scattering votes for candidates not listed in this table.

Austrian Municipal Elections Defeat Communists

Election by a list system of proportional representation of 1,579 municipal councils, covering about four-fifths of the Soviet Russian occupation zone of Austria, resulted in only 5.23 per cent of the 748,798 votes being cast for Communist candidates. In no town or city did the Communist party win control of the municipal council, for in the few places where they obtained a plurality of seats, the Catholic People's party and the Socialists agreed to form a coalition. Soviet interference appears to have been limited to some measures designed to keep the right-wing League of Independents from entering candidates in most communities, according to a United Press dispatch in the *New York Herald-Tribune* on May 8.

The total popular vote by parties differed only slightly from the results in Lower Austria in the nation-wide parliamentary election last October. The Socialists registered a slight gain and the other parties some losses. The May 7 election in Lower Austria was the first municipal election in that area since 1929. The results are summarized in the accompanying table.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, LOWER AUSTRIA, MAY 7, 1950[a]

Parties	*Votes and Percentages*[b]	*Seats and Percentages*[b]
People's	389,058 (51.96)	13,462 (64.91)
Socialist	299,323 (39.97)	6,233 (30.05)
Leftist Bloc (Communists and allies)	39,147 (5.23)	307 (1.48)
League of Independents	1,378 (0.18)	12 (0.06)
Others	19,892 (2.66)	722 (3.48)
	748,798	20,736

[a] Figures furnished by the Austrian Consulate General, New York City.

[b] Since the seats in different municipalities represent constituencies of widely varying sizes, no close correlation between the total votes and total seats of each party is to be expected.

(Continued on page 372)

---

[1] See the REVIEW, September 1949, page 410.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

New Jersey State Tax Commission Reports

Analyzes Present Situation, Suggests Changes for Future

THE New Jersey Commission on State Tax Policy recently submitted a report of the "fish or cut bait" variety.

Charged with responsibility to develop recommendations for improving an admittedly archaic state and local tax structure, the commission was assured almost from the outset that any recommendations involving important changes would in no way receive serious consideration at the legislative level. With a long tradition of expedient or even fortuitous solutions to apparently insolvable budgetary problems, New Jersey was about to elect its first governor under its new constitution and both major parties were reluctant to depart from the proven formula of "no new taxes." The commission's directive (J. R. No. 3) was adopted by the 1949 legislature just a little more than one month before the party platforms heralded a campaign in which tax change was definitely not a part.

Against this background the commission's report has been "reduced to an over-all analysis of the present tax situation within the state and the implications of suggested changes that may guide future thinking on the subject."

The commission poses three fundamental questions which must be faced and answered before New Jersey can develop any semblance of a long-range fiscal policy:

1. Does the state of New Jersey wish to remain predominantly a property tax state or does it wish to shift in part at least to an activity tax base?

2. Does it wish to maintain its major fiscal support at local levels or does it wish to enlarge the responsibility of the state through increased central financing?

3. Does it wish a broad base of individual support for both state and local services or does it wish to draw its major fiscal support from special tax groups — corporation, selective sales and special businesses?

Implications of alternative answers to these basic questions have been explored and seven projects are set forth in the report from which "the legislature may select one or more for consideration at such special or regular session as might be determined." Each project is complete with suggested methods for accomplishing its purpose summarized as follows:

Project 1. To improve the administration of the general property tax in the interest of equity, stability and increased yields.

This will require no new taxes.

Project 2. To balance the state budget for 1951-52 and thereafter without the use of highway funds.

This would require both new taxes and additional revenues to the extent of some thirty million dollars.

Project 3. To remove the inequalities from specially taxed groups.

This will require new tax bases as well as adjustments in present taxes.

Project 4. To remove the hazards of "tax lightning" from the field of business personalty.

This may or may not require new taxes.

Project 5. To provide increased

central financing for local governments.

This will require both new tax bases and additional revenues to whatever extent the legislature may determine.

Project 6. To place local governments—counties and municipalities—in a position to finance themselves from bases other than property.

This will require new tax bases, other than property, for the optional use of counties and municipalities.

Project 7. To "relieve" the property tax upon real estate to the extent of some hundred million dollars—about one-third of its present burden.

This will require new tax bases to the extent of the property tax relief.

The commission reiterates its established policy to the effect that, "It cannot express opinions on purely political questions nor will it submit positive recommendations on subjects which have no hope of serious legislative consideration," and concluded, "Should the legislature by resolution or otherwise indicate an interest in a suggested project, the commission is prepared to submit detailed recommendations with accompanying bills."

James A. Arnold, Jr.
Princeton Surveys,
Princeton, New Jersey

New York City Sales Tax Declines

Presaging the annual difficulties in balancing the budget of the nation's largest city and second largest taxing agency, New York City reported ten months sales tax collections for 1949-50 to be $5,872,082 below the corresponding 1948-49 period.

For the first ten months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1950, the city's sales tax collections were $128,527,751, compared with $134,399,833 in the same months of the preceding fiscal year. For the period, the collections from the sales tax and six other special city taxes amounted to $155,388,650, a figure $6,049,185 below corresponding 1948-49 collections.

The sales tax comprises the principal income of the city's so-called general fund which, under the city's accounting set up, is the recipient of the bulk of miscellaneous revenue receipts. In February, the city comptroller had estimated total sales tax revenue for the year at $131,193,345 and total general fund receipts of $401,193,639, of which an estimated $23,000,000 would be available for financing the 1950-51 budget.

The ten months' experience and existing business conditions are held to make it unlikely that the estimates will be realized and this, together with the prospect of continuing higher appropriations, makes likely an advance in the property tax rate. For 1948-49 the basic rate was $2.89 per $100 of assessed valuation, as high as any rate levied by the city in previous years, and a rise of 15 to 20 points for 1950-51 has been forecast.

St. Louis Considers Lay-Off of 2,000

Faced with the expiration of its municipal earnings tax on July 17, which was not reenacted by the legislature, and with failure of the governor to call a special session to consider the matter, the city of St. Louis entered June formulating plans to lay off some two thousand city employees to meet the expected revenue loss.[1]

According to press reports, the city comptroller stated that the budget of $39,600,000 would have to be reduced by about $4,500,000 if the earnings tax is not reinstated. In addition to payroll reductions, curtailment of services would be necessary.

---

[1] See also the Review, May 1950, page 256.

Stamp Tax Counterfeiter Convicted

Counterfeiting, a centuries-old plague of governmental fiscal authorities, apparently is not necessarily of present-day concern only to U. S. Treasury and postal authorities. The *Tax Administrators News* reports that a confessed counterfeiter of New York State cigarette tax stamps was recently sentenced to two and a half to five years in prison for the counterfeit metering of at least two million packs of cigarettes. Taxes evaded amounted to some $60,000, and penalties to an additional $30,000. Sentence was suspended on payment of $22,500 on account of the taxes and penalties and judgment entered against him for the remainder.

Assessors Urge Realistic Valuation Base

The National Association of Assessing Officers, recognizing that the "good old days" are probably gone forever, has through its advisory council recommended that property assessments be geared to present-day cost and price levels. It would countenance discounting of present-day sales prices only to rule out "premiums for immediate occupancy, shelter bonuses," and similar charges.

The continued use by some assessors of prewar yardsticks in fixing assessed valuations has resulted not only in inequalities between properties in the same taxing jurisdiction but to a condition of extreme confusion as between different jurisdictions. Recently, for example, a city in a financial report stated that its 1949-50 assessed valuation represented approximately 26 per cent of full or true value, and a week later the overlapping school district reported that its valuation represented roundly 50 per cent of full value. Assessed valuations for each unit were made by the county assessor and were identical for property within the city limits, but the city chose to use present-day values as a base and the schools "normal" value, whatever that may be.

Another horrible example, which shall also be nameless here, is an upstate New York community which is in process of finishing a complete revaluation, in which existing properties will be appraised at 1941 price and cost levels and new properties at 1950 price levels, both depreciated for age, etc. The taxpayer here with a new house, commercial building, or factory would appear to be justified in heading courtward for a mandamus to compel the assessor to reduce his assessment.

A relatively large number of communities still report property assessed on the basis of prewar or 1939 or 1941 or 1942 price and cost levels, but among some of these a comparison of prewar assessed valuations, postwar building outlays and postwar assessed valuations with assessed valuations in predepression and depression years indicates that the story fails to hang together. Evidence is plentiful that there are still some situations where "full value" is closer to a 1933 basis than a 1941 or other prewar cost period. It is high time, in other words, that the assessors professionally took cognizance of the confused over-all situation now prevailing.

Kansas City Revives Civic Association

Des Moines, Other Cities Plan Permanent Groups

LED by John B. Gage, former mayor of Kansas City, Missouri, civic-minded voters have organized the Citizens Association of Kansas City, "to keep our nonpartisan form of city government." Mr. Gage, it will be remembered, was first elected to the city council, which chose him as mayor, in 1940 by a citizen uprising resulting in the city's throwing off the yoke of Pendergastism. He is in charge of the group's advisory and finance committee.

Head of the organization is Don Jackson, whom the *Star* describes as one who "came to the front in the last city campaign as a popular young candidate for the city council." Emphasis has been placed on youth. Three of the five officers participated in World War II. When the committee of 30 is completed at least half its members will be young men from the war.

Hugh Robinson, who came out of the army a captain, is executive secretary of the Citizens Association. He has been active in its work and in local politics. He has been in advertising and sales promotion work for several trade magazines.

One of the first official actions of the association was full endorsement of a proposed 38-cent school levy.

Commenting on the newly organized group, the Kansas City *Star* of March 27 had this to say editorially:

"For years the persons who want nonpolitical city government have been seeking a permanent city-wide association. In the past the citizens group has been more a nucleus than an organization. About three months before the city elections, a few old reliables have started over to rebuild a semblance of a ward and precinct organization for another campaign.

"The approach now is entirely different. The plan is to stir interest in city government. The Citizens Association has only one advance commitment, which is to the nonpolitical type of city administration. It is pledged to no candidates in advance.

"Kansas City's type of government depends on city-wide participation. When enough people know the score there will be little danger of slipping back into the hands of a political organization that wants to use the city hall for political spoils.

"Spreading information city-wide and stirring public interest is a tremendous undertaking. We believe the Citizens Association is now harnessing the latent power that can get the job done."

Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services for the National Municipal League, on a recent visit to Kansas City conferred with leaders of the association and advised them on the operation of civic groups in other cities.

Permanent Group in Des Moines

Des Moines' Committee for Good Government, which sponsored and secured adoption of the council-manager plan for that city,[1] is taking steps to form a new and permanent organization. Suggestions are that the name be changed to the Good Government Association whose objectives would be "to establish a nonpartisan citizens organization which would work to secure local government responsible to the community as a whole."

---

[1] See "Des Moines Drops Own Plan," by Katherine R. Stroud, the REVIEW, June 1949, page 269.

The *Seattle Municipal News* offers its "congratulations and best wishes to the newly organized Municipal League of Port Angeles [Washington]." Esther L. Yagle is secretary of the group, whose by-laws and organization are patterned after the Seattle Municipal League.

Worcester Plan 'E' Group Expands

The Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester is girding its loins for bigger and better efforts this fall. Volunteer workers under the direction of James S. Andreson, a director of the association, are seeking to double the membership for a total of 5,000.

Education on the whys and wherefores of Plan E government, now in operation in Worcester, is to be continued. The speakers' bureau will supply speakers for all requirements and four copies of a new film strip and sound recording describing proportional representation are available for demonstration purposes.

The association has appointed a full-time executive secretary, James S. Gratton. Formerly staff reporter of the Worcester *Evening Gazette*, Mr. Gratton has long been interested in good government. He has been writing stories on Plan E—council-manager plan with proportional representation for election of the council and school board—since 1948. His appointment, says the association's *Citizens' Plan "E" Planner*, is an "experiment to determine what full-time, energetic direction can accomplish in our volunteer organization."

One of the most momentous decisions of the association is its resolution to take active part in state legislative elections this fall. Like similar groups elsewhere in the state, the association has been appalled at efforts of the state legislature to "wreck the Plan E charter."[1] Election of candidates pledged to support the system would help guarantee its continuance. Officials of the association met recently with ten state legislators representing Worcester to discuss Plan E and proportional representation.

Other Cities Campaign

Because he voted to kill the proportional representation feature of Plan E, a coalition of three civic groups, including the Medford Plan E Civic Association, will oppose the reelection of State Senator James J. Corbett of Somerville at the November election. A Somerville World War II veteran, Paul J. Greeley, is being groomed to run against him, reports the Medford *Mercury*.

Senator Corbett represents certain parts of Cambridge, which has used P. R. in connection with its Plan E government since 1940, and Somerville, which voted to adopt Plan E with P. R. last year but which cannot use the latter feature because of legislation forbidding its use for all cities but those adopting it previously.

PERIODICAL DEP

Many other citizen groups in Massachusetts have been lending their support to Plan E. The League of Women Voters of the state lists as a continuing responsibility "support and extension of council-manager government with proportional representation for cities and towns. The Massachusetts Civic League sent a copy of a statement by Fairman C. Cowan, chairman of its forms of government committee, to every newspaper in the state protesting Senate action in denying Massachusetts cities the right to adopt Plan E as placed on the statute books. The statement points to the amazing progress of Cambridge under Plan E, citing the cities which, because of its example, have also adopted the plan.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, April 1950, page 200; May 1950, page 252.

* * *

State Constitutions Scored

Does Ohio's Century Old Constitution Meet Today's Needs? is the question asked by the League of Women Voters of Cincinnati in a six-page folder being widely distributed. At its conference in May the state league adopted as part of its program, "Working for a favorable vote in November 1952 on the question of calling a state constitutional convention." This action followed two years of intensive study by leagues throughout the state.

The League of Women Voters of Maryland is renewing its efforts for constitutional revision. It has been presenting a skit on the subject around the state and recently issued *Comparative Analysis of the Maryland Constitution of 1867 and the Model State Constitution*[1] (19 pages, 25 cents), prepared by John A. Curtiss, a recent graduate of the University of Maryland.

On the theory that half a loaf is better than none, the so-called "gateway" amendment to the Illinois constitution was supported by Senator Thaddeus V. Adesko at a forum arranged by the Constitutional Revision Committee of the Chicago City Club. The proposed amendment, to be voted on in November, would permit propositions to amend three articles of the constitution to be submitted to referendum at any one time, whereas the present provision permits submission of one only. Professor Kenneth C. Sears, of the University of Chicago Law School, said he would vote for the proposal without enthusiasm. He pointed out the need for more adequate action, saying that Illinois has a backlog of a hundred or more needed constitutional changes.

* * *

And Now Television

Cincinnati leads the way with its civic and city government programs on television. The radio committee of the Good Government League of Hamilton County is conducting a series of television programs along the lines of its "Cincinnati's Town Meeting of the Air." Each Sunday, from 12 to 12.30, the program is presented over WCPO-TV and then recorded for radio broadcast at 8.30 P.M. Wednesdays. The first showing was "Religion's Contribution to Government," which featured a panel of University of Cincinnati students.

Each Saturday at 6.15 P.M., Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati and his city hall staff present typical scenes from their daily round of engagements and activities over television station WLW-T. Audience reaction to the shows has been excellent, reports the Cincinnati City Charter Committee.

"Around the Crackerbarrel," radio program of the Seattle Municipal League, has been given a new time, 9.45 P.M. Mondays, and is scheduled for a full fifteen minutes. KOMO, the station over which the Crackerbarrel series is broadcast, has been receiving a large volume of mail, particularly around election time, indicating much listener interest. As a new feature of the program, reports the *Seattle Municipal News*, Paul Seibert, information director of the league, is interviewing a key public figure each week.

---

[1] The *Model State Constitution* is published by the National Municipal League, New York (1948), $1.

Potpourri

The Danville, Virginia, committee which conducted the recent successful campaign for the council-manager plan is sponsoring a slate of nine candidates for the city council which will inaugurate the new government.

The Chicago City Club was much concerned with the success of the first use of voting machines in most of that city's election districts at the April 11 primary. Brian J. Ducey, financial consultant and secretary of the Joint Civic Committee on Elections, gave a talk on the subject before the club and showed a 20-minute sound film, "Chicago's First City-wide Test of the Voting Machine," as part of an educational program on the subject. Members of the club were asked to serve on election day as judges and clerks.

The Toledo Municipal League, in its *Toledo Municipal News,* points out the pros and cons of the voting machine question. The county board of elections has been given authority to try out a token number of the machines in a few election districts.

Four new neighborhood councils have been organized in Kansas City, bringing the number of community and neighborhood councils up to 61.

Only 35 per cent of its members voted in both the primary and general election last year, discovered the Danville, Illinois, Chamber of Commerce. The chamber made the survey in an effort to stimulate greater participation in 1950 local elections.

The *Civic League Reporter* of the Lake County, Illinois, Civic League, reports that there were far more citizens in attendance at town meetings adopting budgets than ever before in the history of the county.

Conferences Past and Coming

The annual Institute of Government of the University of Washington, held for the past fifteen years, will meet this year July 10-14. One of the sessions will be devoted to a discussion of "Problems of Citizens Associations," led by Professor Hugh A. Bone, of the university's political science department, and divided into four sections: types of citizen organizations, membership and organizational problems, determination of policy, and financial and public relations problems. Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services of the National Municipal League, is scheduled to speak.

The annual Workshop in State and Local Government in Michigan, at Michigan State College, was scheduled to run for three weeks, July 5-22. This is a "summer course for teachers and prospective teachers of civics, government and social studies and interested citizen groups." Numerous organizations and educational institutions will cooperate including the Michigan Municipal League, University of Michigan and Wayne University. State and local government officials will act as instructors.

The American Planning and Civic Association, with the American Institute of Planners cooperating, held its National Citizens Conference on Planning for City, State and Nation on May 12-17 at Washington. The conference was a feature of the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the city as the seat of the national government. Topics for speakers and round table discussions included zoning and the citizen, citizen organizations for planning, urban redevelopment procedures, citizen service on planning commissions, rural roadsides, decentralization of cities, unified planning and administration for metropolitan areas, slum clearance, a federal department of natural resources and many others.

"Citizenship — Everybody's Job" was the theme of the 1950 conference of the New Jersey Association for Adult Education at Rutgers University. A morning panel on "Citizenship Responsibilities," luncheon and dinner meetings, and seven afternoon discussion groups marked the day's program.

The annual meeting of the Citizens' League of Port Huron, Michigan, discussed "Recreational Opportunities in Port Huron" at a panel session. Those taking part included the Port Huron director of recreation and the chairman of the city Recreational Board.

Strictly Personnel

The Massachusetts League of Women Voters memorializes the passing of Alice Stone Blackwell at the age of 93. Daughter of Lucy Stone, Miss Blackwell had been honorary president of the league for many years. "A writer of distinction," says the league's *Bulletin*, "she used her pen to serve humanity and her organizing ability and eloquence to further the cause of women's suffrage."

A 70-member group which is seeking a referendum vote on the council-manager plan in Omaha has appointed W. Dean Vogel, vice president of the Live Stock National Bank, to head a fund-raising drive for an educational campaign.

Douglas Cole has been elected president of the Young Charterites, a group affiliated with the Cincinnati City Charter Committee. He succeeds Harris Weston.

The Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning has appointed John T. Mladjen as its new civic director. Mr. Mladjen, who has been granted a year's leave of absence by the city's Board of Education, has spent three years promoting neighborhood planning studies throughout the school system and supervised the public school contribution to the Better Philadelphia Exhibit. Miss Cornelia Hahn, formerly with the Regional Plan Association of New York, has joined the council's staff as community planner.

Mrs. Edith P. Welty, first woman mayor of Yonkers, New York, was honored at a testimonial dinner addressed by Charles P. Taft, son of the late President Taft and city councilman of Cincinnati. Mrs. Welty was presented with a jeweled replica of the Yonkers Citizens Union insignia which bore the inscription, "Yonkers' No. One Citizen, Edith P. Welty." The presentation was made by Oxie Reichler, editor of the Yonkers *Herald Statesman*, who commented, "You have to admit one thing about Edith Welty—whether they love or hate her, they're always absorbingly interested in what she says or does."

The Seattle Municipal League has elected Paul R. Green as its president for 1950-51. He succeeds John N. Rupp, who continues as a member of the Board of Trustees. The *Seattle Municipal News* carries "Our Thanks to John Rupp," saying, "In his two years as league head, retiring President John N. Rupp willingly gave of his time and abilities—although it often meant the burning of midnight oil and the sacrificing of home life and pleasures. And the league's continued growth and record of accomplishment in the past two years are testimonials of a job well done."

The Board of Directors of the Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League has elected Ben O. Stoner as president, succeeding Grauman Marks.

Researcher's Digest • • • • *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Prescriptions for Better Legislatures

Aristotle on California; Hallie Farmer on Alabama

PROFESSOR John A. Vieg has turned a neat trick in having the governor of California summon Aristotle from his "long slumber at Chalcis" with the result that *Western Political Quarterly* for September 1949 carried the following item (also available in six-page reprint): "Aristotle on California: A Consultant's Report," synopsis by John A. Vieg.

This "first report" deals with two problems, "institutionalizing electoral responsibility" and "institutionalizing legislative responsibility."

As background for recommendations on electoral responsibility, the consultant points to "two apparent truths generally ignored or overlooked in popular government: (1) Democracy must take its people as they are. (2) Its basic forms and processes should be devised with a primary view toward helping *those who care* to be effective in their citizenship. Democracy does not depend on the proposition that everybody cares about the common good. If it did it would have gone under long, long ago. It rests rather on the proposition that those who do care are entitled, in the measure of their caring, to the opportunity of promoting the common good—and guarding it."

In the case of California, the consultant concludes that these truths support a proposed reform of the direct primary which would, among other things, abolish cross-filing, authorize political parties to hold pre-primary conventions and provide for a single consolidated primary ballot. In a different context the consultant might well have commended these truths for special contemplation by anyone inclined to support constitutional and other provisions that make it necessary to attain extraordinary majorities for constitutional or charter revision and the like. Such requirements are clearly designed not to help but to prevent "those who care from being effective in their citizenship."

In order to institutionalize legislative responsibility the consultant makes a number of recommendations "justified by extensive research and analysis . . . by members of the American Political Science Association." These include revision of the state constitution "so that the ordinary citizen can understand it as readily as he does the federal constitution," merger of the Senate and the Assembly into a representative unicameral legislature or reapportionment of the Senate so that the voters "will be neither tempted nor obliged to make wholesale use of the initiative," lengthening of the terms of legislators to four years, giving the "governor the prerogative, once every two years, in case of deadlock between himself and the legislature, of dissolving the legislature and calling for new elections," and otherwise improving the governor's chance of providing political leadership by shortening the ballot and giving him a deputy to relieve him of managerial duties and "free him for unhurried consideration of questions of high policy."

The consultant concludes with a warning that failure to heed the need for such institutional changes to meet modern conditions would ultimately "even in California, with all its resources," mean that "state government will so disappoint the people that, despite the dangers involved, they will turn repeatedly to Washington."

A number of similar conclusions as well as many other findings of general significance to students of the legislative process in American states are set forth in the most thorough study of any single state legislature yet published, *The Legislative Process in Alabama,* by Hallie Farmer.[1]

This book, the culmination of fifteen years of intensive and thoughtful study of the Alabama legislature since 1903, is a mine of information and wisdom for all students of American government. Anyone who fears federal centralization or executive dictatorship should ponder it prayerfully and check his own legislature for its capacity to meet current needs.

Professor Farmer points out that the Alabama legislature of 1943 was for all practical purposes the legislature of 1903—"A white, male, Protestant, provincial legislature dominated by lawyers." This legislature, like most other American legislatures, has violated the constitutional duty of reapportionment and there appears to be no likelihood of action until or unless industry becomes important in many more counties.

The legislature has made some improvements such as the recent establishment of a Legislative Council and the streamlining of committees in the lower house. But it is hampered by the provincialism and inexperience of its own members who are more interested in local legislation than they are in the over-all problems of the state, by the incompetence of its staff, recruited by the spoils system, by its bicameral structure and by certain other constitutional limitations, notably the limitation on sessions.

Such efficiency and direction as there are in the legislative process result largely from executive leadership. By consent of the legislature, the governor generally chooses the speaker of the House, the president pro tem of the Senate and the chairman and members of major committees. Moreover, the governor has power, in vetoing measures, to suggest amendments, a matter of great importance in view of the frequency of technical, constitutional and clerical defects in the bills that go to the governor.

In an exceptionally good brief concluding chapter on "An Effective Legislature," Professor Farmer summarizes her principal findings. She points out that "probably the major defect in the legislative machinery of Alabama is one which it shares with 46 other states; Alabama has a bicameral legislature." She shows specifically how each of four arguments ordinarily advanced to justify the bicameral system is vitiated by the facts in her state.

A review of the problem of legislative apportionment, with primary attention to the reapportionment of Congress after 1950 and some incidental but significant reference to the same problem in state legislatures, is presented in *Legislative Apportionment,* by R. K. McNickle (Editorial Research Reports, Washington, D. C., 19 pages, one dollar).

1950 GRA Conference

Roy V. Peel, director of the Bureau of the Census, will be the banquet speaker at the 1950 conference of the Governmental Research Association at the Berkeley-Carteret Hotel in Asbury Park, New Jersey, September 6, 7 and 8. Dr. Peel will use the occasion for a significant discussion of findings of the 1950 census relating to problems of state and local government.

---

[1] Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama, 1949, 363 pages.

Alvin A. Burger, of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce and the National Council of State Chambers of Commerce, will speak at the opening luncheon.

Luther Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration, will discuss governmental reorganization at a luncheon meeting. His speech will be preceded by a general morning session on reorganization of state and local governments.

The theme of the conference, "Governmental Research in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century," will be developed through the featured speeches and round table discussions of such matters as federal-state-local fiscal relations, metropolitan area problems, public assistance policies and administration, problems of running a bureau and school surveys.

The program committee is stressing the value of the opportunity afforded by the conference for making and renewing acquaintances and for informal discussions among persons with common problems. The program committee is headed by Leslie M. Gravlin, director of the Hartford Governmental Research Institute.

* * *

Bureau Notes

The Institute of Public Administration of Canada, which corresponds to the American Society for Public Administration, has issued its *1949 Proceedings of the First Annual Conference,* held at the Chateau Frontenac, Quebec, Philip T. Clark, editor, 256 Roxborough Street East, Toronto, 210 pages.

Among the subjects discussed are training and recruitment for public service, provincial sales tax, public administration as a profession (address by Luther Gulick), joint dominion-provincial administration and the role of the institute.

The Institute of Public Service of Boston University has announced inauguration of training programs for state and municipal employees in four specific fields of specialization: public administration, municipal administration, financial administration and personnel management and supervision. The institute, which is under the direction of Dr. Lashley G. Harvey, is also prepared to offer special classes to serve particular needs of groups of public employees and to conduct short courses or training schools for such groups.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Dr. Rodney L. Mott, on leave of absence as director of the division of social sciences at Colgate University, has accepted a temporary appointment as United States specialist on local government in Germany

On leave as executive director of the New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers Associations, John D. Langmuir has been made temporary administrative assistant to Governor Sherman Adams of New Hampshire for the specific purpose of aiding the governor in putting into effect the newly voted state reorganization law.[1]

Albert J. Richter, formerly of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, has been appointed director of the Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research to take effect July 1.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budget

Budget Backgrounds. (Covering city and board of education budgets and personnel costs.) Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, April 17, May 1, 15 and 29. 2 pp. each.

---

[1] See page 344, this issue.

Saving Money in Procedure. The League Reports on Pittsburgh's Tightened Budget Control and Procurement. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* April 1950. 6 pp.

Codification

Survey of Recodification Problems in Nevada. Carson City, Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, April 1950. 31 pp.

Debt

Buffalo's Bonded Debt. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* May 4, 1950. 3 pp.

Postwar Trend in State Debt. A State-by-State Analysis. New York City, Tax Foundation, 1950. 26 pp. Tables.

Directories

A Directory of Federal and State Officials in South Dakota. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Governmental Research Bureau, 1950. 32 pp. Chart.

Education

City Schools Up 12.15 Per Cent Over 1948. Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *Iowa Taxpayer,* May 1950. 1 p.

Counting Noses for Dollars. The League Reviews the Per Capita School Taxes in Allegheny County. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* May 1950. 14 pp.

Education Cost per Pupil Climbs Steadily Upward in City School Districts. Inflation and Drop in Ratios of Pupils to Teachers Are Responsible. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer,* April 1950. 1 p.

Flint Board of Education. 1950 Capital Outlay Program. Flint, Michigan, Civic Research Council, 1950. 15 pp. Tables.

Poughkeepsie High School. A Plan for Action! Poughkeepsie, New York, Area Development Association, 1950. ii, 29 pp.

Public School Finances Are Complicated. Denver, Colorado Public Expenditure Council, *Colorado Taxpayer,* April 1950. 4 pp.

Ratio of Pupils to Teachers Continue Decline in 1948-49 School Year. Study Reveals Number of Teachers Is Increasing More Rapidly Than Pupils. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer,* May 1950. 1 p. 10 cents.

School Tax Rates. Teachers Salaries. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* June 1950. 5 pp. each. Tables. 25 cents.

Teachers' Salaries. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* April 1950. 2 pp.

Elections and Voting

How Toronto Voted. Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* April 6, 1950. 6 pp.

Fire Protection

City Improves Fire-Alarm System. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* May 1, 1950. 3 pp.

Holidays

Election Day, April 4th—Another Holiday for Public Employees. Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* April 1, 1950. 1 p.

Hospitals

Tennessee Hospital Plan — Three Years' Progress. By Lucy McMurry. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, *Tennessee Planner,* April 1950. 8 pp.

The Salt Lake County Hospital. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1950. 6 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

Committee on Metropolitan Problems. First Report, Section Two, (Contains much of the statistical and analytical material upon which Section I—see April 1950 *Review*—was based. Includes governmental, economic and social data on each municipality in the area). Toronto, Civic Advisory Council, 1950. xii, 258 pp.

Municipal Government

Trends in City Government—"The Disease of Decentralization." Lincoln, Nebraska, Governmental Research Institute, *Bulletin,* April 1950. 4 pp.

Municipal Reporting

Your City Can Issue a Modern Annual Report. By Pan Dodd Wheeler. Nashville, *Tennessee Town and City* (Supplement), May 1950. 4 pp. (Published for Municipal Technical Advisory Service, Division of University Extension, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.)

Pensions

Reviewing the City's Pension System. Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* May 25, 1950. 6 pp.

Personnel

Provisional Appointments — 1948-1949. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* May 16, 1950. 3 pp.

Public Libraries

The Library and the Public. Proceedings of the Section on Public Library Administration, Fourteenth Annual Institute of Government, 1949. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with The Division of Adult Education and Extension Services, 1950. 11 pp.

Public Welfare

Public Welfare and Charities. Fall River, Massachusetts, Taxpayers Association, *Bulletin,* April 1950. 3 pp.

Relief Administration in Detroit. Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bureau Notes,* April 13, 1950. 2 pp.

Summary of the Report on Monroe County Welfare. Rochester, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Bulletin,* February 1950. 4 pp.

Welfare Administration in Providence. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* April 1950. 2 pp.

Rent Control

City Rent Commission Has Handled 20,000 Cases. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* May 23, 1950. 3 pp.

Streets and Highways

Assessing the Costs of Street Improvements. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* June 1950. 2 pp.

Report Describes Highway Systems, Use, Costs, Studies Future Expenditures. (Summary of Griffenhagen report.) Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer,* March 1950. 1 p.

Taxation and Finance

Cost of Government in Canada. Dominion Government Expenditures. Toronto, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* May 19, 1950. 5 pp.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

Local Government Finances in Maryland, 1949. Second Report to the Governor and the General Assembly of Maryland. Baltimore, State Fiscal Research Bureau, 1950. 52 pp. Charts, tables.

Local Taxes, 1945-49. By James W. McGrew. New York City, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Notes and References,* May 23, 1950. 5 pp. Tables.

Training

Research and Intern Training. Scoville Pioneers in Los Angeles County. By Edwin A. Cottrell. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* May 1950. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Books in Review

Southern Politics in State and Nation. By V. O. Key, Jr., assisted by Alexander Heard. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949. xxvi, 675 pp. $6.

This important source book has been given the American Political Science Association's award as the best work of the year in political science. A Rockefeller Foundation grant gave the author time, staff and travel facilities for three years in the field, enough in itself to lift it above the numerous rearrangements of oft-printed facts which come this way for review. After unsuccessful attempts to get a free review copy of this book, we rendered the supreme tribute and were well rewarded.

The abundant material is almost all new and, for a generation, every further work on American politics will be speckled with footnotes referring to this one. Professor Key devotes each of the first eleven chapters to an account of the politics of a state, the rest being a series of interstate comparisons, topic by topic, of the numerous unique factors which set off the politics of the south from that of the rest of the country but which operate diversely in neighboring southern states, for reasons not always easy to explain.

The pictures of wide-open scrambles for the party nomination by self-seeking dramatic individuals is in line with the miniature fracases seen in some of our western cities under nonpartisan ballots when there is no local attempt at organized constructive leadership; the Model Primary Election System of the National Municipal League (of which Professor Key is a sponsor) looks as if it could fill a long-felt want down there by requiring the party managers to lead off with a set of nominations subject to possible subsequent contest by other groups or individuals after the proposed organization ticket has been submitted. Simple scrambles for office without leadership are common—and feasible—in small nonpartisan cities, but are seen here as less edifying on a statewide scale.

Virginia is the one southern state with stable leadership—the Byrd machine, respected and conservative in a conservative light-voting constituency. The state enjoys the most simplified structure of government in the country but the situation would, we learn, be improved by removing remote control of county salaries from the hands of whichever group is in power at the state capitol.

The work is well timed to bring in fresh news of (1) the effect of the Supreme Court decision removing barriers to Negro voting in the Democratic primaries and (2) the impact of the Dixiecrat rebellion of 1948.

R. S. C.

An Aid to Charter Drafting. Council-Manager Government. Hartford 3, The Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, 1950. xi, 121 pp. Mimeographed.

Brief, lucid draftsmanship, in accord with Connecticut law, traditions and special conditions, of appropriate legal provisions of a model special charter act of the legislature. Alternatives are supplied relating to town meetings, representative town meetings and partisan or nonpartisan elections. Prepared for use by Connecticut citizens, its distribution is limited.

Reports of Committee for Kentucky 1943-50. Louisville, Committee for Kentucky, 1950. Variously paged.

The complete bound set of the committee's twelve reports on the state's condition in various aspects and what needs to be done to lift the state to a higher ranking. It includes the twelfth report, *Blueprint for a Greater Kentucky,* described in the REVIEW in April 1950, page 207.

Simplified Municipal Accounting. A Manual for Smaller Governmental Units. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1950. xii, 162 pp. $3.25.

This is a practical working manual specifically designed for use by smaller governmental units. Accounting forms, principles and procedures, accounts and records to be used are presented in a simplified, easily understood manner with numerous illustrations.

A Hook in Leviathan. A Critical Interpretation of the Hoover Commission Report. By Bradley D. Nash and Cornelius Lynde. New York, Macmillan Company, 1950. xiii, 234 pp. $3.

A tightly written account of the two million word Hoover report in about thirty thousand words, including some thoughtful commentary and the conclusion, "No citizen should rest until these objectives have been won."

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Criminal Justice

Sources for the Study of the Administration of Criminal Justice. By Dorothy Campbell Tomkins. Sacramento, Special Crime Study Commissions and the California State Board of Corrections, 1949. 294 pp.

Debt

The Public Debt: 1949. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* April 1950. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Statistics of Local Units of Government Bonded Indebtedness as of June 30, 1947. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1950. 17 pp.

Ecology

Human Ecology. A Theory of Community Structure. By Amos H. Hawley. New York City, Ronald Press Company, 1950. xvi, 456 pp. $5.

Gambling

Gambling. Edited by Morris Ploscowe and Edwin J. Lukas. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* May 1950. viii, 209 pp. $2.

Health

Alcoholism as a Health Problem. By Liquor Problems Section. San Francisco 19, The Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth* (Part Two), April 24, 1950. 44 pp. 25 cents.

Long Beach Hospitals 1950. Construction, Beds, Financing, Future. By Mayor and Council's Hospital and Health Committee. Long Beach, California, The Committee, 1950. Variously paged.

Municipal Government

Guide to the Municipal Government of the City of New York (sixth edition). By Rebecca B. Rankin. New York 7, Record Press, Inc., 1950. vii, 166 pp. $1.50.

Personnel

City Employment in 1949. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950. 37 pp.

Personnel Manual. Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Personnel Department, 1950. 65 pp.

Recreation

Recreation in California. No. 1: **Institutes for Recreation Leaders;** No. 2: **Laws Relating to Recreation;** No. 3: **First Annual Report to Governor;** No. 4: **First California Recreation Conference;** No. 5: **Standards for Professional Recreation Personnel;** No. 6: **Second Annual Report to Governor;** No. 7: **Second Annual California Recreation Conference.** Sacramento 14, State of California Recreation Commission, 1948, 1949 and 1950. Variously paged.

Types of Recreation Managing Authorities by Population Groups. New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1950. 9 pp. 50 cents.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 354)

through improved efficiency of operations, the taxpayer should get more for each local tax dollar collected.

Canadian Province Considers County Government

The province of Alberta, Canada, is considering adoption of counties for the government of its rural areas. The plan, sponsored by the provincial government, is to create a county government of the same area as the school district or as several municipal districts. At the head would be an eleven-member county council with full authority over the usual governmental services including schools and hospitals.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 356)

85 Danish Cities and Towns Hold P. R. Elections

The March 1950 elections in some 85 cities and towns of Denmark reduced the number of seats won by the Communists to 24, as contrasted to 74 in the corresponding elections of 1946. Another interesting development was the increase in the seats won by the Justice Union (single tax group) from one to 50. The list system of proportional representation has been used in local elections in Denmark since 1908. Seats obtained for the various parties in the last two elections are set forth below:

DANISH MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, 1946 AND 1950[a]

Party	*Seats 1946*	*Seats 1950*
Social Democratic	590	586
Radical Liberal	60	61
Conservative	250	285
Liberal	145	128
Justice Union (Single Tax)	1	50
Communist	74	24
Coalition Lists and Unpolitical	147	155

[a] Figures are those of the Danish Information Office, New York City, as published by *The American City,* June 1950.

More Private Groups Use Hare System

Ohio State University and the University of Vermont have adopted P. R. for student council elections and Elizabethtown College, at Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania, is about to do so, according to information from George Howatt of Lehigh University.

The League of Women Voters of Summit, New Jersey, at its annual meeting in May, selected its current agenda item by the Hare system of preferential voting. There were six items to choose from but since it was desired to have only one item on the agenda, the counting of the Hare system votes involved only the determination of a majority choice. In addition, two counts by P. R. were also carried out to inform the membership which two and which three subjects would be selected if it were desired to have two or three items on the agenda for the coming year.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

TEMBER 1950 VOLUME XXXIX, NO. 8

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.
PERIODICAL DEPT.

This Is the Time .... *Editorial*

Sound Prelude to Statehood .... *Harold S. Roberts*

Phoenix Makes New Start .... *Paul Kelso*

The Politicians Lose Again .... *Thelma Brown Lewis*

One Way to Get Out the Vote .... *Henry J. Abraham*

New Orleans Granted Home Rule Rights 400

Virginia Counties Get Third Option 408

Presidential Election Change Defeated 411

Korean War Portends Local Problems 413

Michigan Citizens Aid Reorganization 417

Bureaus Help Charter Commissions 421

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR
ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN, *Maryland*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
HARVEY WALKER, *Ohio*
YORK Y. WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *President*
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J., *Vice President*
J. W. Clise, Seattle, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York, *Treasurer*
William Collins, *Finance Chairman*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
John E. Bebout, *Assistant Secretary*
George H. Hallett, Jr., *Associate Secretary*

COUNCIL

Richard S. Childs, New York, *Chairman*

William Anderson, Minneapolis
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
Frederick L. Bird, New York
Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati
William Collins, Yonkers, N. Y.
L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Mo.
James A. Cunningham, Chicago
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
C. A. Dykstra, Los Angeles
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
B. H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Clarence Francis, Bronxville, N. Y.
Arnold Frye, New York
Lloyd E. Graybiel, San Francisco
Harrison S. Hires, Berwyn, Pa.
Robert W. Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
John S. Linen, New York
Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis
Mrs. Thomas H. Mahony, Boston
D. K. Pfeffer, New York
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Walter M. Phillips, Philadelphia
Lawson Purdy, New York
Harry W. Schacter, Louisville, Ky.
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Henry L. Shattuck, Boston
George S. Van Schaick, New York
Richard Weil, Jr., New York
A. C. (Jack) White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXIX, No. 8 Total Number 402

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for September 1950

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS 374

EDITORIAL COMMENT 375

SOUND PRELUDE TO STATEHOOD .... *Harold S. Roberts* 377

PHOENIX MAKES NEW START .... *Paul Kelso* 383

THE POLITICIANS LOSE AGAIN .... *Thelma Brown Lewis* 389

ONE WAY TO GET OUT THE VOTE .... *Henry J. Abraham* 395

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 400

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 408

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ...... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 411

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 413

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 417

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 421

BOOKS IN REVIEW 426

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Copyright September 1950 by
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

National Conference on Government to Be in Buffalo November 20-22

The 1950 National Conference on Government will be held November 20, 21 and 22 in Buffalo, with the Hotel Statler as headquarters.

Civic leaders, business and professional men and women, educators, experts on government, public officials, representatives of local, county and state civic organizations and other interested citizens from all parts of the country will attend, as they have preceding conferences called annually by the National Municipal League since 1894, with the exception of the war years 1942-45.

Rob Roy McLeod, business and civic leader, has been chosen chairman of the local arrangements committee. Sponsoring organizations include the Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, the Lackawanna Tax Bureau, the Buffalo and Erie County Planning Association, the Greater Buffalo Advertising Club, Kiwanis and Rotary.

The National Association of Civic Secretaries will have its sessions the evening of November 19 and the morning of November 20, immediately preceding the opening of the Conference. The Proportional Representation League will hold its annual meeting during the Conference.

Allen Seed Visits 22 States

Allen H. Seed, Jr., the League's director of field services, has completed a trip to the west coast during which he visited 22 states. He consulted with many executives and officers of local and state civic organizations and worked with business and professional leaders who are cooperating in the program to broaden the League's membership and support.

Mr. Seed will be in New England during the first half of September. Later he will visit cities in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Nebraska, Iowa and Minnesota.

Editorial Comment

This Is the Time

As THEY did during the last two wars, the champions of the *status quo* are likely soon to be trying to sabotage civic progress campaigns with the familiar line: "This isn't the time for change . . . wait until the boys come home from the war."

This is arrant nonsense.

Winning any shooting war or "police action" is only part of the ideological struggle which has the world scared stiff wondering whether civilization hangs in the balance.

It is essential that those who are devoted to the democratic way of life proceed firmly toward demonstrating that our way can be decent, efficient and effective in meeting proper public needs. Our enemies have made too much hay by calling attention to our weaknesses, inconsequential and unintentional as many of them are.

Apathy and complacency notoriously have tricked Americans into paying too little attention during both war and peace to the soundness and efficiency of their essential institutions and processes.

We apparently face a long period of constant threat of all out war. Therefore suggestions that we defer efforts to strengthen our domestic institutions until after the crisis are especially hollow. There is all the greater reason to proceed firmly and aggressively to tighten up our home town democratics and get rid of the excess baggage of waste, inefficiency and cheap politics.

Is it "the American way" to do things by stupid, old-fashioned and ineffective methods? Is it unpatriotic to improve organization and technique?

Putting our houses in order, nationally or locally, will not interfere with any war effort. Indeed, it will make us better able to meet the tests that lie ahead.

A City Statesman

IT IS not the practice of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW to run editorials extolling the virtues and accomplishments of an individual. There are times, however, when the soundest of rules should be broken. This is such a time.

Recently, L. P. Cookingham completed ten years as city manager of Kansas City, Missouri, with a record that will not only embellish the history of that city but will serve also as a shining example to members of his profession who find themselves in difficult situations.

To say that the situation was difficult when Perry Cookingham was hired away from the small city of Saginaw, Michigan, is about the same as likening the atomic bomb to a firecracker. For more than a decade Kansas City had been in the clutches of the most thorough-going corrupt political gang of our time. City payrolls were loaded with incompetent political hacks. Political fraud, blackmail, extortion and almost everything else bad were rampant when the voters threw off the Pendergast machine and elected an independent city council that proved its decency by employing Mr. Cookingham as the city's first real manager.

Most hopeless angle of the situation was the fact that, as the *Kansas City Star* reminded on the occasion of the completion of Mr. Cookingham's first ten years in office, the well intentioned people who made up the winning coalition had no conception of what nonpartisan good government ought to be. They assumed that the members of the old gang would lose their city jobs and that those who had worked for the reform would get them.

"Folksy, good humored Cookingham," the *Star* recalls, "undertook to sell the fundamentals at the same time that he plunged into the big management job. Mayor John B. Gage gave him the most skillful kind of support. By the end of two years some of the formerly skeptical councilmen were themselves becoming outstanding students of government. Nonpartisan methods were showing big results. On another track the whole movement probably would have bogged down in two years."

Cookingham is a public relations wizard in the highest sense of the word. While he cut the tremendous waste and the political crooks off the tax bill, while he substituted order and honesty for chaos and plunder, while he made Kansas City one of the best governed communities in the world, he offended few and won the respect and often the affection of many who would not have believed ten years ago that they could stomach a "do-gooder."

Other cities naturally have tried to hire Cookingham away from Kansas City. Why he has turned down fine offers may puzzle some people. Those who know him best think, however, that it's partly his inability to let go of a job until it has been completed and partly because "Hi, Cookie!", and all that it means, might be missed if he walked down other streets.

An Old Lesson

COMMENTING on the defeat of a proposed new charter for the city of St. Louis, the *St. Louis Star-Times* lays the loss chiefly to the fact that it was not "the best possible charter."

"It was a compromise," says the *Star-Times*, "trimmed in the hope that the ward-heelers would not object if only half their loaf was taken from them. This was an unreasonable hope. They will fight against the loss of even so much as a crumb of patronage and power. The next board of freeholders should take the opposition of the ward-heelers as inevitable and write a charter behind which the independent citizens can enthusiastically rally."

This basic truth has been learned the hard way over and over again. Boldly conceived charters which take high ground win because they are worth fighting for.

Sound Prelude to Statehood

Hawaiian convention drafts an outstanding constitution in a two-pronged offensive for admission to the union.

By HAROLD S. ROBERTS*

NEARLY one hundred years ago President Franklin Pierce authorized negotiations to annex Hawaii to the United States. A proposed treaty was drawn up in 1854 which provided in part:

"[The] Hawaiian Islands shall be incorporated into the American Union *as a state, enjoying the same degree of sovereignty as other states,* and admitted as such, as soon as it can be done in consistency with the principles and requirements of the federal constitution, to all the rights, privileges and immunities of a state as aforesaid on a perfect equality with other states of the union."

It was not until 1900 that, by mutual agreement, the free and independent Republic of Hawaii became an integral part of the United States. A half century later it is still being denied its rights as a state "enjoying the same degree of sovereignty as other states."

During these 50 years it has paid in over a billion dollars to the United States treasury in taxes. In 1949 alone it paid in more than eighty million dollars. Ten states of the union have paid in less than that. Its population and land area is larger than some states. Its public school system has been in effect for about a hundred years and compares favorably with most states. Its population is diverse, but no more so than most cosmopolitan communities. Its industries are modern, its citizens highly literate, its educational and cultural facilities of high reputation. The loyalty of its people is beyond question; its war record unblemished. The fame of its boys in the 100th and 442nd regiments is a matter of pride. The ability for self-government has been demonstrated during the past 50 years.

Hawaii has on sixteen different occasions petitioned Congress to grant statehood. Unlike other territories which have been permitted to come into the union, beginning with the Northwest Territory in 1787, Hawaii has more than met the qualifications for statehood.

On 37 different occasions since 1920 bills have been introduced in successive sessions of Congress to provide statehood. In the past fifteen years there have been nine separate hearings held by congressional committees on the question. Congress has more information and statistical data on Hawaii than on any other territory previously admitted to the union.

The most recent attempt to obtain statehood by means of an enabling statute began by the introduction of H.R. 49 by Delegate Farrington on January 3, 1950. (Hawaii has one delegate to Congress, but without vote.) H.R. 49 passed the House on March 7, 1950, by a vote of 262 to 110. On July 12, the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, by a vote of nine to one, recommended statehood. Senator Butler of Nebraska cast the only negative vote.

---

*Dr. Roberts, dean of the College of Business Administration of the University of Hawaii, was a delegate to the Hawaii State Constitutional Convention, of whose task he writes.

Two-way Action

While H.R. 49 was going through the congressional mill, the territorial legislature passed Act 334. This act was patterned largely after H.R. 49; its purpose was to try another avenue for achieving statehood should the enabling act procedure fail. Some fifteen states have been admitted to the union by the alternative procedure of drafting a state constitution and going to Congress, knocking on the door and asking to be admitted. At the present time Hawaii is launching its campaign for statehood in a two-pronged offensive.

The last report issued by the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee fully and effectively sums up its position in the following words:

> As a result, the committee is convinced that:
>
> (1) The admission of Hawaii into the union as a state is in the best interests of the nation and the territory.
>
> (2) The territory meets all of the traditional requirements for statehood and, as a state, would make valuable contributions to the nation and to the world.
>
> (3) In the current clash of political and economic ideologies upon the world stage, the admission of Hawaii as a state would be a practical demonstration in the very area in which communism is making a determined drive to win adherence to its totalitarian principles that the United States is holding aloft for all of the world the banner of political and economic democracy.
>
> Therefore, conscious of their responsibility as members of the Senate of the 81st Congress to the Senate and the nation, the committee recommends that the Senate continue the pattern under which America has grown great and approve this legislation to admit Hawaii to statehood.

On July 22, 61 delegates affixed their signatures to a historic document—the constitution of the state of Hawaii. The ceremony took place in the throne room at historic Iolani Palace, Honolulu. There was a touch of deep solemnity, offset by the bright Hawaiian flowers and the chanting strains of Island music. The ceremony ended with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner.

The 63 delegates, elected by the people at primary and general elections February 11 and March 21, began their official task on April 4. Although the campaign was run on a nonpartisan basis (there were no party designations on the ballot) more than 80 per cent of the registered voters cast their ballots.

Of those elected, approximately one-third had never run for an elective office before. For many of the delegates it will be their one and only campaign. These men and women were attracted by the nature of the job to be done. Writing a constitution for a new state comes but once in a lifetime. On the other hand, some of the newcomers may well try their wings in the political arena. No American community can overlook "new blood" for its political melting pot.

The delegates, elected from all parts of the territory, represented a broad cross-section of the community. Among them were two pineapple company presidents, two union representatives, a judge of the circuit court, two former attorney generals, a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Hawaii, the superintendent of public instruction, one physician, two dentists, the speaker and vice speaker of the Territorial House of Representatives, four members of the Territorial Senate, a number of school teachers and others. Of the five women who won seats, two are attorneys, two are housewives and one is a member of the legislature.

Racially, the convention contained 27 Caucasians, twenty Japanese-Americans, eleven Hawaiians and five Chinese-Americans, generally representative of the population. Politically there were 29 Republicans, 21 Democrats and thirteen nonpartisans.

Convention Organizes

The delegates adopted rules of procedure, elected officers, set up twenty working committees and began their deliberations. Members indicated their preference for committee assignments on the basis of interest and special technical qualifications. Committees ranged in size from five to fifteen members. They studied all the proposals introduced by delegates; invited experts in the special fields under consideration and held public hearings.

Unlike many political conventions, and for that matter different from the convention which drafted our own federal constitution, all committee meetings were open to the public, press and radio. A weekly report was prepared by the committee on submission and information which was distributed to many community groups, which in turn made copies available to its members. Four radio stations provided time during the week for summaries of the work of the convention. The press provided good coverage.

As each committee completed its deliberations, it submitted a detailed report setting forth the scope and character of the problems before it and the results of its work. At the conclusion was a proposal which contained the specific language recommended for incorporation in the proposed constitution. Copies were duplicated for all the delegates, the press and community groups which desired them. These standing committee reports were then placed on the calendar for full consideration and debate.

To provide maximum flexibility and informality of discussion, most of the debate on reports was held in committee of the whole. Through full and free discussion, completely open to the press and public, by amendments and suggestions from the floor, the committee proposals and recommendations were dissected, paragraph by paragraph, sentence by sentence, and occasionally word by word.

Unlike the deliberations of many legislative bodies, proposals underwent substantial modification on the floor. Debates were frequently intense, sometimes acrimonious. On the whole, however, the discussions were on a high plane, directed toward the basic issues under consideration. One rather unusual feature was that at no time was it necessary to place a limitation on debate. The rules made provision for such limitation but they were never put to use.

The committee reports and proposals approved by the committee of the whole were sent to the committee on style for arrangement and form. The style committee was under specific instruction to confine its work to form and style and was prohibited from making any change of a substantive character. It could and did, however, call attention to discrepancies, omissions or conflict, and report to the convention for further instructions or action.

The style committee then resubmitted each of the articles to the convention for approval and adoption, finally arranging all sections into an integrated and cohesive document.

The convention lasted 110 calendar days. Actually there were 78 days devoted to plenary sessions. At other times there were committee meetings, hearings and preparation of committee reports. During the preliminary period of committee work there were, on the average, 20 to 30 meetings each week occupying in excess of 40 hours of work. No verbatim transcript was kept of committee deliberations. Each committee did keep a brief summary in the form of minutes, and these were available to the other delegates. These minutes will also be part of the record to be kept in the archives with other official documents.

The convention kept a complete verbatim transcript by means of electronic tape recordings of all the sessions after April 9. Over 365 reels—about 87 miles—of recording tape were used. It has been estimated that approximately five million words were spoken during the floor debates. Only 14,000, however, found a place in the constitution. Of these, approximately 4,000 are in the schedule which describes the political districts to be used in the initial elections and for subsequent reapportionment every ten years.

A Hawaiian Product

The document signed by the delegates is a product of Hawaii and its people. It reflects the thinking of an essentially conservative community, but one that is responsive to changing times and needs. The constitution has borrowed and adapted provisions from the federal constitution, the Hawaii organic act, the *Model State Constitution* and the constitutions of the other states.

Although it has studied and tapped all available resources, the final product is unlike that of any other state. It has its own flavor and features which find roots in the problems and needs of the community. Typical of these are the provisions dealing with the Hawaiian home lands, the limitations of bonded indebtedness and the use of assessed land valuations to adjust these limits as well as the sections dealing with local government, drafted in the light of a centralized tax structure and a coordinated and centralized system of public education.

The basic conservatism of the constitution is reflected in the limited number of elective officials. The governor, lieutenant governor and members of the legislature are the only elected officials. Cabinet members and judges of the courts are appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate. Members of the Board of Education are to be appointed by the governor from panels nominated by the counties. There is no provision for the initiative, referendum and recall—so popular during the first two decades of the century.

Current Thinking Reflected

The constitution does contain many progressive features which reflect the forward-looking character of the community. It provides for reduction in the voting age from 21 to 20. Only one other state, Georgia, has a voting age of less than 21. A provision recognizing the right to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining, as a constitutional guarantee, has been included. Only three other state constitutions, Missouri, New Jersey and New York, provide such guarantees.

Many features of the document reflect the best current thinking in government. For example, executive departments are to be coordinated in no more than twenty major departments, to permit the governor to keep a personal check on the functioning of the executive branch. There are provisions to eliminate the pocket veto. The salaries of the governor, the judges and members of the legislature have been increased to attract the best qualified men to office. Salaries compare favorably with the ten highest states of the union.

Provision is made for post-audits of state expenditures, as well as a requirement that the legislature pass the general appropriations bill before passing other finance bills. This may prevent the last minute rush, so typical of many legislative sessions, which makes it difficult to give careful scrutiny to final drafts of bills and leads to political log-rolling and deals. In many other respects recognition is given to practices which are conducive to good government.[1]

Should the Congress pass H.R. 49 in its present form, the constitution could be submitted to the people for ratification at the election in November. H.R. 49 provides that an election be held within 60 to 120 days after passage of the enabling act. If the constitution is ratified by the people, it will be transmitted to the president of the United States and to Congress for approval. If Congress approves the ratified constitution, the people will then proceed to elect their state officers and two U. S. senators and members to the House of Representatives. Should the voters or Congress fail to ratify the constitution, the delegates to the 1950 convention must reconvene to draft another constitution that will meet the objections of Congress or of the people.

Should Congress fail to pass H.R. 49, the constitution will be submitted to the next session of the territorial legislature. While the legislature may not change it, it may draft an alternative. The people will then have the choice of voting for the constitution drafted by their delegates, the one drafted by the legislature, if any, or neither. If the people reject the constitution, the convention has to reconvene to draft a new document. If the people approve the document, it will be submitted to Congress with a request for direct admission into the union.

---

[1] See also page 405, this issue.

In the meantime, Hawaii knocks at the door for statehood. It alone of the territories that have shown their ability for democratic self-government, the ability to finance their own operations and to support our free institutions, has been denied equality of rights with the other states. Unlike Puerto Rico, which elects its own governor and pays no federal taxes to the United States, Hawaii cannot elect its own governor, has no voting representation in Congress, and is denied the right to vote for the president of the United States. If taxation without representation was tyranny in the middle of the 18th century, it is no less so in the middle of the 20th.

Hawaii, the meeting place of the cultures of the east and west, a dynamic outpost of democracy in the Pacific, waits impatiently for recognition of more than a half century of democratic progress. It is ready and willing to assume its responsibility in the new Pacific era. Admission of Hawaii into the union now would, in the words of the Senate Committee: "Give notice to all the world, and particularly to the peoples of the Pacific at this critical juncture of international affairs, that it is the policy of the United States to provide self-government among all the peoples without political, economic, racial or other distinction."

Both major parties have, in the past ten years, included statehood for Hawaii in their platforms. It is high time to transform these promises into political realities.

Public Library Kansas City, Mo.
PERIODICAL DEPT.

Phoenix Makes New Start

Correcting weak charter paves way for a rebirth of the manager plan; new council, executive get quick results.

By PAUL KELSO*

PHOENIX, ARIZONA, one of the pioneer council-manager cities of the United States, is at last realizing the potentialities of the manager plan for effective municipal government. Manager government was instituted in Phoenix in 1914 on the basis of a home rule charter adopted the previous year. Until January 1950, however, it functioned in from bad to indifferent fashion because of charter defects, citizen lethargy and probably a general lack of understanding of city manager principles and the promise of honest, efficient government embodied in them.

As Phoenix grew to a city of more than 105,000, with an expanding program of municipal services, the city government became more and more unable to meet its responsibilities. On January 3 of this year, however, the old order came to an end with the seating of a new council pledged to the council-manager idea and appointment of a city manager qualified by training and experience for the position. The first six months of the new administration have been marked by substantial improvements in administrative organization and procedures and in the quality of public services.

The sequence of events immediately responsible for the improvement of Phoenix city government started in October 1947, when the then mayor appointed a Charter Revision Committee of representative citizens to propose beneficial changes in the city charter. The committee framed a charter amendment designed to center administrative authority in the city manager and to protect him against unwarranted interference by the council. The voters gave their approval to the amendment at a special election in November 1948.[1] The committee disbanded after the election.

Sponsors of the amendment soon learned what they should have known from the first, that the adoption of the amendment in itself did not guarantee better municipal government. Forces which had opposed the charter amendment remained in control of the council. The council reappointed the incumbent city manager in the face of evidence indicating his general unfitness for the job and in disregard of the amendment section stipulating training and experience as the sole bases for selection.

It soon became apparent that neither the council nor manager had

---

*Dr. Kelso is associate professor in the University of Arizona's Department of History and Political Science and has taught at Ohio State University and the University of California at Los Angeles. He was formerly reporter, feature writer and art editor on the Muncie, Indiana, *Star*.

[1] See "Phoenix Charter Rises Anew," by Paul Kelso, the REVIEW, April 1949, page 176.

any intention of effecting improvements. City administration in general was inefficient and wasteful. The growth of commercialized vice pointed to either laxity in law enforcement or corruption. There was some evidence of "bossism" in city government, at least to the extent of the domination of a majority of council members by one man, a private citizen.

Citizen Group Organizes

Confronted with a situation in which persuasion and criticism alike had proved ineffectual, individuals favoring more competent city government decided that the most promising course of action lay in the formation of a citizens' organization which would nominate candidates for municipal office pledged to the support of the charter amendment. The city election of November 8, 1949, the first to be held since adoption of the amendment, would afford the opportunity to elect a new mayor and an entirely new council.

On July 5 a small group of citizens, with former members of the Charter Revision Committee as its nucleus, organized the Charter Government Committee. It was later expanded to more than a hundred members. The committee backed the incumbent mayor and an incumbent councilman, both attorneys, for reelection. Its five other councilmanic candidates were three businessmen, an insurance executive and a woman active in women's and civic affairs. A representative of organized labor had agreed to run on the committee ticket but withdrew before formal nomination, presumably because of the hostility of some sections of organized labor to the committee.

Candidates for the council and position of mayor who favored the *status quo* called themselves the Civic Achievement Group. They included three members of the old council seeking re-election. There were also a number of independent candidates.

Numerous civic groups, as well as the city's two daily newspapers, the *Arizona Republic* and the *Phoenix Gazette*, supported Charter Government Committee candidates. The Phoenix Central Labor Council and the Building Trades Council adopted a motion that no committee candidate would be endorsed. Their endorsees, however, included three councilmanic candidates on the Civic Achievement Group ticket.

Charter Government Committee candidates won an overwhelming victory at the polls in November. The fact that more than 22,000 of almost 42,000 registered voters went to the polls attests to widespread popular interest in the election. The number of ballots cast was almost double that for any previous municipal election.

Several days following the municipal election, the Charter Government Committee was dissolved. It had pledged this action shortly after its formation in order to allay the suspicions and win the support of persons who might fear that it would remain on the scene after the election "to run things." Some persons in Phoenix, however, regard the dissolution of the committee as an error and feel that the lack of organized political support for improved manager government may imperil the gains of the present administration at the next election.

After the election the mayor- and councilmen-elect, in keeping with their campaign promise, began a systematic search for a city manager qualified to provide Phoenix with superior municipal administration. They considered a total of 40 candidates, six of whom came to Phoenix for interviews. Their choice was Ray W. Wilson, who since 1940 had been administrative assistant to L. P. Cookingham, city manager of Kansas City and, prior to this appointment, civic secretary of the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce.

Problems Resolved

On taking office January 3 Mr. Wilson was confronted by two major problems: an anticipated deficit of $400,000 for the 1949-1950 fiscal year, already half over, and the long-run improvement of municipal management and services. The council lived up to its advance reputation as one of the best in the city's history by actively supporting the manager's administrative program. As a result of council-manager teamwork and a vigorous program of economies and revenue collections instituted by the latter, Phoenix ended the fiscal year on June 30 with a small surplus instead of the predicted deficit; and most of the basic changes essential to the modernization of administrative organization and procedures had been achieved or authorized.

The unusual phenomenon, for Phoenix, of a city administration not only pledged to efficient, economical government but also taking rapid strides toward its objectives has had a salutary effect upon the morale of department and division heads and most rank-and-file employees, a change which is reflected in the achievements of the first six months.

In directing the work of municipal administration, the city manager makes good use of accepted managerial techniques, some of which are new to the Phoenix scene. He usually discusses more serious administrative and procedural problems with the council before taking corrective measures. More important administrative changes are customarily preceded by extensive studies conducted by committees or qualified individuals.

Immediately upon his appointment the manager began publication of a weekly *City Manager's News Bulletin* to inform councilmen, other city officials and personnel, as well as the local press, radio and civic groups, of salient features of municipal administration. In the first issue of the *News Bulletin* the manager printed in full the "City Manager's Code of Ethics" and declared his adherence, without reservation, to the code. Administrative regulations and department head letters are published to inform personnel of administrative procedures and of their relationships with management and the public.

Three administrative interneships authorized by the council have been awarded to students working for advanced degrees in municipal management. The internes, each on a one-year appointment, have been put to work on studies designed to aid in the improvement of administrative organization and procedures.

Reorganization Accomplished

The number of separate departments reporting to the city manager was reduced from 27 to twelve during the first six months, in recognition of the principle that an administrator's capacity for effective supervision and planning is limited by time available and by the number and type of activities he directs. Administrative reorganization also eliminated some overlapping and duplication of functions. The first major change came in January with the consolidation of twelve departments into a single department of public works; the second in April with the setting up of a department of finance comprised of five formerly separate agencies.

Kenneth K. King, a man with extensive public works and engineering experience, was brought from his job as general manager of a firm of general contractors in Kansas City to become director of the department of public works. He had also served for three years as director of the Kansas City water department and for six as director of the department of public works. City Auditor John L. Williams, Jr., a CPA who had been discharged from the same position by the previous city manager and reappointed by Mr. Wilson, is acting head of the department of finance.

In February assessment and collection of real and personal property taxes were transferred to the office of county assessor, as permitted by state law. The change, which will save Phoenix an estimated $55,000 yearly, was proposed by City Assessor B. W. Baer, another official fired by the former manager and reappointed by the present one.

The police department was reorganized following an administrative survey by a representative of the Northwestern University Traffic Institute. The city health department is in process of reorganization. Its services are being expanded and improved as the result of a survey made by the Arizona State Department of Health at the request of the city manager. Dr. James A. Dolce, deputy commissioner of the joint city-county health department for Buffalo and Erie County, New York, is head of the department. The American Public Health Association in a letter to the Phoenix mayor commended the city for the selection. The city planning department has regained its status as a separate staff agency and is directed by John W. Beatty, planning director of Rockford and Winnebago County, Illinois.

To provide the city manager and the department of finance with the tools essential to their work of directing and coordinating municipal fiscal activities, the city has installed modern accounting and budgetary procedures which conform to standards recommended by the National Committee on Municipal Accounting and its parent organization, the Municipal Finance Officers Association. The budget for the 1950-1951 fiscal year is a remarkable document from at least two standpoints: it is the first modern budget in the history of Phoenix city government and its total estimated expenditures of $9,228,043 are 0.9 per cent lower than budgeted expenditures for the preceding fiscal year. On only two other occasions in the last twenty years have budget estimates been lower than those of the preceding year.

More Service for Less Money

The cut in proposed expenditures was made despite an increase in estimated capital outlays from $346,000 for 1949-1950 to approximately $883,000 for the current fiscal year. The larger sum for capital expenditures, necessitated by the condition of municipal equipment, was partly offset by a reduction of $420,000 in debt service costs. The *Arizona Republic,* commenting editorially upon the 1950-1951 budget, stated that "to have accomplished improved and increased services in every department of municipal affairs without increasing the cost to the taxpayer is a modern municipal miracle."

Development of more efficient methods of expenditure control has also led to an overhauling of purchasing methods and to a review of contracts made by the preceding administration. A standardization committee has been working since April to reduce the number and types of supplies and equipment used by the city, thus permitting the savings inherent in quantity purchasing, and to establish standard specifications for various items.

The city manager has insisted upon strict observance of the charter section requiring open, competitive bidding for purchases of more than $500 and upon informal bids for those involving smaller sums. The preceding administration was frequently criticized for circumventing the requirement of competitive bidding and for having "favored vendor" lists.

Departmental requisitions for supplies and equipment are expected to be based upon careful advance planning. Confirmation orders, under which goods were purchased first and the orders later approved, have been discontinued. During the last six months of its term of office the old administration diverted about $150,000 in capital improvement bond revenues to current operating expenses. Mr. Wilson has stopped this misuse of bond money.

One of the first official acts of the new council was the cancellation of fire insurance policies for $640,000 which the outgoing administration had renewed several days earlier. A committee of representative insurance brokers appointed by Mr. Wilson is currently surveying the insurance needs of the city. City insurance coverage is now handled through the committee, a practice designed to eliminate the spoils element in the awarding of contracts.

The city council in February refused to continue payments and the manager in March halted work on a contract for the construction of a $703,000 fire alarm system on the grounds that the costs were excessive, the system larger than needed and the contract illegal. The company has initiated action against the city in a federal district court. The council also rejected original bids for a fire department radio and called for combined bids for new FM stations for the police, fire and public works departments. The contract awarded provided for substantial savings in installation costs as well as standard, interchangeable equipment for the three stations.

Laws Enforced

Since January the police department, in contrast to the former situation, has been vigorously enforcing the laws falling within its jurisdiction, with special attention to prostitution, gambling and traffic violations. In October 1949, the American Social Hygiene Association reported the presence of at least fifteen houses of prostitution in Phoenix but after a survey completed last February it reported that "Phoenix, Arizona, is a changed city. It is no longer a vice center." A modern program of handling traffic law violations, including "nonfixable" traffic tickets instituted by the police department and the magistrate's court, has led to the response of 95 per cent of the persons receiving traffic citations, in contrast to from 40 to 45 per cent formerly.

With an eye to future city growth and the need for facilitating the annexation of adjacent communities, the city council has authorized the city to pay for future extensions of water lines for domestic service and fire protection into new areas. The voters at a special election in June approved a bond issue of $1,750,000 to put the program into effect. The former practice of paying for water line extensions through special assessments levied against real property understandably enough contributed to any reluctance on the part of suburban dwellers to enter the city.

Projects of note planned for the 1950-1951 fiscal year include a long overdue recodification of city ordinances, preparation of a new administrative section of the municipal code and a classification and pay survey as a forerunner of needed changes in the civil service system.

It is still too early to forecast with any accuracy the future of council-manager government in Phoenix. The only vocal opposition at the present time is furnished by two small weekly newspapers, one published by a defeated candidate for mayor in the last city election and the other by a printing concern which had received a big share of the city's printing business under the old administration. So far as could be learned from a limited number of sources, the improvements described above, and others, are popular with a majority of Phoenicians. The administration is supported actively by the city's two daily newspapers which, acting upon the premise that good government is good news, have given a generous portion of their news and editorial columns to developments.

Mr. Wilson is proving himself skilled in the business of public re-

(Continued on page 394)

The Politicians Lose Again

Independent Iowa City citizens win hot campaign over typical obstacles by careful planning and hard work.

By THELMA BROWN LEWIS*

ON APRIL 17 Iowa City, Iowa, came through a campaign, in which all its civic battles of the past half century were revived openly or in whispers, to adopt council-manager government by a decisive margin of 847 in a total vote of 5,417. This was one of the heaviest ballots ever recorded in a local municipal election.

Reasons for the successful outcome of the campaign are the long period of preparation, sponsorship of the movement by a representative citizens' group, thorough organization on a precinct basis, the sincerity of purpose of the advocates of the new system, cooperation of press and radio, hard work by many individuals particularly the women, and the adoption of council-manager government within the year by two of Iowa's largest cities, Des Moines and Council Bluffs. Helpful negative elements were the existence of dissatisfaction with the present city administration, prevention of a party battle over the issue and some of the tactics of the opposition.

Iowa City, which reached a population of 27,000 in the 1950 census, is the seat of the State University of Iowa, with an on-campus registration of about 9,000 in the current school year. It is also the seat of Johnson County, a moderately prosperous agricultural area as Iowa counties go. It is a buying center for the outlying region and its businesses are chiefly retail stores, although it has also a few wholesale outfits and some processing plants and other small industries. About 70 per cent of all households are represented in the administrative, teaching and maintenance staffs or in the student body of the university, which has been called the city's largest "industry."

There is talk about the "town and gown" split, and unquestionably some elements resent any participation of university personnel in city affairs. Wider resentment comes from the fact that the state has acquired much valuable property near the center of the city which is, by law, tax free. This has been blamed, rightly or wrongly, for many of the admitted deficiences of city government. "The university is trying to run the town," was one of the first tags hung upon the council-manager movement by opponents.

Harking back to a number of explosive, but unsuccessful, efforts to acquire municipal ownership of water and gas and light facilities, no sooner was the council-manager movement under way than the charge was made, on the one hand, that it was sponsored by the utility companies and, on the other, that it was a move for municipal ownership.

---

*Mrs. Don Lewis, a member of the board of the League of Women Voters of Iowa City and chairman of its water committee, was co-chairman of the league's organization for council-manager plan and vice chairman of the local Council-Manager Association during the recent campaign. She is now on the board of the reorganized association and chairman of its committee for education and information.

A prior defeat of council-manager government in 1921 was dragged out of the grave and made an argument against it in 1950. The 1921 charges of "one-man rule," "costly government," "it takes six years to change it" and "university attempt to control" were dusted off and used again.

Not even the wet versus dry controversy, presumably settled in 1919 and 1933, was permitted to rest. Power granted a city manager by the Iowa code to issue and revoke licenses and permits was used to argue that all beer taverns in the city might be closed down.

Party Politics

The most serious threat in the campaign was the attempt to make it a party battle. Iowa City and Johnson County are traditional Democratic strongholds in a state which is preponderantly Republican. It is generally believed in the city that a large turnout at the polls bespeaks a Democratic majority in the local vote. This has been true for many years—with the peculiar exception of 1948—in presidential elections. Local elections fought on issues are the best evidence that it is not true in purely local elections.

Actually, the Republicans and Democrats have popped in and out of control of the city administration at a dizzy rate for the past twenty years. The present mayor and four of the seven councilmen are Democrats, some of them in their second terms of office. The mayor and the city attorney, who is also city chairman of the Democratic party, and a small segment of the local party organization led the opposition to council-manager government.

First steps in the manager movement in Iowa City were taken by the League of Women Voters in the fall of 1947, with the study of forms of municipal government. In the summer of 1948 a league-conducted workshop on the subject was attended by a number of men, including the present mayor, city attorney and some members of the city council. As an outgrowth of this workshop, a small group of citizens met weekly that fall and winter to discuss council-manager government. With one exception the Democrats in the city council were either opposed or lukewarm to the idea. Yet, from the beginning, leaders of the group favoring it were members of the Democratic party.

At the time of the city election in March 1949 the Republicans made study of council-manager government a plank of their platform. In a contest that brought out a larger than usual vote, the Democrats reelected their candidate for mayor and four of the seven-man council. Other reasons than the inclusion of council-manager government in its platform have been advanced for the Republican defeat. However, its inclusion and the defeat served notice where the opposition would persist.

In the fall of 1949 the League of Women Voters approached the small citizens' group which had studied the question the year before with the proposal that action be undertaken. Out of this group—minus the dissenting Democrats—the Council-Manager Association emerged, developing as a widely representative group of citizens, loosely organized to promote adoption of the plan.

By Vote of the People

Chapter 419 of the Iowa code provides the legal basis for council-manager government by popular election. Chapter 418 permits adoption of a city manager plan by ordinance. Before the campaign opened agreement had been reached in all the various study groups that adoption of the plan by referendum was preferable because of the specific delegation of powers to the manager in chapter 419.

Two questions threshed out by the Council-Manager Association early in the campaign were the timing of the referendum and the number of councilmen elected under the plan.

Timing was scheduled in such a way that adoption of the plan would not mean immediate election of a new council. Considerations in this decision were the need for education of the public and the belief that timing which would unseat the incumbent administration might be construed as an attack upon the Democratic party.

The question of the number of councilmen to be elected arose from the provision of the Iowa code that under the plan there should be three councilmen in cities under 20,000 and five in cities over that population. An exception, written in, it is said, to satisfy a particular situation in Waterloo, Iowa, is this: "In any city having a population of 20,000 or more, and less than 75,000, of which the territory embraced within the boundaries of such city lies in two townships which are divided by a watercourse, four councilmen shall be elected, two of whom shall be residents of and elected from that part of the city lying within each of such townships."

By the 1940 census the population of Iowa City had been 17,138. While it was agreed that it was probably well over 20,000 in 1950, the part of the population which was student and student families was not readily ascertainable. A timely federal ruling, however, to the effect that students would be counted among the population of the community in which they attended school, insured that Iowa City would go well over 20,000 and would have five rather than three councilmen.

Only briefly at the outset of the campaign was the possibility of four councilmen considered. East Lucas and West Lucas townships, it was known, surround Iowa City; and they are divided by the Iowa River which runs through the city. Legal advice was sought as to whether the exception would apply to Iowa City. The legal decision was that it did not because Iowa City, which had been set up as a municipality while Iowa was still a territory, had been regarded as a separate township throughout its history. It had never been considered a part of either East Lucas or West Lucas for purposes of election, taxation or the platting of real estate. Perhaps it was because this advice was not widely publicized that the question arose later.

Fall and winter were given over to the preparation of materials, notably a pamphlet, *It's Time To Change,* to education and to organizing for the circulation of petitions requesting the referendum. Four meetings of the association were held, to which the public was invited. The executive committee of the association and the League of Women Voters organization for the council-manager plan met, separately, once a week throughout the campaign.

Launching Petitions

In the week of January 17, 1950, more than 250 workers were brought together in a series of training meetings and provided with educational materials for their own use, petitions and the pamphlet to distribute throughout the city. Programs included discussion of council-manager government, an opportunity to ask questions and specific instruction on the presentation of petitions, the proper signatures and how to have petitions notarized. A list of registered voters in the city, which has permanent registration, was given each canvasser for a particular precinct or for the city in the case of those covering the downtown area. This was considered necessary because the code provides that petition signers shall be qualified electors and registration is the most certain evidence of that.

The circulation of petitions was launched at a well attended public meeting on January 24 at which the speakers were A. A. Rhomberg, city manager of Dubuque, Iowa, and a local minister, Rev. P. H. Pollock, who had lived under council-manager government in Bozeman, Montana.

Press and radio, both of city and university, cooperated fully in reporting campaign activities. The League of Women Voters presented a total of 21 educational radio programs. The Council-Manager Association sponsored a poster contest and maintained a speakers' bureau which supplied a speaker on the issue for any organization requesting one. From January 25 until election day, April 17, a campaign office was open downtown. Yet the campaign was a quiet one until the final week.

Possibly the best publicity was the petition canvass itself, which proceeded through some of the bitterest weather of the winter but was very successful. To meet the requirements of the Iowa code for signatures amounting to 25 per cent of the total vote cast for mayor in the last preceding election, 1,300 signatures were needed. After elimination of names the legality of which might be questioned, the association filed with the mayor, on March 2, petitions bearing 3,413 signatures, almost three times the number needed.

When the mayor set the date of the election as April 17, the association, through the citizens who had circulated petitions but drawing in many more, began at once to organize the campaign for getting out the vote.

Again the organization was by precincts. Activities included telephone calls to all petition signers a week before election to announce a public meeting at which Forrest W. Seymour, editor of the *Des Moines Register and Tribune,* was a principal speaker, arranging for absentee voting, providing transportation and baby-sitters on election day, making personal contacts with many persons who had expressed interest at the time of the petition canvass but who had not signed a petition, poll checking, and reminding petition signers to go to the polls. The League of Women Voters intensified its usual voters' service, urging and helping qualified citizens to register and telephoning all townspeople on election day to encourage voting.

Status Quo Defended

The opposition up to this time had been carried chiefly by the mayor and city attorney. Both had made a number of speeches on the themes that: the present government was all right, cost of government was low in Iowa City, few Iowa cities had council-manager government, the city manager would have too much power, nonpartisan elections would result in lack of citizen interest and a council elected at large would not be as responsive to the voters as one elected by wards. It was widely whispered, also, that city employees would lose their jobs and that civil service regulations would be abandoned.

A number of times the city attorney suggested to the council that it could save the cost of a special election by installing a city manager by ordinance. This matter was at last referred to the ordinance committee just before the petitions were filed. The ordinance committee, perhaps influenced by the number of signatures, reported back that it favored settling the matter by popular vote. Thereupon the mayor set the date.

Five days before the election—on the date of the final public meeting sponsored by the association—a meeting of the Democratic city central committee was called, of which members who were supporting council-manager government were not officially notified. Several of these attended and sought to block the proposal to enlist the funds and the name of the Democratic party in fighting the council-manager movement. They were voted down. However, the name of the party was not used in the subsequent flood of anti-manager propaganda, broadcast through every medium. A further deterrent to fuller involvement of the party was an advertisement by "lifelong members of the Democratic party" censuring the tactics of the central committee. Possibility of a full-scale party battle was finally averted when the city chairman of the Republican party announced it would take no stand on the issue of manager government.

Also in the last week, the opposition advertised under the caption "They did not tell you this!" that Iowa City did lie in East Lucas and West Lucas townships and that the law might be so construed as to

PERIODICAL DEPT.

give Iowa City four councilmen under the council-manager plan, two of them from east of the river with 80 per cent of the population and two from west of the river, with 20 per cent. This point was pressed throughout the rest of the campaign. It may have lost some votes to council-manager government, but it also won some from long-time residents who resented the implication that Iowa City was a part of the two outlying townships.

In the last few days the opposition blasted its way through the whole gamut of stock and purely local attacks upon council-manager government. Some of the tactics were petty. The administration did not intervene to secure a permit—for which application was made a day late—for Boy Scouts to pass out handbills reading, "Be a good citizen —vote today." Yet members of the council had a hand in scattering throughout two strongly Democratic wards leaflets which warned, "No more Third Ward if city manager passes." There is more than a suspicion that authorization was neither requested nor given for this operation. In addition, the mayor, though perhaps with some provocation on technical grounds, refused the association permission for a band and parade until the morning of election day, although application was made as required.

This type of opposition probably served a purpose the reverse of that intended, for it intensified the feeling in some quarters that the present administration was not the best possible. It was probably also responsible for the growing conviction that an active permanent citizens' committee would be necessary to give the new form of government a chance against the opposition of those who had personal interests to serve in opposing it.

Such a committee has been organized. It is supported by the many citizens who in the past have seen victory degenerate into defeat in Iowa City and who do not intend to see it happen again.

PHOENIX MAKES NEW START

(Continued from page 388)

lations. He has set aside a press room in the city hall and has adopted the policy of "an open door for press and radio in the manager's office and in each department." Newspaper reporters may attend the informal meetings of the council and manager which precede formal council sessions and the department head meetings held by the manager. Procedures devised for the prompt and systematic handling of complaints and the manager's insistence upon courteous public service have unquestionably had a favorable influence upon public opinion. In his numerous speeches before service clubs and other civic groups Mr. Wilson has probably contributed to support for efficient, economical government.

As a result of a substantial record of achievements, a good press and the administration's skill in public relations, there is the possibility that both the principle and practice of good government may be firmly established in Phoenix by the next municipal election.

One Way to Get Out the Vote

Australia's compulsory voting law, used 25 years, produces 96 per cent of electorate in 1949 parliamentary contests.

By HENRY J. ABRAHAM*

HAS the compulsory voting law of Australia been effective? It must be conceded that it has, if one bases one's observations on the medium of statistics. In the first election under obligatory voting, in November 1925, the percentage of voters to enrolled electors was 91.3 (males 91.62, females 90.99). The proportion was highest in Barton, New South Wales, where it amounted to 95.37 per cent, and lowest in Kennedy, Queensland, where it was 83.4 per cent. At earlier elections, not under compulsory voting, the percentage had varied between 53.04 and 77.69.

There has actually been a steady increase in participation since the first elections under the law, with abstentions dropping below the 4 per cent mark, approximating that of Belgium, where compulsory voting has been practiced successfully since the 1890s. This truly splendid attendance has continued to the present. In the last general elections, held throughout Australia on December 10, 1949, 96 per cent of those eligible voted. Total enrollment was 4,924,874; votes cast numbered 4,714,363.

Compulsory voting in Australia, in contrast to its presence in Europe and Latin America, is a rather recent institution. It was not approved until 1924 when the commonwealth, following the example of Queensland—one of the states that had initiated the system at the 1915 local elections, adopted obligatory voting for elections to the Senate and the House of Representatives. Most of the Australian states which had originally viewed Queensland's pioneering with some misgiving followed suit between 1925 and 1944, when South Australia at last succumbed, thus rendering compulsory voting applicable to local as well as national contests.

For some time influential Australian newspapers had flayed what they deemed "criminally low" participation in elections. Legislative remedies were demanded even by such conservative weeklies as Melbourne's *Australasian*. In successive issues it condemned the "extremely unsatisfactory" participation in previously held local and national elections, which had produced a "mere" 55-70 per cent turnout of the electorate—one that would be looked upon as quite acceptable in the United States. The journal called for drastic action to raise the percentage of popular participation and declared itself in favor of parliamentary steps to compel such an increase. When the law was subsequently passed the *Australasian* as well as the majority of the commonwealth press either welcomed it or had little comment.

---

*Mr. Abraham is an instructor in political science at the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania.

It would be erroneous to conclude, however, that the enactment caused extraordinary excitement either within or without Parliament. According to the Australian News and Information Bureau "reference . . . does not indicate that much interest was taken in the act." A. N. Smith, reporting on the reaction of Australia's Parliament, stated that when the bill was up for discussion "only a few members spoke against it, but the general feeling was that compulsory voting would save candidates the trouble and expense of bringing electors to the polling booth."

Law Rushed Through

The *New York Times*, exhausted from its recent editorial onslaught against adoption by Massachusetts of a constitutional amendment making compulsory voting possible, plus an extended crusade against the general post-election (1920) and pre-election (1924) sentiment for compulsion in the United States, refrained from editorial comment. The paper simply reported passage of the bill under a Melbourne date line of July 25, 1924. The *London Times* made a few caustic references to the act, sadly noting, however, that it was a matter for Australia alone to decide.

The measure was pushed through Parliament with remarkable speed. Astonishing in itself is the fact that it was permitted to be introduced as a "private bill." Its author was E. A. Mann, member of the House for Perth, Western Australia; in the Senate the project was sponsored by H. J. M. Payne of Tasmania. Limited but lively debate ensued.

The two managers of the bill deplored the "apathy" and the "indolence" of the citizens, stressing the lack of "their duty of interest in electoral matters." Messrs. Payne and Mann placed particular emphasis upon the contention that Parliament would be far more democratically constituted were it elected by not merely half the electorate.

Senator Payne's opening arguments in the upper chamber were challenged by Mr. Gardiner of New South Wales who said, "As a rule I view with grave suspicion anything in a democracy that savors of . . . compulsion." He expressed fear that "the last remaining vestige of freedom is trembling in the balance." His colleague, Lynch of Western Australia, referred to the bill as the "conscription of the citizens," and remarked, "What is this world coming to? I stand for freedom! Honorable senators opposite promulgate the theory and seek to establish freedom by strangling it."

The eloquent opposition did not, however, suffice to block the measure. The question was resolved in the affirmative, the bill read a second time and reported from committee without amendment or debate on the same day. Six days later, on July 23, it passed third reading and was sent to the House of Representatives.

In the lower chamber Mr. Mann moved for second reading the following day. Even less debate than in the Senate took place. Mr. Mann was heavily supported by a number of colleagues who contended that real democracy does not exist when "the right to rule," i.e., the right to vote, is not exercised by a majority. The people should be jealous of their principles, concluded Mr. Mann, "but the exercise of the suffrage is a privilege, and we have a right to ask of them that they should regard those privileges not only as something which they ought to prize but as involving a duty which they should perform and the performance of which the state has a right to demand of them."

Two House Members Oppose

Opposition was confined to two members, Jackson of Bass, who especially objected to the "hurried passing of this important legislation," and Duncan-Hughes of Boothby, who admitted the apathy of the electors but branded the proposed bill as "an unjustifiable interference with the liberty of the subject." He closed his plea for defeat of the measure with the admonition that "the factor that will undoubtedly cause the electors to realize more fully not only their privileges but their duties is the gradual spread of education. In education lies our hope. The youth of this nation ought certainly to be made to understand more of their rights as well as more of their responsibilities and duties to the nation."[1]

Nevertheless, the question was resolved in the affirmative within 45 minutes, the bill was read a second time, passed through its remaining stages without any amendments and without a division and returned to the Senate on the same day. Thus enacted it became part of the Commonwealth Electoral Act of 1918-1934 upon the assent of the governor-general on August 6, 1924.

Under the provisions of the compulsory voting statute it is the duty of every Australian elector—every natural born and every naturalized citizen of 21 or over and eighteen in the case of service personnel—to record his vote at each national election. At the close of election day the divisional returning officer prepares a list of the names of those electors enrolled for his particular division who failed to vote. He then dispatches a form to each who must, under the terms of the law, state in writing their reasons for not having voted. They must return the form within 21 days. Upon receipt of the executed form the divisional returning officer decides whether or not the reason contained therein is "a valid and sufficient one" to excuse the elector's failure to vote.

Every elector who (a) fails to vote at an election without a "valid and sufficient reason," (b) upon receipt of notice fails to fill out and return the form, (c) gives a false reason for not having voted, shall be found guilty of an offense and pay the penalty of not less than ten shillings ($1.13) and not more than two pounds ($4.50). To insure complete fairness, proceedings for an offense against the law are not to be instituted except by the chief electoral officer or an officer duly authorized in writing by him.

---

[1] All quotations from parliamentary debates have their source in *Parliamentary Debates,* Commonwealth of Australia, Volume 107, June 1-August 1, 1924, pages 1892-2452.

There exist, of course, *bona fide* excuses for non-voting, as adjudged by the divisional returning officer. Some are specifically enumerated in the act: death, absence from the commonwealth on polling day, certification by the divisional returning officer as having been ineligible to vote at the election. (An American writer, on an extended visit in Australia, reported that while he was living in the commonwealth he, too, was sent a form, asking him why he had not voted in the 1937 general election!)

Absentee Voting Provided

To assure maximum participation, an elaborate system of absentee voting has been devised. Any elector, male or female, who has reason to believe that illness or infirmity may stand in the way of his voting, has the right to apply for a "postal voting certificate" which, duly witnessed and attested, may be mailed to the divisional returning officer.

Much use has been made of absentee voting. During the recent war a supreme effort was made to provide the troops with ballots. Australians felt keenly about the voice of their service personnel. Special ballot papers were prepared and distributed by plane, jeep, barge, boat, train and truck to fighting fronts and battle stations on the Australian mainland and nearby islands. Sample ballots were flown to other countries, wherever Australians were fighting or stationed, and printed in numbers there. It was a fine example of the vitality of democracy.

Important safeguards exist in order to maintain the traditional secrecy of the ballot in Australia. With the exception of the blind no voter, no matter how old or infirm, may receive assistance in the polling booth. Campaigning within 50 yards of the polling station is barred. Political parties are allowed to print "how to vote cards" as a guide, but no party name may appear on the ballot. Voting takes place on officially prepared, carefully guarded, ballot papers.

Invalid votes for the House in 1949 comprised but 1.9 per cent of the total ballots, while those for the Senate were 10.8 per cent, resulting in 6 1/3 per cent of such "invalid" ballots as a whole, which is somewhat higher than the customary average of 4½ per cent. Prior to the introduction of compulsory voting in Australia, invalid ballots ranged from 2.66 to 5.66 per cent, averaging 3.6 per cent. This indicates the presence of a definite percentage of deliberately spoiled or blank ballots, a phenomenon also to be noted in such compulsory voting lands as Belgium and Switzerland, for example. In its one-time flirtation with obligatory voting the Republic of Italy experienced a similar result: 4½ per cent of the voters cast blank or defaced ballots in the 1946 *question royale* referendum.

The difference between the percentage of "informal" votes in the case of the two chambers was due, at least in part, to a special requirement of the electoral law. Members of the House were elected from single member districts by a preferential ballot; the Senate was chosen by the Hare system of proportional representation, with seven[2] elected from each state at large. In both cases Arabic numerals are used to express voters' choices. The voter *must* mark preferences for *all* candidates, else his vote is invalid. Thus uncertainty was created in the mind of the voter by the multitude of senatorial candidates listed while candidates for the House, elected from smaller single-member districts and fewer in number, were more easily recognized by the average voter.

Voting is thus not merely a matter of switching parties by observing the party symbols—as has been indicated these are not used—but of knowing the names of the candidates and marking with a figure "1" the name of the man the voter favors most, the figure 2 for his next choice, and so on until all candidates have been voted upon.

C. H. Grattan commented on this feature with this story. "Since Australians, like most democrats, tend to vote AGAINST [*sic*] men and proposals, it is not surprising that frequently voters casting their ballots act like the blind man who asked the officer assisting him if a certain politician was standing for office. On being told that he was, the blind voter said, 'Put the bugger last.' Often the results seem to show more care has been taken to get 'the bugger' last than the best man first."[3]

Of 287,023 electors who failed to vote in the 1946 general election, valid excuses were given by 143,000. Yet in line with the leniency that, paradoxically, appears to be characteristic of the enforcement of most compulsory voting laws, only 774 people were actually fined. However, further proceedings were initiated against potential electors of approximately the same number for their failure to reply to the questionnaire sent out by the divisional returning officer.

You Must Vote

It may perhaps be fitting to terminate this brief examination of the practice of obligatory voting in the continent "down under" with a little anecdote, as reported from Brisbane, Australia, by the *Chicago Daily News* of February 26, 1948.

"The candidates at Queensland's last state election weren't so hot, Leonard Machin decided, so he didn't vote for any of them. Hauled before a summons court and reminded that voting is compulsory under the laws, Machin protested:

" 'Good gracious, do I have to vote for fellows who aren't fit to represent me?'

" 'You have to vote,' replied the judge, fining Machin $1.50 and costs."

---

[2] At 1949 election only.

[3] C. H. Grattan, *Introducing Australia.* New York, John Day Company, 1942, page 154, by permission of the John Day Company.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

New Orleans Granted Home Rule Rights

Legislature Gives Approval, Amendment Goes to Voters

THE Louisiana legislature, at its 1950 session, approved a proposed amendment to the state constitution giving the city of New Orleans a home rule charter. The amendment will be submitted to the voters of the state at the November election. It establishes the present charter of the city as a home rule charter and prohibits any subsequent legislature from amending it, either directly or indirectly, except by a vote of the qualified electors of the city. The act further provides various methods by which the city council or a substantial number of qualified voters of New Orleans may propose amendments or substitute charters in the future. In each case, such proposed amendments or substitute charters must be approved by a vote of the people in order to become effective.

The significance of the New Orleans home rule act lies in the fact that the legislature has reversed its previous position in reference to New Orleans, which in 1948 had the entire structure of its city government changed, revenues reduced and municipal appropriations increased in punitive statutes adopted by the legislature and signed by the governor.[1]

Under the new home rule amendment, the legislature is prohibited from increasing appropriations for municipal or parish offices and boards unless approved by the city government.

The change of heart on the part of the state administration is credited to the fact that Russell Long, son of the late Huey P. Long and nephew of Governor Earl Long, made a poor showing in New Orleans when running to fill a vacancy for U. S. senator in the fall of 1948. This in turn was attributed largely to the punitive anti-home rule acts described above.

In the Democratic primary for mayor of New Orleans in January 1950, Mayor deLesseps Morrison, making home rule for New Orleans a principal issue, was overwhelmingly reelected.

Now that Russell Long has been elected senator for a full term, this time carrying New Orleans, the state administration is again whittling away the reestablished home rule structure, recently removing from the city's jurisdiction the city jail and the custodianship of voting machines.

Montclair, New Jersey, Starts Government Study

Montclair is the first New Jersey city to initiate procedures to revise its form of government under the recently adopted state law incorporating recommendations of the so-called Faulkner Commission.[1] A charter study association has been formed to study local government in that city. The association will work for the election of a five-man charter commission to study the city's government—the question has been placed on the November ballot by action of the town commission. If supported by the voters, this study commission will conduct hearings and investigate the present commission form of government in Montclair, and also the council-manager and mayor-

---

[1] See "The Rape of New Orleans," by Lennox L. and Helen R. Moak, the REVIEW, September 1948, page 412.

[1] See the REVIEW, June 1950, page 293.

and-council forms. Upon completion of its studies, the commission will recommend the type of government best suited for the community. Voters will then reject or affirm the commission's choice in another referendum.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Further adoptions of the council-manager plan during the first half of 1950, as reported by the International City Managers' Association, include **National City, California,** (1940 population 10,344) and **Baker, Oregon,** (9,342). **Rockville, Maryland,** (2,047), which previously adopted the plan, has been added to the ICMA's official list.

Grenada, Mississippi, (5,831), on August 5 adopted the council-manager plan, 334 to 318. A previous effort in May 1949 had been unsuccessful. The plan calls for election of a council of seven members, which will appoint a manager. It has been vigorously campaigned for by the *Grenada County Weekly*, W. W. Whitaker, editor.

The town of **Wilton, Maine,** (3,228) has voted 84 to 80 at a special town meeting to adopt the council-manager plan, effective in the fiscal year 1951.

The **Rutland, Vermont,** *Herald* points out that the voters of that city have still not been allowed to vote on the question of adopting the manager plan. A bill to permit Rutland to adopt the plan passed the State Senate but died in the House Committee on Municipal Corporations on which Rutland's mayor, who fought the plan, was the city's representative.

A bill authorizing the voters of the town of **Wilmington, Massachusetts,** to adopt a selectmen-town manager form of government was signed by Governor Paul A. Dever in July. It will be voted on in Wilmington at the state election in November and, if rejected, will be submitted to the second annual town meeting thereafter.

In **Derby, Connecticut,** the Board of Trade has been considering how to secure an amendment to the city's charter to establish the council-manager plan.

The city council of **Niagara Falls, New York,** which has had the manager plan since 1916, has amended the city charter to permit the employment of a manager or other city official who is a non-resident, provided he makes his home in the city within three months after appointment.

A group of citizens in **Gate City, Virginia,** is interested in the manager plan.

At a public hearing on June 21, called by the **Roanoke, Virginia,** Charter Study Commission, no one favored abandonment of the council-manager plan. Enlargement of the council, possibly to seven members, was favored by a majority of those present.

The **Orangeburg, South Carolina,** Chamber of Commerce is much interested in the manager plan.

The city council of **Delaware, Ohio,** has provided for a referendum on November 7 on the question of electing a commission to draft a council-manager charter.

Petitions have been circulated in **Cheboygan, Michigan,** for resubmission of the council-manager charter which was defeated on June 26 by a vote of 828 to 733.

In **Garden City, Michigan,** the Chamber of Commerce has circulated petitions calling for a vote on adoption of the manager plan.

A council-manager charter was defeated in **Holland, Michigan,** by a vote of 1,464 to 1,264 on June 26.

The recent adoption of a strong-mayor charter in **Livonia, Michigan,** despite pleas to defeat it and draft a council-manager charter, has been attributed to the desire of the citizens of that former township to organize as a city in time for it to share in heavy pari-mutuel betting receipts from the local race track—which the township was not permitted to do. The charter commission is reported to have decided on the strong-mayor plan over the manager plan as a means of continuing the power of incumbent officials. The election was a few days before the track opened.

At a special election July 25, the voters of **Fergus Falls, Minnesota,** defeated a comprehensive charter revision, providing for the manager plan, by a vote of 1,435 to 582. The election was held earlier than anticipated.

The legislature of **Mississippi** has amended the 1948 council-manager enabling act so as to give the manager power to appoint and remove all department heads, to prepare and recommend an annual budget, to make recommendations to the council and to report to the council at least once a year in writing.

A vote is to be held in **Omaha, Nebraska,** in November on adoption of the manager plan. A City Manager Plan Committee is active.

The **Lincoln, Nebraska,** League of Women Voters is giving favorable consideration to the council-manager plan.

In **Chanute, Kansas,** the City Planning Association has circulated petitions calling for a special election on the question of adopting the statutory council-manager plan.

The **Keokuk, Iowa,** Chamber of Commerce, is showing special interest in the manager plan.

The mayor and council of **Fairview, Oklahoma,** have endorsed the council-manager plan and a popular election on its adoption is expected to be authorized. The Chamber of Commerce is conducting an educational campaign.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **El Paso, Texas,** is deeply interested in the manager plan.

Assuming the success of Mayor Jack White of **San Antonio, Texas,** and of other council-manager supporters at the election for the city commission next May, it is expected that another charter election will be held in July 1951.

Proposed amendments to the charter of **Del Rio, Texas,** providing the council-manager plan, were defeated by the voters on June 28.

The citizens of **Pocatello, Idaho,** will vote on the question of adoption of the council-manager plan at a special election on September 19.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Boise, Idaho,** is interested in the plan.

The Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico indicates much interest in a manager plan for **Santa Fe.**

In **Portland, Oregon,** a 21-man citizens' committee on municipal reorganization, appointed by Mayor Dorothy McCullough Lee in August 1949, reported in June in favor of a manager plan with a council of nine members, including one as mayor, having four-year staggered terms, with elections every two years. On July 11 the city commission refused, three to two, to provide for a popular referendum on the plan next November, thus throwing the burden on the citizens' group to circulate petitions for an election.

In **Bend, Oregon,** the voters have repealed a charter provision that required the question of retaining the city manager to be placed on the ballot in November 1950.

The city of **Arcadia, California,** has retained Louis H. Burke as special counsel for drafting a council-manager charter. The **San Bruno** city council in the same state has appointed a committee to study the manager plan.

Many Tennessee Cities Get Permanent Registration

Although a bill to provide universal permanent registration in Tennessee failed of passage by the 1949 legislature, the Browning bill for permanent registration in municipalities and counties above certain population levels was successful. It provides a system of permanent registration in all counties of 50,000 and over and in all municipalities and civil districts of 2,500 and over. The counties immediately covered, together with all the cities and towns therein, are reported to number seven. Some 50 cities and towns in other counties also come under the legislation, and it is estimated that the 1950 census will bring a total of more than 120 cities and towns under the permanent registration law.

St. Louis Strong Mayor Charter Defeated

On August 1, primary election day in St. Louis, Missouri, the proposed charter drafted by a special board of freeholders along strong mayor lines[1] was defeated by a vote of 117,037 against the charter and 65,797 for it. The total charter vote of 182,834 was 49.3 per cent of the registration. The charter was vigorously opposed by both the Democratic and the Republican machines.[2]

Fear of higher taxes was played upon by the political enemies of the charter, although, as stated in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, of the three tax provisions attacked, "one was of doubtful constitutionality, one was completely misunderstood and one was a legal nullity."

Particularly heavy anti-charter voting appeared in predominantly Negro wards where, in addition to machine influence generally, the absence of a civil rights charter plank was emphasized.

It is generally assumed that the charter cannot be resubmitted and that the whole procedure heretofore gone through in the authorization and election of a board of freeholders and the drafting of a charter will be necessary in order to obtain a new and improved document.

Schenectady Cuts City Car Accidents

Reestablishment of the Accident Review Board by City Manager Christian X. Kouray, of Schenectady, New York, has already resulted in a substantial reduction in accidents on the part of city-owned automobiles. This board consists of the assistant city manager, traffic engineer and corporation counsel.

The first step was establishment of an accident safety program, which was begun with the cooperation of a local insurance agency. A series of safety films were shown to all city drivers. The program was to be based upon an incentive award to those drivers with perfect records.

The second, and more drastic, step consisted of an examination and a record of "accident-prone" drivers. A check on the records of certain drivers was made by the board. The board recommended to the city manager that one man be prohibited from driving for a year, a second man be prohibited from driving at all, a third man be prohibited from driving pending a physical examination, and two other men be issued warnings concerning the frequency of minor accidents.

It was also decided to give all drivers employed by Schenectady physical examinations, with emphasis on eyesight, hearing and hearts. Another phase of the safety program is a periodical inspection of all automotive equipment and a follow-up to insure a proper maintenance of automobiles and trucks.

A novel feature of this program consists of acceptance by the Accident Review Board of the decisions of the insurance claim agent, because of his thorough study of individual accidents.

The city's accident record for the

---

[1] See the REVIEW, June 1950, page 295.

[2] See also page 376, this issue.

first six months of this year decreased by eleven accidents as compared with the first six months of 1949.

Washington Cities Adopt Intergovernmental Policy

A comprehensive statement concerning city-state-federal governmental relations was adopted by the Association of Washington Cities at its annual convention in Walla Walla on June 17. It includes the following major points:

The state should enlarge local taxing authority, make certain that taxes which lend themselves only to collection on a statewide basis are distributed on the fairest and most equitable basis possible, and not reduce allocations of state funds to cities;

The state government should impose no service burdens on municipalities without providing the necessary revenue to perform such services;

Cities should have the right to determine for themselves what services they require without asking permission of the state government for each new undertaking;

The state constitution should be amended to delegate to municipalities broader grants of power to handle their own affairs;

State government should refrain from "going over the heads" of municipal governments in establishing hours of work, salary scales, civil service systems and other working conditions for individual groups of municipal employees;

State budget laws should be amended to provide greater flexibility in municipal operation;

A state revolving fund of $30,000,000 should be created by setting aside idle moneys from certain trust or other funds from which municipalities could borrow for sewage treatment plants and other essential works;

An orderly method should be provided for areas annexed to cities and towns to withdraw from the various special taxing districts of which they were a part before annexation;

Cities should be authorized to assist in the solution of motor vehicle parking problems;

State urban redevelopment enabling legislation should be adopted to permit the rebuilding of "blighted" areas in Washington municipalities;

Cooperation among municipalities by contract or voluntary agreements should be fostered;

Municipalities should be given authority by the state legislature to combine and jointly acquire by purchase or condemnation any privately owned electrical power generating and distribution systems within and without their boundaries and by agreement among themselves to provide for joint management, control and operation of such plants and systems;

Congress should enact legislation at once to provide for payments in lieu of taxes on federally owned property;

A larger share of federal highway moneys should be made available for expenditure in urban areas where traffic congestion is greatest;

The United States should provide funds for the water pollution control program or withdraw from the field.

More Cities Establish Interneships

Phoenix, Arizona, has been added to the list of cities with interneship programs. Three paid twelve-month interneships in municipal management have been established under the city manager. The positions hold the title of administrative research interne, and the monthly salary range is from $200 to $240 with beginning salary dependent on training and experience.

The Civil Service Assembly notes an increasing number being accepted each year by cities with interne programs. Kansas City (Missouri), Detroit, Cin-

Public Library Kansas City, Mo.

cinnati and Denver have had or have continuing programs of utilizing young college graduates as internes. The programs of several universities offering graduate training in public administration include interneships. Among these are Wayne University, University of Denver, University of Southern California, University of Minnesota and the University of Kansas. In 1949 the cities of El Dorado, Winfield, Hutchinson and Wichita, Kansas, and Kansas City, Missouri, accepted internes from the University of Kansas. All are being retained during 1950 in regular jobs. Internes from the same university have been placed this year in Salina, Pittsburg, Russell and Emporia, Kansas; University City and Mexico, Missouri; and in Phoenix, Arizona.

The federal government has had an interne program in operation for several years; New York State is beginning its fourth year with such a program and Westchester County, New York, likewise has one.

Oregon Committee Studies State Administration

The Oregon Legislative Interim Committee on State Government Administration has made preliminary studies concerning state governmental reorganization and has decided, because of limited funds, to concentrate on over-all organization and central management activities rather than attempt a truly comprehensive analysis of organization and administration at this time. It will deal with specific governmental operating functions as time permits.

It plans to prepare reports by November or December on general administrative controls, finance, personnel, top organization structure, revenue, labor, business regulation and welfare functions.

State Constitution for Hawaii Completed

On July 22 the newly drafted constitution for the Hawaiian Islands, which seek to become the state of Hawaii, was signed by the constitutional convention delegates in Honolulu. The document, after approval by the U. S. Congress and the Hawaiian electorate and passage by the U. S. Senate of the Hawaii statehood bill, would become effective upon the admission of Hawaii into the union.[1]

The prospective constitution, comprised of fifteen articles and about 10,000 words, follows traditional lines more than had seemed likely at first. It is reported that the convention started out to centralize powers in the chief executive but outlined a government more of checks and balances.

Instead of following the lead of Nebraska with a unicameral legislature the convention prescribed a legislature of two houses—a Senate of 25 members to be elected for four-year terms from six districts, with from two to five senators from each specific district; and a House of Representatives consisting initially of 51 members elected for two-year terms from eighteen representative districts, with from one to six representatives from each.

The document provides that on or before June 1, 1959, and in each tenth year thereafter, the governor shall reapportion the members of the House of Representatives among four designated basic areas, on the basis of the number of registered voters; within such areas the number of representatives from each representative district shall be determined on the basis of registered voters—the basic area to be redistricted if an existing district comes to have less than half the full number of registered voters required to entitle it to one representative.

---

[1] See also page 377, this issue.

The Supreme Court is given jurisdiction to issue a mandamus, on application of any registered voter within 30 days after the reapportionment date, to compel the governor to make the reapportionment.

The executive power is vested in the governor who, with a lieutenant governor, is to be elected by the people for a four-year term, by plurality election. The executive department is to be organized into not more than twenty regular departments. The governor is not given the power to appoint department heads without interference; Senate confirmation is provided for.

The judiciary power is placed in a Supreme Court of five members with seven-year terms and Circuit Courts having judges with six-year terms; the governor appoints the Supreme and Circuit Court judges, subject to Senate confirmation. The legislature may establish inferior courts.

A state auditor is to be appointed by majority vote of each house of the legislature, in joint session, for a term of eight years and thereafter until a successor is appointed.

The governor appoints members of the State Board of Education, with Senate confirmation, from panels submitted by local school advisory councils, to be established by law.

Various progressive provisions for public health and welfare, slum clearance and rehabilitation, conservation and development of resources and preservation of natural beauty, and plans of historic or cultural interest are included.

Provision is made for home rule for local units.

The right to organize for collective bargaining is protected for persons in private employment. Those in public employment shall have the right to organize and to present and make known their grievances and proposals to the state or other public employer. The employment of persons in civil service "shall be governed by the merit principle."

Amendments to the constitution may be made by convention or by the legislature, such amendments to be submitted to popular vote. Such amendments must receive an affirmative vote of at least 35 per cent of those voting at a general election or, if submitted at a special election, at least 35 per cent of the total number of registered voters. The legislature, at least every ten years, must submit to the electorate the question of calling a constitutional convention; otherwise the lieutenant-governor "shall certify the question, to be voted on at the first general election following the expiration of such period."

New Hampshire Adopts Personnel System

The New Hampshire legislature at its special session this year adopted an "Act to Establish a Unified Personnel System for the State." It was approved on May 18 as Chapter 27-B of the Revised Laws.

The act creates within the Department of Administration and Control[1] a division of personnel under the direction of a personnel commission for the recruitment, appointment, compensation, promotion, transfer, lay-off, removal, discipline, etc., of state employees. The personnel commission consists of three members, appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the council for terms of two, three and four years initially and thereafter for three-year terms. Only two members may be of the same political party; no member may also be a member of a party committee nor an employee of any other state department. One shall be a member of the bar. The governor designates the chairman.

---

[1] See "New Hampshire Secures Partial Reorganization," the REVIEW, July 1950, page 344.

Governor Sherman Adams has appointed the personnel commission; it is headed by Herbert Kimball.

The commission appoints a director of personnel, experienced in the field of personnel administration, who may be removed by the governor and council only for cause. He is the executive officer of the commission and supervises all its activities. Among many duties he is to develop competitive examinations for classified positions for which funds are provided in whole or in part by the federal government, as required by the latter; such examinations "may" be developed for any other classifications. No state employee at the effective date of the act shall be required to take a written examination to remain in his position.

The commission is required to establish a classification plan for all positions in the classified service subject to the approval of the governor and council; the first such plan "shall include the principles recommended by the governor's advisory committee on reclassification"; such classification of positions and salaries is required to be effective July 1, 1950. The salary schedule thus called for has been developed and approved by the governor and council.

The act contains a section (No. 16) entitled "Political Activities Prohibited"; but the text does not seem quite so broad. The section prohibits appointment, discharge or discrimination in the classified service because of political opinions (other than that advocating violent or unconstitutional overthrow of government), religious beliefs or affiliations, or race. Use of official authority or influence to secure jobs or employment advantages for political purposes is forbidden, and no classified employee shall hold a remunerative elective public office or have other employment that conflicts with his state employment.

Louisiana Move for Merit System Fails

Although a compromise civil service bill in the form of a constitutional amendment, worked out by the Louisiana State Civil Service League and the state administration, appeared virtually certain to be passed by the legislature and approved by the people in the November election, the House of Representatives killed it by a roll-call vote of 47 to 46 on June 26. A group of House members is reported to have signed a "round robin" pledge of all-out opposition to the merit system. One representative said that "civil service ruined several foreign countries. Let us not let it ruin America." The bill called for a five-member commission appointed by the governor, four of the appointments to be with the advice and consent of the Board of Governors of the Civil Service League.

Four Pollution Control Agencies Confer

An unusual meeting of four state and interstate pollution abatement agencies is reported by the Council of State Governments. It occurred in New York City on June 1 under sponsorship of the New York Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Cooperation and was participated in by representatives of the New England Water Pollution Control Compact Commission, Tri-State Sanitation Compact Commission, New York State Pollution Control Board and the Special New York Legislative Committee on Pollution Abatement.

The interstate bodies reviewed the status of pollution control activities in their respective jurisdictions and the New York groups discussed means of intensifying abatement in that state.

Virginia Counties Get Third Option

Legislature Provides 'Board' Form of County Government

THE 1950 session of the Virginia legislature has made a third form of government optional for counties on vote of the people. It is known as the "county board" form and is much more limited in scope than the two provided in 1932—the county manager and the county executive plans. The new form is that under which Elizabeth City County has been operating since 1943 by authorization of a special act.

One major change from the usual pattern in Virginia which is offered in the new optional form is appointment of school boards by the county boards of supervisors rather than by electoral trustees who are named by the judges. No elective officers are eliminated as they are under the two earlier plans. In fact, a supervisor elected from the county at large is added to the existing supervisors who are elected by districts. The voters continue to elect the treasurer, justices of peace, commissioner of revenue, clerk, commonwealth attorney and sheriff.

Under the new form, the board of supervisors appoints the county executive who has very limited powers. He is responsible for purchasing, budget preparation, maintenance of public buildings, zoning administration, tax mapping and appointment of the public works superintendent. The supervisors retain the power to appoint the surveyor, game warden, firemen, health officer, farm and home demonstration agent and boards of planning, plumbing, equalization, finance, welfare, recreation and mosquito control.

Three counties have adopted forms of government provided earlier. Henrico and Warwick Counties have adopted the manager plan and Albemarle County the executive plan.

Santa Clara Manager Charter Again on Ballot

Because of legal difficulties involving its home rule charter, adopted in 1948 but declared invalid by a lower court late last year,[1] Santa Clara County, California, in an attempt to avoid technical flaws, has started all over again to secure manager government.

Although the case against the charter is still pending in the courts, the fifteen freeholders elected two years ago and others circulated a petition calling for a new election of a board of freeholders. With but one exception the original fifteen freeholders became candidates for re-election. Opponents of the charter entered their slate of fifteen candidates in the contest also.

At the election called on June 6, the 30 candidates for freeholders were listed on the ballot in alphabetical order, without designation of any sort, thus making it extremely difficult for the voters to distinguish manager proponents from opponents. As a result of a vigorous and careful educational campaign, however, the proponents won; their lowest candidate secured 3,000 more votes than those received by the highest candidate of the opponents.

It is anticipated that the newly elected freeholders will draft a county manager charter similar to that approved by the voters in 1948. The people of the county again will vote on the charter November 7, 1950.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, April 1949, page 187; January 1950, page 42.

Home Rule Questions in the Courts

The Montgomery County, Maryland, council, which assumed office last year as a result of adoption of a home rule charter, recently lost its case in the Maryland Court of Appeals in which it asserted its right to establish nonpartisan primaries and elections for selecting members of the council. A local act of the council establishing the system was in direct conflict with a state law applicable throughout the state but passed with the intent of forestalling nonpartisan elections in Montgomery County. The highest court of Maryland ruled that the state law prevailed and that it was not unconstitutional under the home rule amendment.

The Municipal League of Seattle entered a friendly suit to force the county commissioners to call for district election of the freeholders board to draft the King County home rule charter rather than its election at large. The action of the county board was sustained, however, and five freeholders will be chosen from each of three districts but by a county-wide vote.

County Manager Plan Developments

At a recent county budget hearing for Hudson County (Bayonne), New Jersey, the manager plan was proposed as a solution to problems arising in the administration of the county's affairs.

A Good Government League has been formed in Prince George's County, Maryland, to work for improvement of the county government and especially for adoption of the manager plan. Approximately 400 persons attended the first meeting which was held on the University of Maryland campus.

Fulton County (Atlanta), Georgia, in a recent advisory vote, indicated that it favored the manager plan by a margin of more than three to one. The vote marks approval of the plan that has been in effect for more than two years.

Now that Columbia, South Carolina, has adopted the manager plan, Richland County, in which it is located, has become interested in adopting a similar form of government.

The manager plan in California counties has been made the subject of a study by the Bureau of Public Administration, University of California.[1] The study describes the Sacramento and San Mateo County plans that were established by charter, the Los Angeles and San Diego County plans established by ordinance and the proposed Santa Clara charter which is discussed elsewhere in this section.

Citizens of Pinellas County (St. Petersburg), Florida, are interested in securing the county manager plan.

West Virginia Studies County Finance

The West Virginia Commission on Interstate Cooperation has issued a 24-page booklet entitled *An Introductory Study of County Finance in West Virginia* in which it explores the financing of roads, schools and public assistance and analyzes county budgeting, revenues, expenditures and bonded indebtedness. In its exploration of the subject, the following questionnaire was sent to the clerks of all county courts in the state:

"1. Do you feel that, under existing law, the counties are able to fulfill their financial obligations?

---

[1] Margaret Rohrer, *County Manager Government in California,* thirteen pages, (mimeographed), April 1950, distributed by County Supervisors Association of California, Sacramento 14, California.

"2. Do you feel that the counties are now performing duties, either wholly or in part, that should be taken over by the state?

"3. Is there any specific law or laws which unduly restrict the counties in fulfilling their financial obligations?

"4. Has your county financial situation changed materially for the fiscal year 1948-1949 as over against 1947-1948?

"5. Is your county financial picture for 1949-1950 materially different from that for 1948-1949?

"6. Have you any general suggestions to offer that would lead to improvements in the financial condition of the counties?"

The inconclusive nature of the replies is indicated by the following tabulation covering the first five questions:

Question No.	Yes	No
1	24	10
2	13	17
3	10	20
4	11	19
5	14	16

San Angelo, Texas, Considers City-County Consolidation

The city commission of San Angelo, Texas, is studying the possibility of consolidation with Tom Green County in which it is located.

Interneship Program Entering Second Year

Westchester County, New York, has been so well pleased with its interneship program initiated a year ago that it recently started its second class. Seven young men have been selected of whom six are trained in engineering and one in family and child welfare. After an indoctrination program, the internes will be encouraged to specialize in one of the departments and take the necessary civil service examinations at the end of the training program.

County Managers in Ireland May Have Powers Reduced

Because of the belief of some members that the county management act passed by the Irish Parliament in 1940 gave the county managers too much power, they have introduced a bill shifting some powers back to the elected county councils.

Under the bill, the term "county officer" would be substituted for "county manager." The county officer would continue to have jurisdiction over personnel matters, health and the selection of tenants in public housing. The council, on the other hand, would have jurisdiction over all contracts, construction and maintenance of public housing, hospitals, water and sewerage systems and public roads, and over the public assistance program, all of which at present are under the jurisdiction of the county manager.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Presidential Election Change Defeated

Lodge Proposal Would Have Provided New Vote Count

THE House of Representatives on July 17 defeated the Lodge-Gossett resolution for amendment of the United States constitution with respect to presidential elections. The vote was 210 against the resolution to 134 in favor, whereas a two-thirds favorable vote was necessary to propose the amendment. The resolution passed the Senate last February, 64 to 27.[1]

The proposal would have abolished the electoral college and the system under which all a state's electoral votes go to the candidate receiving the largest vote in that particular state. It would have substituted a scheme whereby each state's electoral votes would be divided proportionately according to the popular vote. By providing for election by a joint session of Congress in the event no candidate obtains 40 per cent of the popular vote, the proposal would have superseded the present provision that if no candidate obtains a majority of electoral votes, the election is to be thrown into the House of Representatives with each state having one vote.

The resolution was brought before the House under suspension of the rules—a procedure which limited debate and barred amendments—because the failure of the Rules Committee to accord clearance to the measure prevented its being brought up in any other manner.

In an editorial entitled "A Chronic Peril Endures," the *New York Herald Tribune* made the following comment:

"The proposed amendment would have ended the all-or-nothing contortion by which a minority vote in each state is discarded, with the result that the count of electors is far from accurate reflection of popular desire. The peril is, of course, in the election of a runner-up president, something that has happened repeatedly. More than that, the Lodge-Gossett amendment would have halted the danger of a presidential election being thrown into the House, with all the political horse-trading insured by such a complication. The electoral college makes such a possibility very real, as will be remembered from 1948 when a swing of 20,000 votes in three big states would have given absolute control of power to the Dixiecrats in a House election.

"But the House . . . was emphatically against change. Between continuing to endure a long-existing danger and venturing into untried ground, it chose to leave matters as they are. This may have been the voice of conservatism, but there were also some extremely practical fears. Many Republicans thought they had far more to lose than to gain; the northern Democrats felt that the southern Democrats would move into new power in their party. No one can say with absolute certainty how the two parties or their factions might be affected by allowing a Republican vote in Texas or a Democratic vote in Maine to count with the same force. The decision was not even left to the state legislatures.

"For the moment, at least, our presidential elections will remain subject to the vagaries of the electoral college. Correction will be achieved sooner or later, perhaps not until after a great deal more educational effort. We can only hope that reform comes before the present system of election by accident demonstrates its full potential of mischief."

---

[1] See the REVIEW, March 1950, page 149.

The *Standard-Times* of New Bedford, Massachusetts, opposed the proposal, pointing out that if the Lodge-Gossett plan had been in effect and if the popular vote had been just as it was in the 1896 presidential election, Bryan would have been elected instead of McKinley, in spite of the latter's majority of the popular vote. McKinley, with a popular vote of 7,035,638, would have received 220 electoral votes instead of the 221 he obtained under the present system, while Bryan, with a popular vote of 6,533,080, would have received 227 electoral votes instead of 176.

The explanation lies in the fact that although the Lodge-Gossett plan comes closer in principle to election by popular vote than does the present plan, and would give the wrong result much less often, it does not change the distribution of electoral votes which gives the states with small populations a relative advantage, and it takes no account of the wide variation in the percentage of the population which goes to the polls in the various states —reflecting in some cases formal or informal restriction of the franchise. In the case of the 1896 election the various defects of the present system in part cancelled each other out, whereas the elimination of some of these defects and not the others by the Lodge-Gossett plan would have allowed a result contradictory to the popular majority.

There is no assurance, however, that the distortions of the present system will consistently compensate each other instead of aggravating each other. The present system has three times defeated a candidate who had a majority of the popular vote, in addition to electing minority candidates over split opposition in a number of instances, the election being thrown into the House of Representatives in one case.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts, one of the co-sponsors of the measure, answered a series of articles by Walter Lippmann and Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., opposing the proposal by a letter to the New York *Herald Tribune* on March 23, in which he pointed out that the proposal was not, strictly speaking, "proportional representation," because, although it divided the electoral vote of a state in proportion to popular vote, it related to the election of a single executive and not to a representative assembly or council. Senator Lodge also compared his proposal to a rival one advanced by Representative Frederic Coudert, Jr., of New York, which would have retained the electoral college while requiring that electors should be chosen by congressional districts. In this connection he wrote:

"I say candidly that the Coudert proposal is better than the system which we now have because it would count the electoral vote more nearly in proportion to the popular vote. It is a pity that Mr. Lippmann and Mr. Wilmerding were not equally candid in recognizing the defects of the Coudert proposal which are that most congressional districts are very seriously gerrymandered so that they do not constitute a representative slice of American life and that the Coudert proposal retains the unpledged elector who is one of the evils of the present system."[2]

---

[2] The presidential elector is regularly pledged to support a certain candidate for president, of course, but he is legally free to disregard his pledge.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Korean War Portends Local Fiscal Problems

Civilian Defense May Mean Large Municipal Expenditure

WITH the Korean fighting in its third month, state and local governments share the uncertainties facing individuals, businesses and the federal government as to the fiscal impact of the war during the next year or so. Obviously the degree of unsettlement depends considerably on the duration of hostilities and the extent to which they spread to other sections of the globe. Whether the military action remains localized or attains "all out" proportions, however, it is becoming apparent that in some particulars local fiscal developments will parallel World War II situations and in some go beyond anything heretofore experienced.

Even a limited effort such as that presently under way promises to place state and local governments under strain as to such items as manpower, materials and a renewal of price advances. In those sections where sales and payroll taxes have become fixtures of the local revenue systems, and unemployment was early in 1950 of proportions to cause concern, renewal of war production promises to give a welcome spurt to revenue receipts. Transit system income in industrial communities may also get a much needed reversal. And the cost of local borrowing, temporarily adversely affected shortly after the outbreak of the war, is likely to hold at low levels because of the shortage of state and municipal bond issues and keener competition because of prospectively higher federal income tax rates, from which municipals are still exempt.

A new factor in local costs may arise from civilian defense requirements, relatively modest in World War II. The atom bomb is an unknown quantity on more than one front, and it is becoming increasingly clear that 1950 civilian defense thinking in all the larger metropolitan areas is concentrating on this weapon to an extent not duplicated by any contingencies foreseen in World War II.

A New York City administrative committee advised Mayor O'Dwyer that the most feasible solution for the community consisted of a number of bomb shelters under the city's parks—at an estimated cost of $450,000,000! The scheme has been viewed in some quarters with skepticism because of the obvious construction difficulties and time required—Manhattan's great Central Park is mainly underlaid by bed rock and some comment has held five years none too short a period for construction of underground shelters there.

This illustrates, however, the fact that "progress" in military weapons has now reached a point where local defense problems and costs promise to outstrip anything dreamed of five years ago. In the last war most of the civilian defense program was locally financed and to date federal interest in the subject has extended only to arousing interest in local programs, with no commitments announced for aid in meeting the costs.

St. Louis Payroll Tax Expires

July 17 saw the expiration of the one-half of one per cent municipal gross income tax of St. Louis, Missouri, the governor having steadfastly held to his refusal to call a special session of the legislature to renew the levy. City officials are reported to have gone to work immediately to provide offsets to an estimated revenue loss of about $4,500,000 expected for the remainder of the current fiscal year, which ends April 30, 1951.

Amendments to the city's budget made at the recommendation of the Mayor's Committee on City Finances, according to the American Municipal Association's *News*, included: a slash of $600,000 in operating appropriations, an addition of $400,000 to estimated property taxes resulting from new construction and equalization additions, a shift of $775,000 of excise tax receipts from debt retirement to the general fund, and use of $750,000 of gas tax income for operating expense instead of debt service. For the remainder of the funds needed the city counts on a renewal of the income tax after its hoped for reenactment in January when the legislature meets in regular session. City officials are quoted as stating they expect no impairment of city credit to result from the temporary diversion of funds originally slated for debt retirement.

The city's authority to impose the local income tax was originally granted by the legislature in 1948 for a two-year period. It was not renewed by the legislature, however, and with a special session refused the city now expects to press for reenactment when the new legislature meets in 1951.

Sales Taxes Spread in Mississippi

Municipal sales taxes, which in the postwar years have become a prevalent fixture of city revenue systems on the west coast, and to a lesser extent elsewhere, were authorized for first-class Mississippi cities by the 1950 legislature. Four cities have already adopted the levies and a fifth has a referendum scheduled.

The enabling legislation authorizes a one-half of one per cent tax, to be collected by the state and remitted to the city after deduction of a 5 per cent collection fee. To become effective, the tax must be approved by three-fifths of the qualified voters at a local referendum.

Cities adopting the tax, and the estimated annual yields, according to the Municipal Finance Officers Association, are: Biloxi, $125,000; Gulfport, $125,000; Hattiesburg, $160,000; and Jackson, $750,000. Laurel is the city where a referendum has been scheduled. In these cities the sales tax rate will now be 2.5 per cent, representing the regular 2 per cent state sales tax plus the local levy of one-half of one per cent. First class cities are those with populations of over 13,500, of which there are twelve.

Another recent adoption of a city sales tax was in Bristol, Virginia, which adopted a 2 per cent local sales levy similar to the Tennessee state sales tax in effect in neighboring Bristol, Tennessee. Revenue will be used for debt retirement and capital improvements.

Albert Lea Stages Bond Burning

Past and present officials of Albert Lea, Minnesota, joined in a ceremonious burning of the last $18,000 of the city's general improvement bonds at a luncheon June 23, which also celebrated adherence to a fiscal program informally adopted in January 1929, following inauguration of the council-manager form of government.

The program was staged by City Manager Warren C. Hyde and among those present was Dr. William Anderson, a member of the Council of the National Municipal League, chairman-emeritus of the political science department of the University of Minnesota and a consultant in the drafting of the original Albert Lea city manager charter.

The program began with a reenactment, with most of the then city officials present and filling their former roles, of a January 1929 council meeting in which was surveyed a critical financial condition inherited from the previous administration. The situation was cleared up with a $160,000 refunding bond issue, dated January 1931 and due serially in twenty years. Later episodes showed successive councils holding to the date of final maturity of the refunding issue, 1951, as the date for final maturity of a succession of bond issues sold during the 1930s and through 1941.

The 1929 council had found a general purpose bonded debt of $596,664 as well as smaller amounts of water bonds and special assessment obligations. In later years an additional $383,500 of bonds were issued. The last of the water bonds was paid off at maturity in 1948 and, with the final $18,000 of general purpose debt due January 1, 1951, the council earlier this year authorized the purchase for cancellation of the obligations if they could be secured from the holders. The owners proved agreeable, and it was the 1951 and final maturity of the general purpose bonds which was formally destroyed at the luncheon meeting.

Retirement of the last of the former general purpose bonds does not make the city technically debt free, City Manager Hyde has noted. The prospect is that additional general purpose bonds must be issued within the next few years for a new sewage treatment plant. However, the only bonds remaining outstanding are $101,000 special assessment obligations not supported from property taxes. The 1950 budget includes modest appropriations for public works as a start on a pay-as-you-go program to meet some capital improvement costs from current revenues.

California Initiative Would Repeal Personalty Tax

A proposed constitutional amendment placed on the November 1950 ballot by initiative would prohibit the taxation of personal property, tangible or intangible, by California or any political subdivision, except by estate, inheritance, income or excise taxes of the state or federal governments. In effect, the proposal would abolish the ad valorem property tax on personalty.

In a brief in opposition to the measure, the State and Local Government Committee of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce notes that personal property taxes for 1949-50 amounted to approximately $145,000,000 statewide and more than $65,000,000 in Los Angeles County alone. It comments that these are sums whose removal from the local revenue system would necessitate substantial additions from other tax sources if expenditures, still increasing under the impetus of the area's extraordinary growth, are not to be dangerously curtailed.

Virtually all personal property presently taxed by California local units (no property taxes are levied by the state) is tangible personalty. The only intangibles in the tax base are so-called solvent credits. Taxation of such intangibles as notes, stocks, bonds, deeds of trust and mortgages was dropped when the state personal income tax was adopted in 1935. Solvent credits are not strictly a part of the general property tax base, moreover, being subject not to the local ad valorem tax rate but to a small uniform rate throughout the state (one-tenth of one per cent) which is shared by cities, schools and counties.

The San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, commenting on the proposed constitutional provision, notes that in addition to the direct loss of personal property taxes, the measure would probably place in jeopardy the "in lieu" tax on motor vehicles, adopted by the state to offset removal of automobiles from the personal property tax rolls. The in lieu tax now returns about $44,000,000, distributed half to the cities and half to the counties.

Louisville Award Split, Achievement Awards Also Made

The Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, holding its annual conference at Montreal early in June, announced that competition for the 1949 Louisville Award was so keen that the decision was made to award two medals. A gold medal went to Robert E. Sanderson, city comptroller of Lansing, Michigan, for an outstanding contribution to the advancement of debt administration resulting in a substantial saving to his city. A silver medal went to Thor W. Bruce, auditor of the St. Louis, Missouri, Board of Education, for his contribution to the advancement of school accounting and auditing.

The achievement award in the United States was won by Montgomery County, Maryland, for outstanding improvement in fiscal management, organization and public and financial reporting. The achievement award in Canada went to New Westminster, British Columbia, for improvement in fiscal management, accounting and budgetary procedures.

New Jersey Creates Investment Division

Prompted by an investigation of alleged "irregularities" in the purchase of bonds by various state officials for investment of state funds, the 1950 New Jersey legislature passed, and Governor Alfred E. Driscoll early in July signed, a bill designed to centralize all state investment activities in a new division.

The new division, to be within the State Treasury Department, will be headed by a financial expert with power over the investments of eighteen state trust funds. A nine-member advisory council will formulate investment policy. Formerly, boards of trustees of the separate trust funds purchased and sold fund investments, and it was brought out by an investigating committee that there were instances of bonds bought from favored brokers at prices much above the market for the securities involved.

The new advisory council will comprise five members appointed by the governor and four chosen by the state's four largest trust funds. The council will provide a list of nominees for the job of investment expert, from which the administrative official will be appointed by the state treasurer.

Research Commission Urged for Saskatchewan

A report to the Saskatchewan (Canada) minister of municipal affairs in July recommends appointment of a three-member municipal advisory commission the duty of which would be to conduct research in municipal matters, including taxation, and which would have complete jurisdiction over municipal grants.

The report was prepared by Professor G. E. Britnell and Dean F. C. Cronkite of the University of Saskatchewan and Louis Jacobs of the Department of Municipal Affairs, and represents a comprehensive survey of the entire municipal structure in the province of Saskatchewan and of its relationship to the provincial government.

Other recommendations included means of increasing municipal revenues.

H.M.O.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Michigan Citizens Aid State Reorganization

Group to Review Findings of Legislative Committee

MICHIGAN citizens have a state government consisting of 114 overlapping departments, boards and commissions and a feeling that something should be done about it. They've had this feeling for a long time.

The state constitution dates from 1908, long before the automobile made Michigan one of the country's industrial centers. The constitution has been amended 46 times and innumerable state services have been added through statutes, but there have been few basic changes in the structure of Michigan's government. More often than not the state has eased its growing pains simply by creating new commissions. It is as though every time a person got a headache, he added a new head.

Now, at last, something is about to be done—and citizens themselves will have a great deal to say about what is accomplished.

A committee of the state legislature, with the hard-to-remember name of the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, has taken its cue from the federal government's Hoover Commission and successful reorganization efforts in other states and has launched one of the most extensive study programs in Michigan's history to discover, first, what is wrong with the present setup and, second, what can be done to improve it.

Other attempts have been made in the past to strengthen the state's organization, the most recent of which was the 1948 consolidation of budgeting, purchasing, accounting and certain other housekeeping functions into a Department of Administration.[1] In addition, tax collection has been largely centralized in a Department of Revenue and a civil service system has been established.

But past attempts to look at the whole picture of state government from an organizational standpoint have met with something less than a round of applause and general acceptance. All have failed in the legislature. Recommendations were made, reported, studied and forgotten.

One of the chief reasons why past plans occupy dusty pigeon holes is that they lacked citizen acceptance and understanding. Tampering with the *status quo* always steps on somebody's toes—and the resultant squawk heretofore always has been louder than public clamor for the recommended changes. Legislators cannot be blamed for failing to act.

This time every effort is being made to assure a solid basis for citizen backing of whatever recommendations result. Chief instrument and hope will be a group of 45 Michigan citizens known as the Citizens Advisory Committee. Fifteen members were selected by the governor and fifteen each by House and Senate members of the joint legislative committee conducting the study. Included in the membership are merchants, educators, labor representatives, two former governors, newspaper men, judges and representatives of women's groups—persons with divergent interests in private life but with a common interest in good government.

---

[1] See "Governor Sigler Wins Again," by Loren B. Miller, the REVIEW, July 1948, page 357.

Citizens committee members will be much more than window dressing whose names will look good on a letterhead. They are expected to contribute actively to the thinking of the legislative committee members and help them to determine what should be done with Michigan's governmental hodge-podge to make it more representative of citizen wishes.

Karl Detzer, roving editor of the *Reader's Digest* and a member of the Council of the National Municipal League, confided that he had come to the committee's first meeting intending to submit his resignation because of his many other activities. But, after hearing the purposes of reorganization and the importance of the citizens committee, not only did he not resign but he accepted the chairmanship!

Most of the members attended the first organizational meeting and, of course, the first thing they wanted to know was how they fitted into the picture. What they were told went something like this:

The legislative committee has a large research staff, directed by Loren B. Miller, director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, and is bringing in the best experts it can find to conduct studies of 27 areas of state governmental activity. These specialists will submit project reports, similar to the Hoover Commission task force reports, containing their findings and recommendations.

Then, according to the plan, the citizens committee will review these findings from a citizens' point of view and evaluate the recommendations. This is expected to be of immeasurable help to legislative committee members who have the final responsibility for determining what recommendations ultimately will be made to the full legislature. At the same time, the citizens committee will become thoroughly familiar with the proposals and well prepared to serve as a basic agency for stimulating discussion and understanding of the purposes of reorganization by the people.

Later on it is hoped that the citizens committee will form a nucleus for a large citizens group for educational efforts which will be necessary for adoption of recommendations of the study.

Thus, the citizens committee will be "on the inside" from the beginning. This is far different from the old approach of handing a group of citizens a ready-made package, telling them that it is utopia in a red ribbon and suggesting that they do something about convincing other citizens and their representatives in the legislature by day after tomorrow.

As Chairman Detzer says, "The citizens committee function is to help interpret for the legislative committee what the people of Michigan are thinking and to report to the people what the legislative committee is doing."

Michigan hopes that it works.

Richard A. Ware, *General Assistant*
Mich. Joint Legislative Committee on
Reorganization of State Government

Program for Citizenship Education Gets under Way

On an experimental basis for the past six months, the Citizenship Education Project is now ready to carry its program into all parts of the country. The project has been conducted until now in eight cities in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut by Columbia University's Teachers College, under a grant of $450,000 from the Carnegie Corporation.

On August 2 secondary school superintendents, principals and social studies teachers from school systems of 62 communities over the country met at Columbia for a week's briefing on the results of the research previously conducted. They will plan their own citizenship programs for use when classes convene in September. Those in attendance heard encouraging reports from the leaders working in the eight experimental cities and were given an opportunity to inspect a large amount of historical and current materials.

More than a thousand films, books, pamphlets, articles and news clippings have been catalogued for the use of the educators. Objective tests have been furnished so that experimenters may note the progress made in their communities. Pamphlets outline projects which have proved susceptible of use, ranging from classroom election procedures to extensive field work. Twenty-six such projects were submitted to the educators with 30 more nearing completion.

Some $125,000 of the grant has been expended thus far; $21,400 has been given to the University of Nebraska's Teachers College for development of a citizenship training program for rural areas.

Civic Education Elsewhere

Eighth grade students at the Bancroft School in Omaha, where the council-manager plan will be voted on November 7, attended a Parent-Teacher Association meeting at which the council-manager plan was discussed. The pupils have been studying the plan in their classrooms.

The Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) presented certificates to 109 high school seniors who placed high on its "exceptionally able youth test" held last spring. Also honored were Fred E. Schuchmann, president of the club from 1946 to 1949, and Dr. Anthony M. Goldberger, associate chairman of the Exceptionally Able Youths Committee. Both received certificates of appreciation for faithful and efficient service.

"America's New Four Hundred," by Jairus J. Deisenroth, reprinted from the January 1950 *Bulletin* of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, describes two national conferences of the Association of Student Councils.

"The tenth annual Tar Heel Boys' State brought 281 rising seniors to Chapel Hill from high schools all over North Carolina for a week's intensive training in city, county, state and federal government," according to *Popular Government*, published by the North Carolina Institute of Government. The Tar Heel Boys' State is conducted each year by the institute under the sponsorship of the North Carolina Department of the American Legion. Delegates are selected for their outstanding qualities and are sponsored and sent to the conference by local Legion posts and other civic groups.

Civics for the Adult

A hundred persons attended the graduation exercises of Toledo's first Civic College for adults,[1] held after nine weeks of "intensive study of local government," according to the *Toledo City Journal*. Diplomas were awarded to 62 students at the dinner held in the First Unitarian Church. In all, 144 had enrolled for the classes.

The University Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin has two more kits for use in its Citizen Seminars, a program series prepared "for schools, groups and individuals who wish to understand the significance of events in the modern world." They are "Forms of City Government" and "Town Government Today." Both contain a discussion guide as well as mimeographed and printed material on the subject. The kits are designed to help teachers, chairmen and others plan programs "that will lead to a systematic and meaningful consideration of current public problems."

---

[1] See the REVIEW, May 1950, page 259.

Another Civic Victory

Once again the Citizens Association of Richmond, Virginia, has "rung the bell." In 1947 it led a successful campaign to secure a council-manager charter for the city. In 1948 its candidates won eight of the nine seats on the council which would appoint a city manager and place the new charter in operation. Now, in 1950, the association has again elected eight of its candidates to the council, thus insuring continuance of good government under the council-manager charter.

* * *

Committees at Work

Twelve committees, dealing with various phases of municipal affairs, have been set up by the Cincinnati City Charter Committee. The result of an experiment begun two years ago, when certain special committees were tried out, the committees will deal with airport development, annexation, civil service, highways, housing, municipal finance, parks and recreation, proportional representation, public welfare, sewage disposal, traffic control and urban redevelopment. The three former committees which proved so successful made studies of restaurant sanitation, traffic engineering and proposed charter changes. According to Forest Frank, executive director of the Charter Committee, the "first succeeded in getting the restaurant regulation section of the health code rewritten to meet—even in some respects to surpass—the U. S. Public Health Office's Code on Restaurant Sanitation. The second produced recommendations for improvements in traffic controls, many of which have already been carried out, with the remainder now being worked on. The third proposed amendments, several of which were submitted to the voters and adopted last fall."

Plans are under way to form a new Noise Abatement Committee of the Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) Civic Club. Members interested are asked to communicate with the club's officials. According to the club's bulletin, "the Civic Club first began a noise abatement program in 1915 and was active for more than twenty years in helping to obtain city ordinances against excessive noise." The committee was disbanded during the war years.

Prepared by its Committee on City Affairs, Mrs. Nathaniel Singer, chairman, the Citizens Union of New York City has issued its second mimeographed report on magistrates' courts. It covers such special courts as probation, night, vehicle and accident, gamblers, felony and territorial courts. The committee's first report, issued in March 1949, dealt mainly with the home term, girls term, women's court and adolescent court.

In his review of club activities of the year, President John Visser of the Milwaukee City Club comments that "the responsibility for the civic work of the club rests with the civic committees," which cover city planning, county affairs, public education, public finance and a civic council composed of the chairmen of the committees. Work of the committees is reported on at length.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Glen B. Eastburn, formerly manager of the Aviation Department of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, has been appointed executive secretary of the Property Owners Association of California.

Allen Baxter of Philadelphia has been given the 1950 planning award of that city's Citizens' Council on City Planning for his outstanding contribution "toward the improvement of a vital neighborhood in our city and thereby to better living in Philadelphia."

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Bureaus Give Aid to Charter Commissions

Philadelphia and St. Louis Produce Background Studies

PREPARATORY research reports for constitutional conventions and commissions have long been important sources of practical up-to-date studies on problems of state government. Although there are many more municipal charter commissions than constitutional conventions, few of them have similarly added to the available manuals on city government. Important recent exceptions are the St. Louis Board of Freeholders that submitted a new charter which was rejected by the voters on August 1, 1950,[1] and the Philadelphia Charter Commission which still has to put its work to the test of a popular referendum.

The St. Louis board used as its staff agency the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis. Mimeographed reports on the following departments have been received from the institute: Finance, water, parks and recreation, fire, health and welfare, regulatory inspection, public works.

Other St. Louis reports cover *Civil Service Provisions in Large American Cities, Certain Aspects of the Financial Administration of Municipal Utilities, Charter Provisions Relating to Districts for Election of City Legislative Bodies in Home Rule Cities Over 250,000 Population, Charter Provisions Relating to the City Legislature's Control Over Ordinances for Public Works, Control of Expenditures and the Accounting of Funds, Basic Financial Organization in Municipal Governments, Independent Post-Audit in Municipal Government, Questions and Answers on the Form of Municipal Government, Factual Data Relating to the Forms of City Government in the United States.*

The major provisions of the proposed St. Louis charter were summarized and commented on in the May 17 and 24 issues of the St. Louis Bureau's *Dollars and Sense in Government.* The Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia also devoted the June 20 issue of its *Citizen's Business* to "St. Louis—1950 Model."

Memoranda on the following subjects have been prepared by the Bureau of Municipal Research for the Philadelphia Charter Commission: *Organizational Structure of Seven Large Cities in the United States, Salaries of Public Officials in Thirteen Large Cities, Methods of Securing Minority Representation in City Council Other Than by Proportional Representation, Pros and Cons of the Council-Manager Form of Government, Need for a Public Records Provision in Philadelphia's Home Rule Charter, Four Alternative Plans for Departmental Groupings of Functions in Philadelphia's City Government.*

Lennox L. Moak, director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, and Victor Brannon, director of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, regret they are unable to give or sell copies of any of these reports. They do have, however, enough copies to lend for moderate periods to qualified persons who have important use for them. These reports should be valuable starting points for persons undertaking background research for other charter commissions during the next few years.

---

[1] See also pages 376 and 403, this issue.

Bureau Notes

The Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research "cut its birthday cake," resplendent with 25 candles, at a party on June 28, according to an editorial in the *Cincinnati Post.* This occasion marked the 25th anniversary of the bureau and the twentieth anniversary of Calvin Skinner as director of the bureau. The anniversary dinner program records and pays appropriate tribute to the accomplishments of those twenty years. The following greeting, addressed to Calvin Skinner from the National Municipal League, was one of many: "Heartiest congratulations on the many years of valuable service you and the bureau have given Cincinnati and Hamilton County."

Rutgers University at New Brunswick, New Jersey, has established a Bureau of Government Research. Dr. Bennett M. Rich, associate professor of political science at the university, will become the bureau's first director.

The University of Tennessee Bureau of Public Administration, with the cooperation of the Division of University Extension, is continuing its training activities in the field of public administration. During the period 1949-50 a second series of fifteen regional one-day conferences were held throughout Tennessee for municipal finance officials. A current project is a series of three statewide regional meetings organized to train board members and trustees of Tennessee's rural electric cooperatives. Sponsored by the Tennessee Electric Cooperative Association, in cooperation with the Rural Electrification Administration, the Tennessee Valley and the University of Tennessee, these meetings are not only the first of their kind in Tennessee but also in the nation.

Early this year the Maryland State Planning Commission undertook its Third Inventory of State Research Activities by mailing questionnaires to 112 state agencies who were requested to report current research projects being conducted on behalf of the state and/or its political subdivisions. The results of the 1948 and 1949 inventories were published in the *Compendium of State Research Activities* issued in May 1948 and 1949.

* * *

Research Reports

A number of research groups have issued annual reports, as follows:

Twenty-ninth Annual Report, Duluth, Minnesota, Governmental Research Bureau, June 1950. 3 pp.

Tenth Annual Report 1949-1950. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, 1950. 8 pp.

Twenty-fourth Annual Report. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* April 1950. 5 pp.

Thirtieth Annual Report and Year Book. Toronto, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, 1950. 31 pp.

Thirty-sixth Annual Report. Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1950. 16 pp.

1950 Annual Report of Executive Secretary. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities, June 1950. 4 pp.

Seventeenth Annual Report. New Haven, Taxpayers Research Council, June 1950. 4 pp.

Annual Report. Canton, Stark County Tax League, July 1950. 42 pp.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Paul A. Volcker, recently retired manager of Teaneck, New Jersey, will join the faculty of Stevens Institute of Technology in September as associate professor of municipal management in the Graduate School. In addition to teaching municipal administration and engineering, Mr. Volcker will be responsible for setting up a municipal consultant service and reference bureau to serve as a clearing house for municipalities in New Jersey.

Dr. John C. Bollens will join the

political science faculty at the University of California at Los Angeles in September. Dr. Bollens will leave the Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, to take up his new duties.

Additional Reports and Articles

Administrative Reorganization

Progress Report on Executive Reorganization. Status of Legislation, Reorganization Plans, and Administrative Action, Based on the Recommendations of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government During the Eighty-First Congress to Date. Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1950. 105 pp.

Budget

Counties Budget $83 Million for Roads. 52 Per Cent from "Highway User" Taxes. By J. Roy Holland. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, July 1950. 6 pp. Tables. 25 cents.

State to Spend $978 Million. Budget and Appropriations Reviewed. By Frank H. Thill. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* June 1950. 7 pp. 25 cents.

Building Conditions

Report of the Mayor's Fact-Finding Committee on Building Conditions. (A broad gauge report covering (a) major barriers to new building construction such as high property taxation, lack of vacant land, cost of acquiring and clearing substandard areas, an obsolete building code and ineffective zoning, and (b) recommendations to meet or offset the barriers: reduction of local property taxes through real economy in government and use of replacement revenues, either state or local; equalization of assessments; the wise use of powers granted by the Housing Act of 1949 for redevelopment of slum and blighted areas for residential, commercial and industrial purposes; limited tax exemption to some private low cost housing projects; modernized building codes and zoning ordinances; implementation of the master plan; and improvement of rapid transit and highway facilities. Recommendations of the committee are summarized in a series of bureau memos). Newark, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1950. 41 pp.

Charters

Municipal Home Rule Charter Elections in Texas. By W. Terrell Blodgett. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1950. 31 pp. Tables. 60 cents.

Civic Centers

Los Angeles Civic Center Development Presents a Deplorable Lack of Architectural Cooperation and Harmony. Los Angeles, Government Research, Inc., *Monthly Bulletin,* May 1950. 4 pp.

Constitutions

Florida's Proposed Constitutional Amendments. By Hulda Grobman. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1950. 11 pp.

Corporation Commissions

The Corporation Commission of New Mexico. By Frederick C. Irion. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, 1950. iv, 28 pp. 50 cents.

Debt

Bonded Debt. Long Term Indebtedness of Wisconsin County and Local Governments Has Been Increasing Rapidly. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers' Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* July 1950. 5 pp.

Earthquake Problems

Cities and the Earthquake Problem. Seattle, University of Washington, Association of Washington Cities in cooperation with the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* May 1950. 25 pp.

Education

District School Costs Increase $12 Per Student. Madison, Public Expenditure Survey of Wisconsin, *Tax News,* June 28, 1950. 1 p.

Elementary School Costs Per Pupil. Secondary School Costs Per Pupil. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* July 1950. 4 pp. each, all tables. 25 cents.

Elections and Voting

Modernization of the Presidential Election. By F. M. Brewer. Washington, *Editorial Research Reports,* 1949. 17 pp.

Gambling

The Gambling Initiative. Proposal to Be on November Ballot. By H. B. Harding. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* June 1950. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Handbooks

A Handbook for County Supervisors. By Dean Zenor. Iowa City, Institute of Public Affairs, State University of Iowa, 1950. 96 pp.

Labor Legislation

An Appraisal of New Mexico Labor Legislation. By Nathaniel Wollman. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, Division of Research, 1950. 65 pp. 50 cents.

Metropolitan Areas

Metropolitan Washington After One Hundred Fifty Years: Its Economic Expansion. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1950. 29 pp. Charts.

Municipal Government

City of Cleveland Action on Griffenhagen Recommendations. Check List Showing the Extent to Which Cleveland City Departments Have Acted on the Recommendations Made in the Survey of the City Government by Griffenhagen and Associates in 1947 and 1948. Cleveland, Citizens League, 1950. 14 pp.

Municipal Government Problems of Interest to Florida. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1950. 102 pp.

Municipal Insurance

Check Your City's Insurance Practices. By Victor C. Hobday. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City,* June 1950. 5 pp.

Parking

When Should Schenectady Operate Car Parking Lots? Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* June 28, 1950. 8 pp.

Where Shall We Park Our Cars? Public—or Private—Garages and Parking Lots? Report of the Section on City Planning by David D. Bohannon. In Support of the Section's Report, by Vining T. Fisher. In Opposition to the Section's Report, by Marston Campbell, Jr. San Francisco, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth,* July 1950. 23 pp. 25 cents.

Planning

Baltimore's Public Improvement Problem: Borrowing Margin and Debt Service Costs; Method of Presenting New Loan Proposals; City Loans Funds and Public Improvements; New Loans Proposals and the City Debt. Baltimore, Maryland, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* May 31, June 6 and 10, 1950. 2, 3 and 5 pp. respectively.

The Case for Public Improvement Planning. Syracuse, New York, Governmental Research Bureau, *Your Government,* June 12, 1950. 5 pp.

Public Works

Bid Data on Current Municipal Public Works. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, June 1950, 14 pp.

Reporting

Boston Should Report to the People. (Annual report on city government recommended for a better informed citizenry.) Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* June 26, 1950. 4 pp.

Salaries

Compensation of State Officials. A Report on Recommended Salaries for Selected Commonwealth Officers. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1950. 32 pp. Tables.

Smoke Abatement

Locomotive Smoke Reduced — A Progress Report. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* May 9, 1950. 3 pp.

Social Security

Aged Aid and H. R. 6000. By Fred D. Lindsey. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* May 1950. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Taxation and Finance

City Expenditures. Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* June 1950. 7 pp.

Commentary on Amalgamation Costs. Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* June 6, 1950. 6 pp.

Divided Tax Bills. New Bedford, Massachusetts, Taxpayers Association, *Information Bulletin,* June 1950. 3 pp.

Financing Florida Municipalities in 1948. By C. H. Donovan and Wylie Kilpatrick. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1950. 103 pp. Tables.

A Proposal for Improved Financial Administration in Philadelphia. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1950. 7 pp.

Real Estate Tax Sales in 1949. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* May 1950. 4 pp. Tables.

State Taxes and Licenses Collected in New Mexico. 1938, 1943, 1948 and 1949. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* May 1950. 1 p.

The Tax Levy and the Budget. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* May 1950. 1 pp.

Total Property Tax Levies. (1940-1950) Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* May 1950. 10 pp. (all tables).

Trends in Public Finance. As They Affect Citizens and Taxpayers in Tennessee. Significant Aspects of Federal, State and Local Government Finance as of June 30, 1949. Nashville, Tennessee Taxpayers' Association, 1949. 42 pp. Tables, charts.

Where the Money Comes From. Toronto, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* July 4, 1950. 5 pp. Charts.

Traffic Violations

Uniform Traffic Violation Ticket and Uniform Traffic and Parking Fine Schedule. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* June 20, 1950. 10 pp.

Unemployment Compensation

Unemployment Compensation in Utah 1949-1950. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1950. 3 pp.

Water and Sewer Systems

Courts Prefer Sewer Rents Based on Water Use. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* May 1950. 3 pp.

Metered Water and Sewer Charges in Fourteen Large Cities of the United States. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1950. 9 pp. Tables. $1.

Books in Review

The Units of Government in the United States. By William Anderson. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1949. vi, 50 pp. $1.

First published in 1934, last previous edition 1942. This publication counts the 165,049 units of government of which 118,308 are school districts, draws some useful conclusions and finds some trends. It exhibits the high per capita costs of small units and the nonsense of the belief that there is virtue in such smallness. It attacks the separation of schools in separate tax levying corporations and figures out that one-ninth as many local governments could do the job and do it better.

R. S. C.

State and Local Government. By Claudius O. Johnson. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1950. ix, 289 pp. $2.50.

This swift, terse and compact review of the structure and defects of state government constitutes a handy, up-to-date manual of reform in this field. The *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League is utilized as the yardstick and its full text is provided in the appendix. The 1947 simplification of the court system of New Jersey is covered and so is the 1945 administrative reorganization of Missouri. A sound critique and a good starting point for any studious member or observer of a state constitutional convention!

American State Government and Administration (fourth edition). By Austin F. Macdonald. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1950. xiii, 722 pp. $4.

Being the fourth edition and the 23rd printing since 1934, this competent volume needs no appraisal here. Its chapter on state reorganization is unusually complete and a new chapter deals with proposals and progress in judicial reform. The *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League is provided in full in the appendix.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Agriculture

A Framework for a Long-Range Agricultural Policy. By Oscar Heline and Donald R. Kaldor. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1950. viii, 68 pp. 50 cents.

Atomic Energy

The Development of a Policy for Industrial Peace in Atomic Energy. By Donald B. Straus. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1950. viii, 104 pp. $1.

Blighted Areas

The Problem of Blight Elimination in Milwaukee. Milwaukee, Board of Public Land Commissioners, 1950. 20 pp.

County Government

Organization of the Government of Montgomery County, Maryland. Rockville, Maryland, County Manager's Office, 1950. 56 pp.

Defense

Civil Defense in Your Community. Information for chambers of commerce as an aid to participation in civil defense planning in the community. By Committee on National Defense. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1950. 17 pp. 20 cents.

Directories

Twenty-third Annual Directory of Michigan Municipal Officials 1950-1951. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1950. 68 pp. $3.

United States Government Organization Manual 1950-1951. Washington

25, D. C. General Services and Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Federal Register Division, 1950. 657 pp. $1.

Economics

"Economics" as Applied to Government Fiscal Policy and Debt Management. By H. Christian Sonne. New York 13, Sanders Printing Corporation, 1950. 29 pp.

The Manufacturing Economy of the Detroit Region. Part II. Composition and Analysis. By Paul M. Reid. Detroit, Regional Planning Commission, 1950. 49 pp.

Government Publications

Manual of Government Publications United States and Foreign. By Everett S. Brown. New York 1, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950. ix, 121 pp. $2.

Housing

Planning the Home for Occupancy. By the American Public Health Association Committee on the Hygiene of Housing. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1950. xiv, 56 pp. $2.50.

Intermunicipal Cooperation

North American Reports. Presented to the Third Meeting of the Inter-American Congress of Municipalities Held at New Orleans, Louisiana, May 2-5, 1950. Relations Between Municipalities and Central Governments, reported by Rowland Egger; Housing and the Municipalities, reported by Herbert Emmerich; City Planning—Its Present Status in the United States of America, reported by Walter H. Blucher; Traffic Problems in Cities—Suggestions for Their Solution, reported by J. Stannard Baker. Chicago 37, Public Administration Clearing House, 1950. Variously paged.

Proceedings of the Conference in Geneva, September 12-17, 1949. The Hague, International Union of Local Authorities, 1950. 120 pp.

Inventory

Inventory Procedure. Detailed Instructions for the Control of Municipal Personal Property Through the Use of a Perpetual Inventory. Long Beach, California, Property Control Officer, 1950. 34 pp.

Land Use

Land Use in Philadelphia Metropolitan District 1944. Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, 1949. 66 pp. Charts, maps.

Lobbying

Administration of the Lobby Registration Provision of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. An Analysis of the Experience During the Eightieth Congress. By W. Brooke Graves. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1950. 63 pp.

The Role of Lobbying in Representative Self-Government. Part I of Hearings before the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities, March 27, 28 and 30, 1950. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1950. 167 pp.

Measurement

A Work Measurement System—Development and Use. A Case Study. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, 1950. 44 pp.

Municipal Government

The City of Los Angeles. The First 100 Years 1850-1950. (Yearbook for 1949). Los Angeles, Information Center, 1950. 98 pp. Illus.

Monthly Administrative Reports for Cities. Suggested Forms for Use by Department Heads in Reporting to the Chief Municipal Administrator. (Completely revised.) Chicago 37, The International City Managers' Association, 1950. 32 pp. $2.

Optional Municipal Charter Laws. (Laws of 1950, Chapter 210, Optional Municipal Chapter Law; Chapter 211, Optional Municipal Key Positions Law.) Trenton, New Jersey, the Legislature, 1950. 72 pp.

Planning

The Planning Bookshelf. A Selective List of Recent Accessions. New York 17, Regional Plan Association Library, 1950. 4 pp.

Publications of the Tennessee State Planning Commission 1935-1950. Nashville, The Commission, 1950. 32 pp.

Recreation

Recreation for Virginians. A Study of Municipal Recreation in Virginia. By Coolie Verner. Charlottesville, Virginia Recreation Association, 1950. 21 pp. 25 cents.

Refuse Collection

Refuse Collection and Disposal Practices. Report of the APWA Committee on Refuse Collection and Disposal. Chicago 37, American Public Works Association, 1950. 136 pp. $3.

State Government

The Governments of Our States at Mid-Century. By Charles E. Merriam, Walter D. Cocking, etc. Chicago, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* June 1950, 32 pp. 50 cents.

Readings in American State Government. By Lane W. Lancaster and A. C. Breckenridge. New York 16, Rinehart and Company, 1950. ix, 347 pp. $1.50.

Street and Utility Installation

Who Pays for Street and Utility Installations in New Residential Areas? A Survey of Municipal Policy. By Seward H. Mott and Max S. Wehrly. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1950. 8 pp. $2.

Streets and Highways

Better Roads—Today's Challenge. By Carl E. Fritts. New York 17, Automotive Safety Foundation, 1950. 12 pp.

State-City Relationships in Highway Affairs. By Norman Hebden and Wilbur S. Smith. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950. xvi, 230 pp. $4.

Taxation and Finance

Compendium of State Government Finances in 1949. By Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1950. 56 pp. 50 cents.

Governmental Revenue in 1949. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950. 12 pp.

Increasing Cost of the Federal Government. Compilation of Information by the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments of the United States Senate. Washington 25, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1950. 19 pp.

Report of the Motor Vehicle License Division of the Oklahoma Tax Commission for the Calendar Year 1949. Oklahoma City, the Commission, Division of Research and Statistics, 1950. 50 pp.

The Stabilizing Budget Policy. What It Is and How It Works. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1950. 19 pp.

Towns

Digest of 1950 Laws Affecting Towns. Albany, Association of Towns of the State of New York, 1950. 36 pp.

Traffic Safety

Deft Driving—an Aid to Safer and More Efficient Driving. By Milton D. Cramer. Dearborn, Michigan, Ford Motor Company, 1950. 42 pp.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion for August 1950. Theme: **Signs of Life.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1950. Variously paged.

Training for Public Administration

The Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs. Its Story After Twenty-five Years. Syracuse, New York, Syracuse University, 1949. 136 pp. Illus.

Wages

How to Raise Real Wages. By The Research and Policy Committee. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1950. 43 pp.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

TOBER 1950 VOLUME XXXIX, NO. 9

161

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Nothing to Fear .... *Editorial*

A City Beats the Rackets .... *Frederic Sondern, Jr.*

Losing the 'Human' Touch .... *York Willbern*

Kansas City Leaps a River .... *William O. Winter*

They All Get into the Show .... *Don L. Bowen*

Proposed Charter Drafted for Philadelphia 455

Two Counties to Vote on Manager Plan 463

Denmark Elects New Folketing 466

Money Rate Dispute Harbinger of Controls 468

Citizen Groups Probe City Operations 471

State Government Reports Pile Up 475

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the Review by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor
ELSIE S. PARKER, Assistant Editor

Contributing Editors

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.,
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

State Correspondents

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN, *Maryland*
STUART A. MacCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
HARVEY WALKER, *Ohio*
YORK Y. WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *President*
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J., *Vice President*
J. W. Clise, Seattle, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York, *Treasurer*
William Collins, *Finance Chairman*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
John E. Bebout, *Assistant Secretary*
George H. Hallett, Jr., *Associate Secretary*

Council

Richard S. Childs, New York, *Chairman*

William Anderson, Minneapolis
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
Frederick L. Bird, New York
Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati
William Collins, Yonkers, N. Y.
L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Mo.
James A. Cunningham, Chicago
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
C. A. Dykstra, Los Angeles
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
B. H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Clarence Francis, Bronxville, N. Y.
Arnold Frye, New York
Lloyd E. Graybiel, San Francisco
Harrison S. Hires, Berwyn, Pa.
Robert W. Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
John S. Linen, New York
Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis
Mrs. Thomas H. Mahony, Boston
D. K. Pfeffer, New York
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Walter M. Phillips, Philadelphia
Lawson Purdy, New York
Harry W. Schacter, Louisville, Ky.
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Henry L. Shattuck, Boston
George S. Van Schaick, New York
Richard Weil, Jr., New York
A. C. (Jack) White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

Publication Office: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
Editorial and Business Office: 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXIX, No. 9 **Total Number 403**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for October 1950

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS 430

EDITORIAL COMMENT 431

A CITY BEATS THE RACKETS .... *Frederic Sondern, Jr.* 433

LOSING THE 'HUMAN' TOUCH .... *York Willbern* 439

KANSAS CITY LEAPS A RIVER .... *William O. Winter* 445

THEY ALL GET INTO THE SHOW .... *Don L. Bowen* 450

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 455

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 463

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ...... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 466

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 468

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 471

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 475

BOOKS IN REVIEW 481

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

Copyright October 1950 by
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

Civic Teamwork Is Theme of Buffalo Conference

The theme of the League's 1950 National Conference on Government, which will meet at the Hotel Statler in Buffalo, New York, November 20, 21, 22, will be "Civic Teamwork."

In announcing the acceptance of the invitation to take the Conference to Buffalo for the third time in the League's 56-year history, Charles Edison, president, said, "The executive committee was strongly influenced in its choice by the fact that the Buffalo area is evidently going through a period of study and experimentation, governmentally speaking."

"Among the important developments," Mr. Edison said, "is the recent transfer to Erie County of a number of local functions—health, libraries, hospitals and probation. This and other experiments have significance for students of the metropolitan area problem which has been intensified since the war."

It is the League's policy, President Edison pointed out, to hold the Conference in places which, because of current conditions, "constitute a laboratory in which problems of citizenship and government are under consideration and the solution of which would be helpful by example to citizens everywhere."

The first Buffalo Conference of the National Municipal League was in November 1910 when Charles J. Bonaparte, then secretary of the Navy, was in his last year in office as second president of the League. The second Buffalo Conference was in 1931. Richard S. Childs, now chairman of the League's Council, was president of the League at that time. Mr. Childs was also a speaker at the 1910 Conference.

Throughout the Conference speakers and subjects will, as Mr. Edison indicated, stress the necessity for the American way to demonstrate more convincingly than ever the civic teamwork which is the key to self-government.

At general and group sessions, morning, afternoon and evening, outstanding civic leaders and public officials will join with the entire Conference membership in exploring such subjects as blighted districts and urban redevelopment, the modernization and strengthening of county government, civic education both at home and in areas overseas for which the United States is responsible, the efforts of organized crime to control local government and politics, how to lighten the burden of the individual voter and make him more effective, successful Little Hoover Commissions, what happens to a citizen when he is elected to a city council or board of education, local finance in a defense economy, how citizens win civic battles and what can be done about metropolitan disintegration.

Ample opportunity for discussion will be afforded in group sessions under experienced leadership Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday mornings. Outstanding speakers are scheduled for addresses at luncheon, afternoon and evening meetings as well as for introductory talks in group sessions. League President Charles Edison will be the principal speaker at the annual dinner Tuesday night. The National Association of Civic Secretaries and the Proportional Representation League will hold supplementary sessions and the Association of Municipal Public Relations Officers will cooperate in a Monday morning session.

Look for more details and names of speakers and participants in the November NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and in the preliminary program. For reservations write early to the Hotel Statler, Buffalo, being sure to say you are attending the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government.

Editorial Comment

Nothing to Fear

THIS is the season when ghosts are supposed to walk in corn fields and witches ride across a harvest moon that looks like a pumpkin. These are amiable conceits that scare nobody, not even the small boy who tries to scare himself by looking at his masked face in a mirror.

Unfortunately, however, this is the political season in which supposedly grown-up Americans do succeed in frightening themselves with stories of ghosts, witches and masked riders even less authentic than the fabulous yarns of Allhallow Eve.

There are fashions in ghosts and witches. The fashion this fall is to see in the political opposition a striking resemblance to the faceless men of the Kremlin. The international menace of communism is real, but nobody has any business conjuring up red specters to scare voters into supporting him for a local office. Any candidate who resorts to it announces that he has no valid appeal. If voters find they have a choice between such a candidate and one who really talks about local issues, they've got a pretty sure rule of thumb for distinguishing between a demagogue and a potential municipal statesman.

Appeals to groundless fears and screaming at ghosts that never walked is particularly blameworthy and harmful when it is used to defeat needed improvement of such fundamental devices as city charters and state constitutions. Analyze the "arguments" commonly used against adoption of a council-manager charter or against modernization of an outmoded state constitution. Ninety per cent of them are appeals to fear. The people of a boss-ridden city are told the manager will be a dictator despite the record to the contrary in close to a thousand communities. A constitutional convention, it is alleged, will be over-run with communists and radicals. This, despite the fact that there never was a really radical state constitutional convention and the even more convincing fact that there aren't enough reds in the state to elect a single member.

Or the appeal to fear may be a trifle more subtle. The people of a state without an income tax are told that a convention would "open the door" to this horror. The people are asked to continue to put up with a bad constitution because they don't trust themselves and their representatives with the power to tax.

Democracy cannot survive where the people do not trust themselves. Someone else will rule if the people won't. It is imperative to strengthen, not to weaken, local and state institutions. They cannot be strengthened without removing some of the shackles imposed by fear so that Washington won't have to do things that we could do better nearer home.

There is in this time of world crisis even greater need than ever for firm minds and steady hands. Every citizen, every candidate for public office, every campaigner on a public question who diverts attention from the serious business of making self-government work to ghosties and ghoulies of his own imagining is a virtual, if not an intentional, traitor to his country.

Some Good Shortening

PROGRESS toward the adoption of the "short ballot" principle has seemed glacially slow, but a backward look over 30 years shows that the continued pressure of local civic organizations has achieved important reductions in the number of elective state and local officers.

A recent examination of the voter's task in the city of New York showed an amazingly changed picture. By some transfers from elective to appointive basis, by lengthening of terms and by a drastic reduction in the size of the city council, the following has resulted:

Governor, lieutenant governor, comptroller and attorney general now elective for four years instead of two.

Secretary of state, state treasurer, state engineer and surveyor, once elective for two-year terms, now appointive.

Sixty-seven assemblymen elected for two-year terms instead of one-year terms.

City council, 25 members elected for four years instead of 70 elected every two years.

Appointive experts, including sheriff, register and medical examiner under civil service competitive system instead of five sheriffs, four registers, five county clerks and eleven coroners, formerly elective.

Thus the total elective in New York in a four-year cycle has been brought down from 578 to 293, just about half.

The individual task which confronts each New York voter on his voting machine each year calls for selecting ten to fourteen as compared with twenty or more a generation ago and as compared with the nonsense of 56 in Cleveland, 49 in Detroit and 39 in Seattle. Federal, gubernatorial and municipal elections are almost completely separated.

But ten to fourteen is still too many. Several of these on every ballot are judges, obscured by the fact that as many as 30 out of 136 such elective judges come up for election in one part of the city or another each year to divide the public's languid scrutiny. A switch to appointive judges—one-third of the city's judges are appointive already—would bring the ballots down to eight in 1950, none in 1951, five in 1952, six in 1953.

These elective judges are appointed anyway—by the leaders of "opposing" political parties, who get together cozily and agree on candidates for the judiciary. This effectively freezes out independents and produces a make-believe election.

A City Beats the Rackets

Youngstown's 'amateur' mayor and gang-busting police chief wipe out city's underworld and banish hoodlums.

By FREDERIC SONDERN, JR.*

THREE years ago, when young Charles Packard Henderson became mayor of Youngstown, Ohio, that steel city of 125,000 people was wide open. Bookies and numbers men swarmed on the main streets and at the gates of the steel mills, gambling rooms raked in fabulous sums on pay days and prostitutes openly plied their trade while unkempt policemen looked on and collected their graft. Shootings were commonplace, bandits flourished and even the traffic laws were rarely enforced. The town was a mecca for hoodlums. All were protected by city officials handsomely paid off by a tightly organized group of racketeers who grossed more than $5,000,000 a year from their various vicious enterprises.

Today Youngstown is one of the most orderly municipalities in the midwest. The gamblers, prostitutes and racketeers—no longer able to buy protection from city hall—have moved away. Immaculately uniformed officers who will not "fix" even a parking ticket patrol the streets. While crime elsewhere increases, Youngstown's annual report to the FBI shows a steady drop in all categories of law breaking. "I never thought we could have honest government here," a veteran police sergeant said to me. "But when folks decide they really want to stop racket men and crooked politicians, they can do it—and fast."

John Vitullo, Democratic boss of Mahoning County and chairman of Youngstown's board of elections, laughed when Charles Henderson—lawyer, member of one of the town's oldest families and a political greenhorn of only 36—was nominated on the Republican ticket in 1947. "This college guy," sneered the boss, "wants to clean us up, huh. Is that a riot. We'll still be here long after he's gone." Apparently Vitullo's political machine was indestructible. His district leaders and captains were under iron discipline and turned out the vote of the steel workers with clocklike precision.

At his right hand was Joe "the Wolf" Di Carlo, a pudgy, middle aged, extremely dangerous veteran of the rackets with 27 arrests on his record and close connections with the powerful Purple Gang of Detroit and the Capone syndicate of Chicago. The pasty-faced, softly spoken Sicilian is one of those shadowy but immensely influential figures, wealthy heirs of the prohibition era gangs, whose nationwide, interlocked operations Senator Estes Kefauver's Senate committee has been tracking.

---

*Mr. Sondern, as roving editor of *The Reader's Digest,* has been specializing on law enforcement subjects during the past few years. Previously he had a long record of service first as central European correspondent for the McClure Newspaper Syndicate from 1932 to 1938; later with *The Reader's Digest* as war correspondent for the duration of World War II.

Di Carlo has long been a close friend of Pete Licavoli and Joe Maceo of Detroit, Joe Massei of Florida, Charles Fischetti of Chicago and Joe Adonis of New York —all names that appear again and again in Kefauver's records. While these gang leaders are not formally organized, they all know each other, invariably meet during their Florida sojourns and have intricate working arrangements with each other.

Di Carlo, for example, had acquired control of the Youngstown outlet of the wire service which supplies detailed horse-racing information to the entire country—and exacted a revenue of 50 per cent of the profits of all bookmakers in the steel city—almost $1,000,000 a year. Not only did Di Carlo contribute heavily out of his generous income to Boss Vitullo's campaign funds but he also ordered out his army of bookmakers, slip writers and torpedoes every election day to help get out the votes. In exchange, Di Carlo and his hoodlums were above Youngstown's law.

On one occasion, "Fats" Aiello —one of Di Carlo's lieutenants and a notorious gunman—shot at a recalcitrant subordinate in a crowded downtown Youngstown restaurant and was arrested. The next morning the mayor himself—a staunch and popular party wheelhorse—listened to Aiello's contrite explanation that his gun had fallen on the floor and gone off by itself. "That could have happened to anybody," remarked the mayor solemnly. The gangster was turned loose without delay.

Shielded by such privilege, the Youngstown syndicate became more and more ruthless in stamping out competition. One cafe owner had made a success of a dog-racing track which drew heavy betting money. He refused an offer from the syndicate to buy into his operation. A few days later, two men walked into his bar, drank some beer, drew their guns and pumped lead into him and his brother while other patrons cowered against the walls. "Hey," said one of the hoodlums as he drained his glass before departing, "this one ain't dead yet." He fired twice more to make sure. The county sheriff's office and the Youngstown police put it down as "just another gang killing" and were so slow in their investigation that the murderers got well away. The FBI eventually found one of them—on the Arizona ranch of one of the Detroit associates of the Youngstown syndicate.

Veteran Disappears

A Youngstown veteran who had been plunging disastrously on the horses realized his folly, painted "You Can't Win, Look at Me" on a pair of sandwich boards and began to picket one of the town's largest bookmaking establishments. His wife called the police next day to report him missing. He has not been heard from since. There were a series of such disappearances of people who tangled with the syndicate's operations. The stock answer by the police to the families of the vanished men was, "He probably just beat it."

The Youngstown gangsters' supreme gesture of contempt for the law was the Jungle Inn—a fortress-like gambling casino and racket headquarters in a miniature town which they had created just outside the Youngstown city line. A brick and steel turret, always manned by a gangster with a tommy gun, guarded the entrance to the rambling building which housed sumptuous layouts for every kind of gambling. Other gun turrets—plastic bubbles worked into the wall decoration—dominated the interior at strategic locations. There were always several dozen heavily armed thugs on call to defend the inn against hijacking or any other trouble—all with badges and duly sworn in as authorized constables of Hall's Corners. The mayor, the councilmen and about a hundred others who made up the town of Hall's Corners all worked at the inn. Admiring gangsters from Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago and the coastal crime capitals considered it one of the finest setups in the country. From time to time the county authorities would stage a token raid, descend on the inn with a few trusted deputies and thereafter announce that they had found no evidence of gambling.

What Boss Vitullo, Di Carlo and their hangers-on—apparently so secure in their tight little empire—did not recognize was the change in the temper of their public. Youngstown, although it liked its gambling, was not amused by the murders, the traffic accidents, the corruption in city hall. The civic conscience which at a certain point always begins to operate in our communities was stirring. To the amazement of the boss and his machine, Charles Henderson's campaign for decent government caught like a brush fire in all sections of the population. Turning down all large contributions to his campaign fund that might have strings attached, this unorthodox politician asked for small donations from the people who really believed in him. He got more than 2,500 and an army of volunteer bell ringers and stump speakers. He was no orator and made few promises; he was a Republican, a Princeton graduate, a member of the leading clubs—all points against him politically in the Mahoning Valley. But the steel workers liked his clean cut looks and manner anyway and decided to vote for him no matter what their precinct captains said. Henderson was elected by a thumping majority.

Amateur vs. Professional

"And there I was," the mayor says, "an amateur up against one of the slickest professional combinations in the country. And most of the people I could trust were amateurs too."

One of Henderson's first moves was to ask J. Edgar Hoover to recommend a good law enforcement officer for police chief. The FBI director gave him a choice of three and the mayor picked Edward J. Allen, a young detective sergeant in Erie, Pennsylvania, who had made an unusual record at the FBI's National Police Academy in Washington.

Son of a policeman, Allen had come up the hard way. In Erie, in 1941, he had uncovered a highly organized prostitute ring operating under powerful protection. Despite repeated warnings from his superiors he doggedly gathered evidence and completed an airtight case against the vice racketeers, only to see indictments invalidated on a technicality by the judge.

Later another judge quashed an equally conclusive case which Allen had built up against one of the racketeers who had tried to bribe him into silence. Suicidal as the project might be for a young police sergeant, Allen made up his mind to get that judge removed from the bench. An unconvincing talker, the sergeant spent evenings at the public library studying public speaking and practiced elocution until late at night. Then he stumped the service clubs and civic organizations telling his story until public pressure and the Bar Association compelled the governor to investigate. And the judge was suspended. That was typical of Allen. "I hate racketeers and I hate crooked public officials," he says, pounding his desk, "and I'm going to spend my life rooting them out."

At Youngstown's police headquarters, the new chief found the kind of conditions that unfortunately exist in a shockingly large number of our towns and cities where the citizens fail to take sufficient interest in law enforcement. Many of his underpaid, poorly trained men had never even been given a chance to try their corroded revolvers. Their uniforms, which they had to buy themselves, were old and badly fitted. Even the higher officers knew little about the laws they were supposed to enforce.

Many owed their jobs to district politicians in return for cash considerations of $1,000 up. Vital records were kept in old shoe-boxes, the fingerprint files were in hopeless confusion. The policemen themselves were completely demoralized. "The hoods used to spit when we went by to show what they thought of us," a veteran patrolman told me bitterly. "Make a raid or a pinch on a guy that had protection and you'd get fired."

Police Force Reorganized

One of Allen's first moves was to put the entire force into neat new uniforms purchased by the city. They were given new guns and drilled in the newest techniques of police shooting developed by the FBI. Overnight, political appointments were wiped out; also Allen let it be known that any political backing of an officer would react immediately in his disfavor. The chief demanded that the officer on the beat and in the patrol car, the sergeant at the desk, should be a representative symbol of decent government—courteous, alert, incorruptible. The old timers laughed; they had heard all that before from other new chiefs, for a few weeks. Cruising the city at all hours, Allen poked into every corner of it. Any officer that he found being insolent to a citizen, sloppy, or not on his job got short shrift. With surprising speed a new police force was born.

Then one of Di Carlo's lieutenants called on Allen. "O.K., chief," said the gambler calmly. "You've had long enough to show the voters that you're a good cop. We've kept pretty quiet. Now––what's the setup going to be? You can have anything within reason." Allen has unusually clear, penetrating eyes under heavy brows set in a taut face that can become very stern. He stared wordlessly at his visitor for a full minute, tapping on the desk with a paper cutter. "There isn't going to be any setup," he said finally in a flat, quiet voice. "Get going, keep going and tell the rest of the boys to do the same if they know what's healthy for them —right now." Di Carlo's emissary left abruptly.

Racketeers on the Run

During the next weeks squads of policemen descended on gambling rooms, brothels and hoodlums' hangouts from one end of the city to the other. There were neither warnings before the raids nor "fixes" after. The city courts, for the first time, imposed really heavy fines. Youngstown watched, almost unable to believe its eyes. The once mighty Boss Vitullo was a broken man and died soon after.

Di Carlo, back from Florida to rally his forces, found that city hall could no longer be reached. One of Mayor Henderson's campaign managers was approached with an offer of $50,000 cash and more to follow if the mayor would order Allen to lay off. The luckless underworld diplomat who made the offer bounced when he hit a concrete walk onto which he was thrown.

Next the Ohio Bell Telephone Company and Western Union disconnected the intricate system of wires—all of which Allen's detectives had carefully traced — on which the racing information came to the Youngstown bookies. That abruptly cut off Di Carlo's principal source of income. When the smoke cleared, the underworld of Youngstown had been wiped out.

But neither the mayor nor the chief was through. There was still the Jungle Inn, to which the principal city gangsters had withdrawn and which supplied them with an ample income. It was in Trumbull County, outside Allen's jurisdiction, and the county authorities refused to help. Undaunted, Mayor Henderson and Chief Allen approached Governor Frank J. Lausche. The governor was eager to help but there were difficulties in the way. The county authorities were his principal law enforcement officers—Ohio, like many states, has no state police—and only they could raid the Jungle Inn for gambling.

But the governor found that the State Liquor Board could take action in a case of gambling on premises licensed for the sale of alcoholic beverages. So one evening some twenty state liquor agents closed in on Hall's Corners with orders to padlock the inn if they found sufficient evidence. They had some bad moments. The hoodlums on guard let them in but, as soon as they began to show their credentials, locked the doors and stood by the turrets. "If anybody had gotten excited and squeezed a trigger," a police officer who had been there told me, "goodness knows what would have happened." Nobody did, the gangsters finally surrendered and the Jungle Inn has been padlocked ever since. But it took a governor, a mayor, a police chief and legal flim-flam to do it.

At that, the victory was not complete. Di Carlo's Youngstown empire is in ruins and the gangsters still operating beyond the city line do a relatively small business. But Di Carlo has just completed a palatial new house in Miami Beach. Not long ago, Chief Allen discovered that another gang leader, Frank Cammarata, was planning to move into Youngstown. Cammarata has a record of twenty arrests and a conviction for armed robbery for which he was sentenced to 15-30 years in the Michigan State Prison. He has demonstrated his political influence by the fact that Representative Michael Kirwan of Youngstown recently introduced in the House a private bill—H.R. 3890—to prevent his deportation for illegal entry into the United States after a prior deportation. Following Chief Allen's outcry, Representative Kirwan withdrew his support of the Cammarata bill and declared that he was unaware of the gangster's record. But Cammarata still lives, unmolested, near Youngstown's city line.

It Can Be Done

Last April Chief Allen told the story of some of his and Mayor Henderson's experiences to the Senate Subcommittee on Interstate Commerce, which was trying to work out legislation to prevent interstate gambling. The senators were shocked. "It is your experience that this bookie situation can be cleaned up locally without any assistance from the federal government?" asked Senator McFarland of Arizona. "At least 95 per cent of it can," snapped Allen.

As Senator Kefauver's investigation unrolls the appalling picture of organized crime in the United States—the number of our cities and towns in the corroding grip of combinations of racketeers and dishonest politicians—it becomes clear that we all had better do something about it. Youngstown is a good example of what can be done.

Losing the 'Human' Touch

Rise of specialists and merit system in rural government brings a new kind of citizen participation in politics.

By **YORK WILLBERN***

IN AN Alabama hill country county, the author approached a little group of men lounging on the courthouse steps and asked the whereabouts of the office of the tax assessor. One of the men got up leisurely, said he was the tax assessor and asked what he could do for me. After we had gone into his office and talked a while, I inquired where I might find the county superintendent of education. He called out to the men still loafing on the steps, "Bill, this fellow wants to see you, too."

More of our government has this atmosphere than we realize. Rural officeholders still lounge on the courthouse steps and attend to business in a very informal manner.

It seems to be the belief of those who proclaim the virtues of local self-government that there is a healthier and more understanding awareness of and interest in the affairs of local government than in those of state or national government and that this results from the election of local officials. It is argued that there is more participation and participation of a higher quality in local government than in the government of higher levels. Frequently, the concept in the minds of those who make this argument is related especially to rural or small town local government.

In the government of small towns and rural communities a larger percentage of the populace can be elected to office, although the percentage is still very small. The elected officeholders may be known personally by a larger part of the population. Actual relationship between officeholder and constituency, however, is at some variance with the idealized concept of a community leadership held closely responsible for sound public policy.

It would probably not be correct to say that the elected public officials in local government, in Alabama at any rate, come primarily from the really dominant economic and social groups. Local officeholders, generally speaking, are perhaps from above the middle social and economic level of the community but it is apparently the exception rather than the rule when the most important merchants, bankers, lawyers or landowners are themselves elected to public office.

At political meetings and in contacts made by candidates prior to elections, the absence of any consideration of significant public issues is striking. Many people have commented upon the tendency of the American electorate to vote with regard to personality rather than issues; it seems this tendency is more clearly evident in southern local rural government than anywhere else. There is no party organization; there is seldom a campaign of the outs against the ins in any group sense; government is so disintegrated that no individual officeholder or candidate can take or be given much responsibility for any particular action. The importance of personality and personal habits in determining the outcome of elections is great. Friendliness and sobriety are virtues of great value.

---

*Dr. Willbern is director of the University of Alabama's Bureau of Public Administration and professor of public administration at the university.

What some of us have called the eleemosynary appeal for votes is frequently effective. Widows are elected because they need the jobs, cripples are chosen because they are unable to do other work. Such choices are not the rule, of course, but they occur frequently enough to indicate some of the feeling about officeholding.

No Integrated Campaign

In one-party states campaigning for office is almost completely disintegrated. There is talk about courthouse rings and frequently a blanket condemnation of the "old crowd" in office, and there is sometimes a feeling of political liaison among certain officeholders. There seems, however, to be more talk and appearance here than reality. There is no announcement of any ticket or list of local officials by any group or, if there is, it is usually considered a severe handicap. To find and publish a list of approved candidates circulated in a labor union or a farm organization is considered quite a coup for persons who are not on the list, the feeling being that the existence of such a list is *prima facie* evidence of a machine or ring which the voters will disapprove. "The word" may be passed around, or those in the know may understand the factional relationships, but any announcement of group cohesion seems to produce resentment.

In the generally disintegrated character of local rural government the tax assessor, tax collector, sheriff, clerk, probate judge, road commissioners go their separate ways.

Even after the election, certain characteristics may be noted which convey the flavor of participation in government in rural courthouses and small town city halls.

First, there is a feeling that this is not government at all. The government is in Washington or, at the very least, in Montgomery. Again and again the statements are made that "the hospital was built with government money," or "we have to be careful about this, because the government sends inspectors around"—all by local officials.

Second, there is a strong feeling of proprietorship on the part of the occupants of many local offices. We have been told by those who speculate about government that one of the great dangers of bureaucracy is that the occupants of civil service positions begin to feel that their job is their own private property. If that be true in the ramifying circles of the civil service in a big government, a return to a locally chosen officialdom would seem to be no remedy. In our observation the feeling seems stronger with regard to elected officials than with regard to the employees of those agencies, like welfare, education or the county agricultural group, where there is some reality to the charges of big bureaucracy.

True, the incumbent of a local elected position holds it at the will of the voter, but he considers himself a business man, with the voters and constituents as his customers —he must please them or go out of business, but it is his business which he is conducting.

The motivation for this feeling is especially strong where the fee system exists, as it does in the more rural counties of many southern states. The probate judge talks of selling licenses, says that "business is getting so bad we may have to lay off a clerk," complains of a legislative action which cut his fee income $25 a month. In effect, election to local office in a fee system community constitutes the granting of a license to practice government there.

In county courthouses, where officials have time to sit on the steps and speak to passers-by, there is obviously more informality and consequently more likelihood of laxity than in larger, more impersonal operations. Many a law breaker is not arrested, many a case is not prosecuted, if the sheriff and the prosecutor know the individuals involved.

In many criminal offenses there is no trial or formality—the judge or justice of the peace hears most of his cases "in chambers," or the arresting sheriff or police official may fix the fine and collect it on the spot. There is often much that is attractive and humane in these easy-going methods, even though it may not be completely in character with the statue of Justice on the courthouse dome. It must be remembered that it is not fully realized that this is government—government is the place from which the auditors and inspectors come.

New Functions Intrude

Most of the observations thus far have been with regard to the political and governmental behavior of rural local government as it has been traditionally conducted. There is, however, something new, something alien to that spirit which has been forcing its way in in recent years. This is the intrusion—and "intrude" is probably the only applicable word—of some newer functions of government to be performed even in the rural local communities.

The new and important functions are primarily welfare, health and aid to agriculture. As functions of county government they have their roots in the past but they have burgeoned and blossomed within the last generation or half-generation. The welfare, health and agricultural agencies do not fit into the traditional pattern. Frequently, perhaps usually, there was no space for them in the courthouse, so they have been put off in a county office building or a county activities building, or they have separate offices in various buildings in the county seat town. There the atmosphere is different from the atmosphere of the courthouse. There is the calculating machine, the indexed card and the steel file, instead of the hand-written ledger and the vault. There the chief employees have been to school, even to college, go to professional meetings and have a degree of mobility. They are under much greater supervision from the "government" in Montgomery or from agricultural colleges.

The heads of these agencies are not elected locally; some of them may be appointed by local boards or by the county governing body. But many, sometimes all of them, must be members of a merit system, they are chosen frequently on the recommendation of the state department or agency conducting that function, and they move from county to county as new job opportunities develop.

With regard to professionalization and use of expertise, functions of rural government in Alabama may be ranked in this order: welfare, agricultural aid, health; education ranks high where the superintendent is appointed, low where he is elected; road construction is a poor fifth and law enforcement and tax administration bring up the rear. In other words, the development of expertness, of professionalization, of any significant degree of efficiency has generally come to local rural government in Alabama only in the newer functions, in the functions where "the government" from outside has led the way and insisted upon the path. Even more important, at the rural local level it seems that removal from local, election-type politics is generally the prerequisite for any significant amount of professionalization and expertness.

How Get Citizen Participation

If this be true, does it mean that we can get efficient, expert, professional governmental service only at the expense of abandoning direct participation in local government by the citizens?

There are several answers to this question which indicate that we need not abandon local citizen participation to get expert and efficient services, but that we need, and may be already securing, something of a transformation in the type of participation involved.

There can be just as real and perhaps even more vital a degree of local participation in governmental programs where the initiative and the ultimate control of the program is from the federal or state level. With the channels of communication that we have, voter interest and education in national and state elections is probably greater than in local ones. The Associated Press dispatches and syndicated columnists in the daily paper and over the radio tell a story that is as close and vital to the voter as that of the local weekly newspaper and the tale heard at the corner store.

There are figures which indicate that, even in local areas, the voting turnout is greater for state and national elections than when only local matters are involved. There are strong indications that the issues at state and national levels are closer to the hearts of the voters and better understood by them than some of those in their immediate bailiwick.

There is another answer to the problem of retaining—or securing a better quality of—citizen participation in local governmental matters and getting at the same time a degree of professionalization and expertness. There are many types and kinds of participation in public affairs which are probably more important than voter participation. Administration is a political process and local administration, even of state and national programs, is a part of that political process in which the local citizens participate. Not only may orders come down through the administrative hierarchy but the pulse of the people may go back up that hierarchy far enough to register accurately.

In the rural and small town communities, furthermore, (and there is no intention to suggest that these communities are peculiar in this regard) it must be noted that a great deal of government is conducted by and through agencies that are not completely public in character.

The local community chest, if there is one, or the Women's Society for Christian Service, influences the local welfare department and its activities and does things of a public character better than the welfare department can. The home demonstration clubs and the farm bureau units are not only promoted and used by the county agricultural people, they are also organisms which affect the course of government in the local community. The story of the degree to which the chamber of commerce is an agency of government in a small town has never been effectively told. The chamber committees—on which, in contrast to official agencies of government, are generally represented the actual social and economic leaders of the community—may make more important decisions than any governmental employee.

Local Groups Have Public Duties

In the towns, civic clubs as well as the chamber of commerce are public agencies of almost incalculable importance. They discuss public questions, they stimulate public action, they influence the municipality and the county and, unhampered by certain legal restrictions, they do much that official governmental agencies have difficulty in doing. Most local recreation programs in Alabama have been begun by civic clubs and often only reluctantly taken over by the government. Many of the local public libraries are even yet civic club affairs.

There is considerable difference, of course, in the degree to which programs with state and federal assistance and supervision involve local citizen participation of a more or less formal character. The agriculture program has farm committees and gives its constituents an opportunity to vote on some issues; welfare, health and education use citizen boards; all four are closely associated with such groups as the Farm Bureau and the Parent-Teachers Association. There will be no attempt to describe here the almost infinite variety of federal-state, federal-local, state-local and government-community group relationships involved. The Tennessee Valley Authority, for example, has made a fetish of local participation; its grass-roots program is justly famous.

There is no intention to assert that the higher the degree of local participation in a state or federal program the better administered or even the more democratic the program will be. Much depends on the type of devolution and the type of local participation. To leave a program of national or state policy to be run at the discretion of certain local agencies or groups may well mean that the national or state policy may be compromised.

Without attempting to explore the controversy, it may be said that the long established TVA program of dealing with the farmers through the local extension services and using test demonstration farm patterns has probably meant that the benefits of its farm program have not penetrated at all well to large sectors of the farm population. The TVA found a going local program and associated itself with that program. It is, therefore, by its policy of devolution to the existing local agencies, inevitably shaped into the pattern produced by the dominant local agencies and individuals.

In conclusion, then, it may be suggested that participation by local citizens in their government is not being lost as the pattern of local government is slowly changed. There is still local citizen participation in federal and state programs, and the opportunity for activity and leadership in public affairs in an effective manner may even become greater as the importance of elected rural local officials diminishes.

Seeing the Whole Picture

What is missing as the pattern of government changes is not participation by the local individuals in their own government. It may well be that the pattern of participation is too diverse, too scattered or too disintegrated. Participating in this chamber of commerce activity or that civic club campaign or this farm bureau or parent-teachers meeting, or serving on an advisory committee, may well constitute a more active and effective form of self-government than is involved in electing the tax assessor once every four years.

What may be lacking in the pattern of local rural self-government is any real opportunity for the citizens to see their public problems as a whole, in their entirety. On the national level the essential elements of the whole governmental program are subject to review by the presidency and by Congress. In council-manager cities there is similarly a single focal point where all of the problems and their inter-relationships to some degree converge. Generally speaking, there is no such central point in rural government in Alabama or in other states where local self-government can be focused. But that is another problem.

Kansas City Leaps a River

State Supreme Court upholds its right to annex territory from neighboring Clay County over protests of new citizens.

By WILLIAM O. WINTER*

ON THE first of January 1950 Kansas City moved men and materiél across the icy waters of the Missouri River into twenty square miles of area in Clay County, Missouri. It was like an army invading hostile territory, for the people of the Clay County area had not given their consent to joining the city. Legally they had had no voice in the matter. The voters of Kansas City decided by charter amendment in 1946 to annex the area and, under Missouri law, that decision controlled. Only intervention of the courts could stop the annexation and the courts had been friendly to Kansas City.

This invasion was both an end and a beginning. It was the end—or virtually the end—of a long legal and political battle to establish the right of Kansas City to expand, and it was the beginning of one of the most imaginative efforts to direct urban growth that has been seen in this country in decades.

The struggle between Kansas City and its fringe was actually never seriously in doubt. Annexation law and procedure in Missouri was well established, especially in the case law, and the citizens of the fringe spent fruitless months and labor to achieve the dubious satisfaction of having an already definite set of legal rules spelled out even more definitely. On January 1, 1950, Kansas City annexed the area in fact; in May 1950 the Missouri Supreme Court gave the city complete legal possession.

It all began with an idea that originated atop Kansas City's skyscraper city hall, in the office of the city manager. Kansas City had not grown in the way of the normal city. To the west lay the Missouri-Kansas border; to the north, the Missouri River. As a result the city had developed in a quarter of a circle. Its business and administrative heart lay near the junction of the state line and the Missouri River, and from this center its boundaries had extended nine miles to the south and five miles to the east. Thus, because of sheer distance, expansion to the south was becoming ever more difficult. Expansion to the east was just as inadvisable but for another reason—the area was literally a suburban slum.

Yet the city had to expand. In the words of the city manager, it was "bursting at the seams." After much effort and expense, for example, a great new area for industrial development was being opened up within the city. This district, lying in the flood plain of the Missouri and known as the Northeast Bottoms, was recognized as being potentially the industrial heart of Kansas City. It had not developed greatly in the past because of the danger of floods, but a new levee system had been built to protect it from all but the most catastrophic of floods. City officials knew that as soon as industry began moving into the Bottoms, where to house the working force would become a serious problem. The solution lay to the north of the river in undeveloped Clay County.

---

*Until his recent resignation, Dr. Winter was a research associate with the Bureau of Government at the University of Michigan. He is now assistant professor of government at Southern Illinois University.

The river had always barred urban development of an extensive sort in Clay County. A few square miles of land in the valley on the north side of the river, occupied mostly by industry, was incorporated some years ago into the city of North Kansas City. Along the bluffs of the river and beyond were the scattered dwellings of a small number of suburbanites. From this area it was literally possible for an energetic office worker to walk to work in the Kansas City business district. A less energetic person could drive in ten or fifteen minutes.

The plan was nurtured quietly, almost in secrecy. Then on August 19, 1946, the first gun was fired. An ordinance was introduced in the city council to put on the ballot at the next general election a charter amendment to redefine the city boundaries to include a substantial portion of the Clay County territory. This was met with a barrage from north of the river. On August 20 the board of aldermen of North Kansas City passed an ordinance annexing part of the territory desired by Kansas City and on September 10, 1946, the voters of North Kansas City ratified the annexation ordinance at a special election.

The Kansas City charter amendment was ratified at the November 1946 election. Its effective date, however, was set at January 1, 1950.

Immediately Kansas City instituted quo warranto proceedings through the attorney general of the state to question the right of North Kansas City to the Clay County area. Kansas City claimed prior rights since it had begun annexation proceedings first.

The trial court upheld Kansas City's claim and the case was appealed to the Missouri Supreme Court. In 1949 the Supreme Court appointed a commissioner who, upon hearing arguments by both sides, ruled in favor of Kansas City. Thereupon the court permitted Kansas City to begin servicing the area upon the effective date of the charter amendment and rejected North Kansas City's petition also to offer municipal services.

Procedures Challenged

The case was finally argued in January 1950 with Kansas City on one side and North Kansas City and the residents of the annexed area on the other. The principal arguments advanced against annexation by the latter were: (1) that Kansas City had no power to annex territory and (2) that the annexation was unreasonable.

The attorneys argued that Kansas City was without statutory or constitutional power to annex by charter amendment. They claimed that the power of a city cannot legally be made to extend beyond its geographical borders. A municipal charter can have reference only to the city itself, they argued; it cannot by charter amendment be made to extend to surrounding areas.

In Missouri it is possible to attack a city's annexation on the grounds of unreasonableness. North Kansas City and the citizens of the Clay County region claimed that the annexation was not only unreasonable but unfair. North Kansas City had prior rights in the area, they said. This annexation was nothing more than a land-grabbing attempt. The area was not needed by the city at all.

Court Bolsters Home Rule

The Supreme Court of Missouri handed down a final decision on the case in May of this year. Unanimously it upheld Kansas City's claim. In a strongly worded decision the court rejected the arguments of North Kansas City, even commented adversely upon the intemperate language of the counsel from north of the river.

The passage of the ordinance to put the annexation amendment on the ballot and the approval of the amendment by the Kansas City electorate made a prima facie case for reasonableness, said the court. Such action could not be lightly dismissed; on the contrary, it had to be given great weight. Even though North Kansas City would be encircled, moreover, and would thus become an enclave within the larger city, the annexation could not be called unreasonable. The court felt that since North Kansas City was but a satellite to the main city its needs must be subordinated.

The mere fact that a large and somewhat unruly river would separate the two parts of the city, the court went on, was no criterion of unreasonableness. Nor would the city's being in two counties create an insuperable obstacle. The river could be more adequately bridged and with legislative assistance the two-county problem could be solved. The court found also that the Clay County area was contiguous with the city, was badly needed by the city for its future growth and development and was suitable for urban utilization.

While in 1949 only about 20 per cent of the area was devoted to urban purposes, the other 80 per cent, even though it was still being farmed, was assuming an urban character. Already there were 80 platted subdivisions and land values ranged from $400 to $1,100 an acre, clear evidence that on the market the land was considered urban. Clay County Water District No. 1 distributed water bought from Kansas City to about 2,400 customers.

In examining the claim of illegality the court added another room to the home rule edifice. It is true, said the court, that there is no specific constitutional or legislative authorization for a home rule city to annex by charter amendment. But none is needed. Local self-determination is legitimate even for matters of annexation.

"The citizenship of the state,"

reads the decision, "plainly intended to give [home-rule] cities the right to determine for themselves the kind of charter under which they should live. But no intention appears to stifle growth and expansion. . . . The power to . . . annex and the right to grow in area by such annexation are necessarily and fairly implied in and are incident to the power of charter adoption and amendment expressly granted by the constitution. . . . Specific legislative authority to extend [Kansas City's] limits is unnecessary."[1]

Under this decision not only Kansas City but also other home rule cities in Missouri may expand their boundaries, secure in the knowledge that unless the expansion is completely unreasonable the courts will not overrule the action. Only in Texas is such doctrine so firmly established in the case law. It is encouraging that the courts of two important home rule states have added substantially to the scope of local discretionary power.

Kansas City Points Way

In annexing the Clay County area Kansas City has looked far ahead. Few cities in recent years have made such imaginative plans for the future. Indeed, by this annexation Kansas City has assured itself of a future.

To deny a city the right to expand in area is often to deny individuals the choice of whether to live in the city or in the fringe—the incorporated or unincorporated suburbs. If both vacant lands and desirable lots within the city limits have become virtually non-existent, the individual has no choice; he becomes a suburbanite whether he wants to or not. That is what was about to happen to Kansas City. If the legislative and case law on annexation had been the same in Missouri as it is in many states, the city would have found it difficult, if not impossible, to annex any area at all. Literally thousands of people who would like to live within the city would find such a thing impossible.

The probabilities are that most of the urban growth within the Kansas City metropolitan district will take place during the next few years in the twenty square miles just annexed. That area would have soon grown into an urban community—or a series of urban communities—even if Kansas City had not annexed it. But now the extension of city services and controls will add immensely to its attractiveness. More than that, the city will be able to control its growth. The entire district is attractive, only a minute portion is devoted to substandard dwellings. Much of it is hilly and wooded and offers countless building sites for all types of dwellings. Close to the heart of the city, it is ideal for urban development.

The Clay County area will benefit from the annexation as much as will Kansas City. The section can be utilized to its fullest advantage only by the imposition of municipal controls and now those controls are in effect. Realization of this fact contributed in no small part to the decision by the city to annex. In 1946 City Manager Cookingham predicted that if the development of the area were not directed by the proper administrative techniques, "not only the broad spaces and present environment of today will disappear but blight and decay will appear."[2]

---

[1] *State ex inf. Taylor ex rel. Kansas City* v. *North Kansas City*, 228 S. W. (2nd) 762 (1950).

Annexation is but another word for integration—political and administrative integration of tributary areas with the city. Primarily, the difficulties with annexation are legal, not political or financial. Too much has been made of both the political and financial obstacles. Opposition of the fringe to integration with the city cannot be given much weight. In the Kansas City annexation, the citizens of Clay County were not asked whether they wished to join the city. But is this an injustice? Should a small neighborhood outside the city limits—or a large one—be given the right to outvote the entire city? A city is not merely an accidental union of neighborhoods; it is an organism, interdependent in all its parts. Annexation should be evaluated with this fact in mind.

The cities of America are fragmentized; their boundaries are highly artificial. There is enough daily ebb and flow of people over those boundaries to eradicate them, quickly and for all time, were they not traced indelibly in statutes, ordinances or charters. Annexation is a practical means of making the political city conform more nearly with the natural city. Kansas City has excellently pointed the way. So have Dallas, Fort Worth and Houston. So have the cities of Virginia. They well show that if cities are allowed to solve their area difficulties at home or, as in the case of Virginia, if a reasonable annexation code is evolved, one of the great urban problems of today can be met decisively.

---

[2] L. P. Cookingham, "Building for Tomorrow," *Bulletin* of the Community Councils of Kansas City, Missouri, September-October, 1946, page 2.

They All Get into the Show

Drastic change in setup of Oklahoma legislative council makes every legislator a member instead of chosen few.

By **DON L. BOWEN***

BY AN act of the 1949 legislature the Oklahoma Legislative Council made up of a small group of legislative members was replaced by a new council in which every legislator was made a member. This change, one of the few basic modifications in the legislative council idea since establishment of the first successful council in Kansas in 1933,[1] not only has resulted in significant changes in the organization and function of Oklahoma's legislative council but may well point to a new direction of the legislative council movement as a whole. Added weight is given this possibility by similar action of the 1949 Nebraska legislature.

Until the Oklahoma innovation, legislative councils, now existing in over half the states, had always been composed of a limited number of members from each house of the legislature with an attached research staff. Working under various names[2] this newest and most comprehensive legislative service agency is essentially a permanent joint interim committee having as its principal responsibility the development of factual information on matters of legislative concern. Usually associated with this function have also been policy decisions and legislative program planning. The first Oklahoma council, which began operations in 1947,[3] followed this pattern of the typical council in both organization and function.

The success of the council idea, especially in the case of the older agencies, is uncontested. Legislative councils have supplied both the vitality and the instrument for returning the legislature to the responsible and informed agent contemplated in a government based upon the principle of separation of powers.

Ironically, however, this very effectiveness in preparing a planned and informed legislative program has sometimes been the source of opposition to the council. This was true in Oklahoma where the efficacy of the legislative council was generally acknowledged but the council itself was not popular with members of the legislature.

There were several reasons for this. Established as a select group with its activity publicized in the newspapers, it was almost inevitable that certain friction would occasionally develop between those members of the legislature who were not on the council and those who were. Closely associated with this difficulty was the belief that the council was absorbing functions which properly belong to the legislature. This feeling was at least partially generated by the pre-session build-up which the council program received through the newspapers and other news media. Some legislators felt they were placed in a position of being compelled to accept or at least give serious consideration to a program which they had no direct hand in developing.

---

*Mr. Bowen is assistant professor of government at the University of Oklahoma. During the past year he was on leave of absence, serving as research director, then acting director, for the Oklahoma State Legislative Council.

[1] A legislative council was set up in Michigan in 1932 but was abolished in 1939, the only instance in which a legislative council, once established, has been abolished.

[2] For example, Legislative Counsel Bureau in Nevada, Joint State Government Commission in Pennsylvania, Legislative Research Commission in Kentucky, Legislative Research Committee in Maine and Minnesota, Legislative Advisory Commission in Indiana.

[3] An act setting up the council was passed in 1939, but the council did not receive an appropriation until 1947.

These difficulties and the subsequent change were explained by one release given large circulation in smaller papers throughout the state.

"The new legislative council which will start functioning with its first meeting next month will have a high mark to shoot at. There are few who question that its predecessor scored a conspicuous success, although a number of hot barrages were leveled at it in the recent legislative session. . . .

"All but a small portion of the far-reaching program was enacted into law. . . . This achievement is regarded as remarkable, in view of the early failures of similar legislative groups in other states. They have had to wear down a great deal of prejudice and jealousy before winning acceptances."

The *Tulsa Tribune* of July 20, 1949, with statewide circulation, put the change like this on its editorial page:

"At the time a gentleman from West Oklahoma introduced the resolution in the last legislative session proposing that all members of both houses be made members of the Oklahoma Legislative Council, we condemned the idea. But it went through with a whoop and a holler. The first council of restricted membership had earned a good press and the other solons were jealous. There is no one harder to deal with than a jealous legislator."

These "personality" and "little or super legislature" obstacles which the Oklahoma council faced are typical of those which many new councils have had to overcome and which still badger the operations of some of the older councils by lending a certain amount of inescapable restraint or fear to council operations. These feelings, consciously or unconsciously, have perhaps also worked against a more rapid expansion of the council movement.[4]

New Plan Outlined

In an effort to overcome the difficulties which faced Oklahoma's initial legislative council, backers of the idea supported the unprecedented action of the 1949 legislature. Since there are 115 members of the House of Representatives and 44 members of the Senate, the Oklahoma Legislative Council is now composed of 159 members.

The council is headed by a chairman and vice chairman filled alternately each biennium by the president pro tempore of the Senate and the speaker of the House of Representatives. These officers also serve in the same manner as chairman and vice chairman for a 25-man executive committee composed of ten senators appointed by the president pro tempore of the Senate and fifteen representatives appointed by the speaker of the House. This committee is charged with carrying on the administrative affairs of the council between full council meetings.[5] Its principal duties are to coordinate the activities of the study committees and to hire the council's staff. The executive committee functions as an administrative committee only and in no sense is a select legislative council as it might first appear to be.

---

[4] See for instance W. Brooke Graves, *American State Government,* third edition. D. C. Heath, Boston, 1946, page 346; and Frederic H. Guild, "Legislative Councils: Objectives and Accomplishments," *State Government,* September 1949, page 219.

Study and investigative work of the council is carried on through a series of twelve standing committees each member of the council entitled by law to membership on two. In addition special committees can be appointed for interim work to deal with temporary or highly particularized problems.[6]

This council committee system is distinct and separate from the House and Senate committee system of the legislature. There is, however, a strong tendency for members of the council to select committees similar to those on which they serve during the legislative session where such exist. For example, members of the House and Senate education committees have generally selected the council education committee.

Since regular legislative committees are appointed (by the speaker in the House and the rules committee in the Senate), legislators do not always draw the same assignments they would if they had free choice in the matter. Because of this, the self-selection committee assignment plan of the council has resulted in some shifts, certain committees being naturally more popular than others. The council's roads and highways committee and revenue and taxation committee are relatively large, for instance, with other committees being correspondingly smaller. This self-selection principle has not offered serious difficulty. All committees are large enough to be representative and no committee is unwieldy.[7]

Each committee in its study and investigation functions as a separate entity in dealing with those problems which fall within its range and at the completion of its meetings and study will submit its report to the full council for approval.

---

[5] Both the full council and the executive committee meet at the call of the chairman, rules of the council providing, however, that the full council meet at least once prior to each legislative session. Since the 1949 reorganization, the executive committee has met once and the full council twice.

[6] Three such committees have thus far been appointed: workmen's compensation, effect of unitized oil operations and farming operations at state mental institutions. Special committee members are appointed by the chairman of the council and can serve on such groups in addition to holding membership on two standing committees.

[7] Standing committee membership is: agriculture 34, appropriations and budget 29, conservation 15, education 26, judiciary 16, legislative methods, practices and procedures 9, labor, commerce and industries 21, public health and welfare 12, revenue and taxation 63, roads and highways 61, state and local government 9, veterans and military affairs 9.

The council staff works with each standing and special committee in arranging meetings and providing clerical, research and other informational needs.

Nebraska Action

In Nebraska an act of the 1949 session also brought all members of the legislature into the legislative council. Internal organization of the Nebraska council differs from the Oklahoma plan, however. The chairman and vice chairman are elected by the council membership.

An executive board consisting of the council chairman, speaker of the legislature and chairman of the committee on committees of the legislature is responsible for matters of general policy of the council. The executive board designates and appoints council committees and assigns subjects for committee study. At the present time each member of the council is on at least one committee. There has not been a full meeting of the Nebraska council thus far.

Nebraska's change may have a somewhat different meaning from Oklahoma's because of its unicameral legislature with a membership of 43 as contrasted to Oklahoma's bicameral system with a membership of 159. Nevertheless, it attracts interest, paralleling as it does, both in timing and substance, Oklahoma's modification of the legislative council idea.

Advantages and Disadvantages

In operation, Oklahoma's revamped legislative council principle offers several advantages over the traditional plan. One of the most apparent is the automatic and effective dispelling of any feelings which might develop between those who are on the council and those who are not. In the same fashion the complaint of "super legislature" is also eliminated. Every member of the legislature is a member of the council and, through committee assignments, participates in the study and formation of the council program. This feeling of participation removes one of the basic impediments the usual council faces in preparing and seeking favorable legislative consideration of its program.

Participation of every legislator in council activities has advantages from an educational viewpoint. No longer is interim study of legislative problems confined to a handful of members of the state's lawmaking body. Now it is a continuing endeavor of the entire membership and each legislator profits immediately and directly from interim study activities. This activity, of course, except for full council meetings, is confined largely to the areas of committee assignment. Reports and minutes of committees are distributed to all council members, however, and to the extent that these are utilized by council membership the study area of individual members is broadened.

Closely related to this feature of Oklahoma's new council are two others which may provide partial answers to other basic state legislative problems. In time continuous interim study of legislative problems by all members of the legislature through the council organization may, as a practical matter, well approximate a continuous session of the legislature as far as committee activity is concerned, with the formal legislative session being confined largely to consideration of committee reports.

This expedition of legislative business may in turn be facilitated by the fact that committees of the council, being composed of members from both houses, are in a manner of speaking "joint" committees. This should provide an important aid for cooperation between the two houses when the legislature is in session.

Consideration of the advantages of Oklahoma's modification of the legislative council idea, however, should not convey the impression that implementation of the plan will be without problems. As a practical matter there are several difficulties which must be guarded against. The most important of these is that of administering and coordinating such a large interim group. This problem is a joint burden of the executive committee, the director of the council's staff and committee chairmen. Also important is the maintenance of interest on the part of individual legislators. Without this most essential ingredient the operation of the council would be impossible. Working with such a large group may also intensify council staff needs. This factor, together with participation by all members of the legislature, may also have some effect upon the budget requirements of the new council.[8] Thus far, however, these possible difficulties, discussed with concern by many supporters of the council idea at the time the new plan was adopted, have not assumed serious proportions.

Operation of Plan

Whether the new Oklahoma council will live up to its blueprint expectations is yet to be determined. The recent special session of the legislature, convened for the important job of vitalizing and appropriating a $36,000,000 state institution building bond issue, has given a partial answer to this question, however. Through the council a great deal of preparatory work relating to the complicated problems of the bond issue was accomplished and the legislature, in cooperation with the governor, was able to complete in one month a workmanlike job which pre-session speculators had estimated would take up to three or four months.

Currently the committees of the council are meeting and research work is being conducted in preparation of submission of proposals to the full council some time this fall. These proposals of committees when acted upon by the full council will constitute the council's recommendations to the legislature.

Complete determination of the success of the new Oklahoma plan must wait until at least the next session of the legislature. But if subsequent operations prove as successful as initial tests, Oklahoma may have made a significant contribution to American state government.

---

[8] Council members receive no compensation, other than their regular pay as legislators of $100 per month, except mileage allowance of 6 cents a mile to and from meetings.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Strong Mayor Charter Drafted for Philadelphia

Provides Managing Director Over Certain Departments

A SPECIAL drafting committee of the Philadelphia Charter Commission submitted a proposed strong mayor type of charter to the commission on September 6. Public hearings are expected to begin soon, and Frederic D. Garman, city council president and chairman of the charter commission, has also asked "every citizen who can do so to submit comments and suggestions by letter." The draft will be considered again by the commission after the hearings, and the final product will be submitted to popular vote, presumably in the spring of 1951.

Surveys have been made and public hearings have been held during the year to aid in preparing the draft. Outstanding features of the proposal include:

A mayor would be elected as chief executive; he would be limited to two successive terms of four years each.

The mayor would appoint, with approval of the council, a managing director who would exercise supervision over most city departments and appoint their operating heads, with the mayor's approval; these departments to be police, fire, health, streets, recreation, assistance and institutions, utilities, licenses, records, and city development. The functions of these departments are thoroughly rearranged, compared to the present setup. The managing director must have had at least five years' experience as a management or business executive.

The mayor would appoint the city solicitor with council approval. He would also appoint a director of finance, a personnel director and a city representative, a human relations commission (succeeding the present fair employment practices commission), a civil service commission (appointed from nominations of a civil service nominating panel made up of heads of various educational, civic, commercial and labor groups or institutions) and a board of pensions and retirement. The personnel director would be responsible for examinations, classifications and administration of the civil service system, the commission to have limited supervisory jurisdiction.

All employees would be under civil service except the mayor's appointees, department heads and deputies, and a few other exempt positions.

The city planning commission, zoning board of adjustment, board of building standards and appeals and art commission would be attached to the department of city development.

The director of finance, the city's chief financial, budget and accounting officer, would be appointed by the mayor from three names furnished by a panel made up of the president of the Clearing House Association, the chairman of the certified public accountants and the dean of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.

With the mayor's approval the director of finance would appoint the head of the department of collections (superseding the receiver of taxes now elected) and the head of the department of property and procurement.

The city representative is to have ceremonial, publicity and promotional duties.

The city controller and the city treasurer would be elected by the people.

The city council would consist of seventeen members, ten to be elected from districts and seven at large. Three of the latter would be minority representatives, as no party could nominate more than four and the voters may cast their ballots for only four. Council must redistrict after each decennial census, each district to consist of contiguous wards and to contain a tenth of the population, as closely as practicable. The present council has 22 members elected from eight districts, with as many as five to a district.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

City managers in **Massachusetts** have formed the Massachusetts City Managers' Association, headed by John B. Atkinson, manager at Cambridge. There are now twelve managers in cities and towns of that state and four other cities have approved the plan, to take effect in 1952.

The council-manager plan was adopted by a vote of 2,060 to 637 in **Pocatello, Idaho,** (1940 population 18,133) at a special election on September 19. The new government will go into effect on January 1, 1951.

Fairview, Oklahoma, (1,918) voted 349 to 82 on September 19 to change from its present weak mayor plan to the statutory council-manager plan, to take effect May 7, 1951.

A proposed town manager charter is expected to be voted on in **Amherst, Massachusetts,** in February 1951.

The city commission of **Bayonne, New Jersey,** has authorized a referendum at the May 1951 election on establishment of a charter commission. This action is interpreted as an effort to block the city manager campaign of the United Workers Organization, which desires a vote on the question in November of this year.

The **Pennsylvania** State Chamber of Commerce has been campaigning for legislation to permit Pennsylvania's 47 third-class cities to decide for themselves whether to adopt the council-manager plan. Such a bill was passed by the House of Representatives at the last session but was killed in the Senate.

The Pennsylvania Federation of Labor at its convention in May adopted a resolution in favor of the council-manager plan for third-class cities and of the sponsorship by the federation of a council-manager bill for such cities. It asked the cooperation of all labor organizations in the state to further this effort. The foreword to the resolution sets forth the features and advantages of the council-manager plan and states, "We believe that the city manager plan is superior to the mayor-council and commission systems."

The **Schuylkill Haven, Pennsylvania,** Taxpayers Association has unanimously voted for the borough manager plan and is urging its adoption on the borough council.

The city of **Imperial, Nebraska,** is considering placing the question of the manager plan on the ballot this year, according to Mayor Fay Smith.

Columbus, Nebraska, will vote on the council-manager plan October 31. Petitions have been filed with the city council by a citizens' committee.

Hoisington, Kansas, which has had

a commission-manager plan since 1924, voted in March to adopt a mayor-council-manager plan, as permitted under Kansas laws. This is similar to the plan adopted by **Great Bend** in April. Hoisington is now divided into four wards, with eight councilmen and a mayor. The present manager has held his position since 1927.

Voters of **Chanute, Kansas,** will decide on whether that city shall change from the commission plan to the council-manager plan at a special election on October 10.

An educational campaign to bring a vote this year on the manager plan is under way in **Miles City, Montana.**

Britton, Oklahoma, which has had the manager plan since 1949, recently voted to be annexed to Oklahoma City—which also has the manager plan.

The city commission of **San Antonio, Texas,** has announced a special election for December 19 on a proposed municipal civil service charter amendment. If adopted this would preclude a vote on a council-manager amendment, planned for next year, inasmuch as Texas law specifies that charters of home rule cities may not be amended more often than once in two years. Council-manager proponents are organizing a campaign to defeat the civil service amendment, which has various defects besides being a means of forestalling an election on the manager plan. The League of Women Voters has announced its opposition to the amendment.

The city council of **Perryton, Texas,** is reported to favor a change from the mayor-aldermen plan to the council-manager plan.

Nampa, Idaho, is to vote on the manager plan on November 25.

A proposed city manager ordinance was defeated at a referendum in **Albany, California,** by a vote of 1,922 to 2,703 on June 6.

A special election on the question of adopting the manager plan is expected to be held soon in **Hanford, California.**

Pasco, Washington, will vote on the manager plan on December 5. The two local newspapers and three radio stations are reported to be cooperative.

Petitions for a vote on the manager plan for **Portland, Oregon,** in November failed to obtain sufficient signatures before the deadline, August 19. Although favored by Mayor Dorothy McCullough Lee, the plan was not supported by the two daily newspapers.

A movement for adoption of the manager plan is reported in progress in **Halifax, Nova Scotia.**

A campaign for the manager plan is under way in **Durban, South Africa,** with the support of the burgesses and the Action Committee for Municipal Reform.

Attendance at state manager meetings earlier this year was 62 in Auburn, Maine, fifteen in Madison, Wisconsin, twelve in Skokie, Illinois, and twenty-five in Woodhull Lake, Michigan (for southeastern Michigan managers). A city manager institute was held in Orono, at the University of Maine, August 28-31.

Mississippi Committee Urges Municipal Changes

The Legislative Municipal Affairs Study Committee, a joint Senate and House recess committee created by the Mississippi legislature in 1948 to study municipal authorities, functions, taxation, finances, etc., has rendered a printed report, with recommendations, to the 1950 legislature.

The committee was established because of the increased demands for municipal services, the decline in municipal revenues and the existing confusion and duplication in municipal statutes. It was given an appropriation of only $15,000 but had the cooperation and assistance of the Mississippi Municipal Association and municipal officers, of the Economic Council and of the Society of Certified Public Accountants of that state. It worked closely with the County Affairs Study Committee, likewise created in 1948. It collected financial and tax data from the municipalities and included such data in its report.

The committee stressed the need for recodification of municipal laws and presented a general recodification bill, together with 25 other proposed bills on special subjects.

Among recommendations are these:

Requirement of municipal budget systems—even some of the larger cities being found without budgets;

A uniform municipal accounting system, to be prescribed by the state auditor, who shall also assemble municipal financial information for the legislature;

Audits for all municipalities of over 1,000 population;

Popular election only for mayor and aldermen, or other such municipal governing authorities, with four-year terms;

No further incorporation of villages which have less than 300 inhabitants;

Municipal expansion to be adjudicated in chancery court rather than in county circuit courts before juries;

Abolition of fee system of remuneration;

Better assessment practices;

Additional municipal revenue by transfer of five-sixths of amusement taxes and $500,000 of insurance taxes, now state-collected, and giving municipalities local business privilege taxes and a beer tax.

Employee Classification Surveys in Three Cities

The Civil Service Assembly reports that work was begun late in July on a classification and salary plan for nearly 100,000 positions in the service of New York City. Exempt from the survey are firemen, policemen, teachers, transportation employees and mechanics or laborers whose pay is set by prevailing levels. Former Mayor O'Dwyer announced that no one presently in the classified service will have his salary reduced as a result of the survey and routine promotions and pay adjustments will not be affected.

A classification and planning survey of about 1,300 employees of Phoenix, Arizona, is expected to be completed early in 1951. The Portland, Oregon, city council has adopted a new salary plan based on a survey early in 1950; it provides salary ranges representative of prevailing levels on the Pacific coast.

Unemployment Insurance for City Employees

City employees of New Rochelle, New York, are now covered by unemployment insurance under a recent amendment to the New York State labor law which provides that governmental subdivisions, such as counties, cities, towns, villages, public authorities, fire districts and improvement districts, have the option of providing unemployment protection for their workers. Coverage extends only to regular fulltime employees laid off through no fault of their own. It does not extend to teachers because they are not in the classified service.

Unlike private employers and employees, no regular contributions to the state unemployment insurance fund are required from the governmental unit or from its employees. However, the city will make payments to the state for the insurance when benefits are actually paid to former employees. Currently, unemployment payments in New York are $26 weekly for thirteen weeks, according to the Municipal Finance Officers Association.

California City Councilmen Take Short Course

Under a recently devised training program sponsored by the mayors' and councilmen's department of the League of California Cities, more than 200 newly elected councilmen attended institutes in Los Angeles and Berkeley. Included among lecture topics were: the job of the councilmen, councilmen and the law, finance administration, fire, police, recreation and parks, public works, personnel administration, city planning and public health.

The institutes will be repeated at two-year intervals by the California league after the April elections in the even-numbered years when more than 240 cities elect new councilmen.

Cincinnati and Dallas Train City Drivers

Cincinnati and Dallas have recently undertaken driver training "clinics" for employees who regularly drive city owned automotive equipment. A similar activity by Schenectady, New York, was described in these pages last month. Cincinnati has a three-day safety school; Dallas a one-day clinic. Since the opening of the latter in February the accident rate among the 800 city drivers has been reduced by more than 20 per cent.

Examiners of the United States Civil Service Commission recently underwent a related type of training. They, in turn, will conduct the training for prospective government truck drivers and chauffeurs.

International Local Authorities Union Stresses Education

The 1951 congress of the International Union of Local Authorities is scheduled for June, probably in Brighton, England. The chief topic will be local authorities and education; the second topic, water supply. In preparation for the meeting, representatives of each country have been asked to prepare reports on both subjects as to the situation in their respective nations. A printed questionnaire concerning education has been distributed as a guide for reports on that topic.

Old-Age Insurance for State and Local Employees

Amendments to the Federal Social Security Act, under House Resolution 6,000 as adopted by Congress, extend old age and survivors insurance to several occupational categories not previously covered, including various kinds of self-employed individuals, domestic, agricultural and government employees. A summary issued by the Municipal Finance Officers Association states:

"One of the changes made by this bill extends the old-age and survivors insurance provisions to employees of states and local governments not already covered by a local retirement system, by means of optional federal-state agreements, except employees of publicly owned transportation systems who are covered compulsorily under certain conditions. Employees who are already covered by an established state or local retirement system are excluded from social security coverage by means of a specific exemption. State and local government employees who are made eligible for coverage include those performing proprietary and nonproprietary duties. Coverage of such employees would be accomplished by the adoption of an enabling act by the state legislature, embodying provisions consistent with the Social Security Act requirements and acceptable to the federal administrator."

Reorganization Agencies in 27 States

With the addition of Kentucky, Maine and Rhode Island 27 states and two territories now have reorganization studies completed or under way, under agencies dealing with analyses of state administrative organization and problems of fiscal policy and tax revenue.

The Kentucky legislature recently created the Committee on Functions and Resources of State Government. The governor was authorized to appoint not more than 25 members, and $25,000 was made available annually for the fiscal years 1950-51 and 1951-52. The committee will work with the Legislative Research Committee in making a comprehensive survey of the requirements and responsibilities of the state government and a study of the state tax structure.

The president of Bates College will head a 56-member Tax Revision Commission recently appointed by Governor Frederick G. Payne of Maine. The scope of the study will be much larger than the title of the commission indicates. The group will study not only revenue sources but also the manner in which tax funds are spent.

Rhode Island has authorized its governor to appoint a permanent seven-member Fiscal Advisory Council which will examine the governmental structure on state and local levels to determine what savings may be made without disrupting essential services and activities. The tax structure also is to be studied and consideration given to the feasibility of a permanent tax system. The legislature has appropriated $25,000 with which to employ staff assistance as required and to pay the traveling expenses of the council.

Oregon to Vote on Constitutional and Other Measures

A so-called "balanced plan" of reapportionment for the legislature of Oregon will be voted on at the November general election as a proposed constitutional amendment. This is the plan sponsored by the Oregon Farm Bureau and others,[1] which would supersede the existing constitutional requirement to apportion according to each county's ratio of population and would discriminate against Multnomah County, containing Portland, the state's largest city.

Three other proposed constitutional amendments will be voted on in November, having been referred to the people by the legislature. The first of these would raise the annual pay of state legislators to $600, the present limit being $400. The proposed amendment also removes a present limit of twenty days for special sessions.

Two other proposed amendments would authorize the use of state credit (1) to finance buildings for higher education and (2) to augment the Oregon war veterans' fund for aiding veterans to acquire farms and homes.

Also referred to popular vote, by a referendum petition, is the Needy Aged Persons Public Assistance Act (HB 436) which was adopted by the legislature in April 1949 and is under suspension pending the referendum. This act, if approved, will supersede the so-called Dunne initiative act, approved by the people in November 1948 but deemed to be in conflict with federal provisions and declared inoperative by the state attorney general.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, May 1950, page 243.

Juvenile Courts Aided by Proposed Florida Amendment

Five proposed constitutional amendments are to be voted on by the people of Florida, the legislature having approved them in 1949. Their significance is set forth in a booklet by Hulda Grobman of the Public Administration Clearing Service, University of Florida.

The first proposal would permit the legislature to establish juvenile courts in any county or district of more than one county and to vest in such courts exclusive original jurisdiction of all or any criminal cases involving minors. Although a few Florida counties now have juvenile courts the constitution requires that criminal acts of youths as well as adults be tried in the regular courts; and legislative efforts to establish a modern system of handling juvenile delinquents have been frustrated by constitutional limitations.

The next amendment would substitute the federal census for the special state census (taken half way between federal census years) in reapportionment of the House of Representatives and in "population acts." This would mean a large saving of money and effort; but it is pointed out that the preceding federal census is to be used "unless otherwise ordered by the legislature" — discretion that might be abused.

The third proposal requires the reenactment and publication of only such sections, subsections or paragraphs of an amended act as may contain changes, instead of reenactment and publication of the entire section or sections amended. It is intended to save printing costs and legislators' time in the reading and study of amending legislation.

The fourth amendment would establish Monroe County, containing Key West, as an additional judicial circuit separate from Dade County, containing Miami (160 miles distant), with which it is now linked.

The fifth would permit the election of an additional county judge in counties (Dade and Duval) of over 250,000 people, to help reduce crowded calendars and long delays.

Illinois to Vote on "Gateway" Amendment

A vigorous and concerted effort is being made to arouse the Illinois electorate to vote on the proposed "gateway" amendment to the state constitution, which would relax the present stringent restrictions on constitutional amendments.

The constitution now provides that the legislature may propose amendments; that if approved by a two-thirds vote of all members of each house an amendment shall be submitted to the people at the next election for the legislature, in such manner as it may prescribe; that a majority of all those voting at the election is necessary for adoption; that amendments to no more than one article of the constitution may be submitted at one time; and that amendments to the same article may not be submitted more often than once in four years.

The present proposal would change this procedure to the extent that either a majority of those voting at the election or two-thirds of those voting on an amendment will suffice for adoption; and that the legislature may submit amendments to as many as three articles at a time; and that future amendments may be submitted either on a separate ballot or in a separate column on the ballot, as the legislature may determine.

The Illinois Committee for Constitutional Revision, with many participating organizations, is working for the measure, which will be on a separate blue ballot on November 7. Such an amendment has been proposed six times in the last 58 years, but has been defeated, chiefly by public apathy and the need of a majority of all votes at a general election.

Connecticut School Commission Makes Statewide Survey

In Connecticut the Governor's Fact-Finding Commission on Education has concluded a statewide survey of schools, from nursery to adult classes, and has started a series of public hearings at which communities, professional educators and the commission's consultants will present recommendations, prior to rendition of a final report by the commission. The survey utilized a statewide advisory committee of officers and representatives of 50 lay and professional groups as well as community school study groups in 85 cities and towns.

Three States Cooperate in Care of Delinquents

A seven-man committee, representing the states of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, has recommended construction of a tri-state institution for care and treatment of mentally defective delinquents, according to the Council of State Governments. It would be constructed near the geographic center of the tri-state area. One state would assume a bonded obligation for construction costs, the other two to make capital contributions. It is proposed that maintenance costs be financed by a per capita charge upon the three states for each person committed to the institution.

The committee emphasized that defective delinquents do not belong in state hospitals for the mentally ill but often present too difficult a disciplinary problem in institutions for the mentally defective. The number of such delinquents in any of the three states is too small to warrant a separate institution. The committee also reported on treatment of alcoholics and the aged and made recommendations for further tri-state studies.

New York State Expands Training Plans

A selected group of 31 permanent New York State employees will receive a year's training in public administration. They will participate in a program together with the fourth-year group of public administration internes, who are chosen for high academic achievement from various universities. Both groups will meet during the year for a series of institutes in personnel management, budgeting, administrative analysis and other skills in administration. Separate departments will be responsible for other phases of the training of individuals assigned to them.

Employee-trainees will continue to hold their regular jobs on a part-time basis and will be paid their regular salaries. The mingling of these two groups is expected to increase the effectiveness of the program.

The graduate program for state employees, conducted jointly by Syracuse and New York Universities, will be continued, thus enabling New York State employees in Albany to work for a master's degree in public administration.

The in-service and student-interne program is administered by the New York State Civil Service Department through its Training Division.

Two Counties to Vote on Manager Plan

Charter Proposals Before Voters on November 7th

THE Board of Freeholders of Merced County, California, has drafted a home rule charter providing for a chief administrative officer to be appointed by the board of supervisors. His functions and powers would be those usually possessed by a county manager. The proposal will be submitted to a referendum on November 7 and, if a favorable vote is secured, it will go to the state legislature for final approval.

The supervisors would be elected from seven single-member districts for four-year overlapping terms and receive no compensation for their services. They would appoint the administrative officer for an indefinite term, who is directed to prepare an administrative code, appoint and remove subordinates, coordinate county activities, prepare the budget, plan county development, make financial reports, establish centralized purchasing, participate in board meetings without voting power, supervise county property and perform other duties as the board might direct.

The district attorney, board of education and justices of peace would continue to be elective. The board of supervisors would appoint the assessor, county counsel, clerk of the board, planning commission, health commission, recreation commission, personnel board and other boards or commissions not specified in the charter.

The administrative officer would appoint the county clerk, the engineer (who would be ex officio surveyor and road commissioner), librarian, recorder, director of welfare, finance officer, health officer, personnel clerk, purchasing agent, sheriff and other administrative personnel not specified by the charter. The charter requires adoption of a merit system and permits the recall of elective officers after six months. It prohibits the fee system of compensation.

Fairfax County Referendum

Voters of Fairfax County, Virginia, will finally have an opportunity to adopt a new charter. The board of supervisors has petitioned the judge of the circuit court, and he has agreed, to place two questions on the November 7 ballot. The first is, "Shall the county change its form of government"; the second, "In the event of such change which form of organization and government shall be adopted —county executive or county manager?" These are two slightly different optional charters approved by the legislature in 1932.

Action of the board of supervisors followed its receipt of a report from the Fairfax County Government Commission, appointed April 5 by the board. Previously a petition, signed by 2,100 voters, had asked a vote on the optional county manager plan. The League of Women Voters and other civic groups have long worked for a vote on the manager plan and have taken active part in public hearings before the study commission. The county's present form of government is the so-called executive secretary plan.

Onondaga County, New York, Drafts Manager Charter

In August the board of supervisors of Onondaga County—which includes the city of Syracuse and nineteen surrounding towns with a combined population of 340,875 — authorized the chairman of the board to appoint a joint committee of supervisors and citizen representatives to draft charter legislation looking forward to a county manager plan of government.

The committee has since been appointed and has held one organization meeting. Plans are being made for conducting the necessary inquiry and for drafting a bill to be introduced at the forthcoming session of the state legislature.

Appointment of the charter group was in response to a marked revival of interest in the question of county organization, both in Syracuse and in the towns. This revival occurred in February of this year when the Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau formally proposed a plan for a county manager form of reorganization. Supporting the bureau's proposal was a series of studies based upon an extensive examination of present county organization.

Onondaga County action coincides with a move originating with the Committee on Executive Form of County Government (the Marble committee) of the New York State legislature which, after enactment in 1950 of its recodification of general county law, has taken the responsibility for recodifying the fifteen year old optional forms of county government in New York State. These laws reflect the labors of the well known Mastick Commission and the pioneer efforts of Howard P. Jones, former secretary of the National Municipal League, in laying the foundation for county management in New York State.

It is the hope of the legislative committee that it will be possible to draft a county manager law which would have a broad appeal to counties throughout the state. Heretofore, interest in the matter has been confined to the largest and most populous counties. At present, Monroe County is operating under one of the standard options and Westchester and Nassau Counties are operating under special laws which call for an elective executive type of county government.

Richard A. Atkins, *Director*
Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau

Virginia Counties Discuss Manager Plan

The county manager plan continues to be very much in the news in Virginia. As noted above, Fairfax County will vote on the plan in November.

In Loudoun County, 650 voters have signed a petition, filed in circuit court, requesting that a date be set for a referendum on adoption of the "executive-manager form of government," according to the Richmond *Times-Dispatch.* The campaign for the signatures was led by the Loudoun County League of Women Voters.

In Frederick County a public meeting sponsored by the county board of agriculture was held recently in which the manager plan was the topic of discussion. Speakers included the county executive of Albemarle County and the field secretary of the League of Virginia Counties.

Baltimore Countians Seek Home Rule

The Baltimore County, Maryland, Charter Petition Committee, appointed several months ago by the county commissioners to secure the requisite 10,000 signatures to place the question of a home rule charter on the ballot in November 1950, recently issued a one-page leaflet in which it posed the following questions:

1. Do you believe it possible to reduce local taxes?
2. Should we shift authority over local laws from Annapolis to the county as permitted by our state constitution?
3. Do you think some sections of the county may be under-represented on the county board?
4. Are there additional services that you believe the county should render?

Explaining that, by signing the petition and voting for a charter board, the voter would indicate his desire to have these questions studied, the leaflet continued, "We are enlisting your support for a study to be made in this democratic manner irrespective of political party or faction. We are not part of any such group, and our sole interest is in letting the people decide this question for themselves."

Study of Mississippi Counties Issued

As its first publication the Social Science Research Center of Mississippi State College has issued a study on county finances.[1] It constitutes the major portion of a doctoral dissertation on Mississippi county government presented at the University of California, Los Angeles. It analyzes the revenue system, assessment of property, handling of funds, accounting and budget-making, and borrowing and indebtedness.

The author concludes that remarkable progress has been made in state-county relations in the past fifteen years, but that improved administrative organization, perhaps through the manager plan, is indicated. He states that, "Indications point to a growing awareness of the problems of the county and of its value as a bulwark of democracy 'at the grass roots.' These are hopeful signs and, with patience, persistence and enlightened effort, the county may be revitalized and fitted for the place in the democratic system to which its heritage entitles it."

Grenada County Seeks Administrative Reorganization

The editor of the *Grenada County, Mississippi, Weekly* recently proposed abolition of the system whereby each of the five county supervisors acts as administrative head of his area in the county in favor of a unified system. Based on his own experience as a county supervisor, the editor says: "We have five separate counties [or administrative units] in one small county. Each supervisor runs his own beat, employs his own men, buys his own equipment, sets his own standard of wages and is his own purchasing agent. Instead of putting the interest of the general county first in his heart, he makes that interest secondary to the interest of 'my beat' and I don't blame him for that's where he gets his votes."

Second Oregon County Has Planning Commission

Under authority of an enabling act passed by the Oregon legislature in 1947, Washington County recently organized a county planning commission of nine members. Since only Lane County previously had established such a commission, Washington County is the second government unit to act under the permissive legislation.

The commission will undertake a

(Continued on page 467)

---

[1] *County Finances in Mississippi,* by Gordon K. Bryan, State College, Mississippi, July 1950, 65 pages.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Denmark Elects New Folketing

P. R. Used for Lower House of Parliament

THE Folketing, lower house of the Danish Riksdag (parliament) was elected on September 5 under a party list form of proportional representation. The 1950 distribution of seats was almost exactly proportional to popular votes, whereas in 1947 there were some deviations from proportionality doubtless resulting from the districting, which was revised in 1948.

The Social Democrats remain the largest party, gaining two seats to hold 59 out of 149, although they obtained a somewhat smaller relative vote than in 1947. The remaining 90 seats were divided among five parties. The largest of these, the Agrarian Liberals, lost seventeen seats, retaining but 32. The Conservatives gained ten to hold 27 and the Single Tax party, which had come to notice by gains in the municipal election last March, doubled its small delegation to twelve. The Radical Liberals also obtained twelve seats, a gain of two, while the Communists lost two seats, leaving them with seven.

The election was precipitated by a dissolution of the lower house upon failure of the Social Democratic government of Premier Hans Hedtoft to obtain majority approval of a tax program and new economic controls. If the Social Democrats are still committed to those measures it is likely that a coalition of Conservative and Liberal parties will undertake to govern in spite of the slight increase in the Social Democratic delegation in parliament, according to a dispatch in the *New York Times* on September 6.

The results of the election, as reported by the Danish Information Office in New York City, are summarized in the table below. Changes over the 1947 election are shown in parentheses.

DANISH FOLKETING ELECTION, SEPTEMBER 5, 1950

Party	*Votes*	*Percentage of Votes*	*Seats*[a]	*Percentage of Seats*
Social Democratic	813,591	39.6 (—3.8)	59 (+ 2)	39.6 (+ 1.1)
Agrarian Liberal	437,952	21.3 (—5.4)	32 (—17)	21.5 (—18.4)
Conservative	365,298	17.8 (+5.7)	27 (+10)	18.1 (+ 6.6)
Justice Union (Single Tax)	168,418	8.2 (+3.8)	12 (+ 6)	8.1 (+ 4.0)
Radical Liberal	167,719	8.2 (+1.5)	12 (+ 2)	8.1 (+ 1.3)
Communist	94,495	4.6 (—2.0)	7 (— 2)	4.7 (— 1.4)
Others	6,407			
	2,053,879		149	

[a] There were 148 seats filled in the 1947 election. One seat was added when the country was redistricted in 1948. These figures do not include two seats for the Faroe Islands.

Malta Elects Parliament by Hare System of P. R.

Final results of the P. R. election in Malta, announced September 11, disclosed that of the 40 members of the new Maltese Parliament twelve belong to the Nationalist party, eleven to the Left-Wing Labor party, eleven to the Moderate Labor party, four to the Constitutional party and one to the Democratic Action group. One member is an independent. Malta has used the single transferable vote form of P. R.—the Hare system—since 1921.

British P. R. Society Issues Annual Report

Learning to Be Democrats is the title of the 1949-1950 report of the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain. It contains a comprehensive review of P. R. elections throughout the world during the past year as well as a discussion of the British parliamentary elections of February 1950. Activities and publications of the society are reported and places using P. R.—both the Hare system and the list system—are tabulated. The report (40 pages) may be secured from the society's office, 82 Victoria Street, London, S. W. 1, at one shilling.

P. R. League to Hold Annual Session

The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League will be held at the Hotel Statler, in Buffalo, New York, on Tuesday morning, November 21. The meeting will take place during the sessions of the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, November 20-22.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 465)

thorough study of county road needs to establish a system of priorities in the road improvement program and a study of subdivision regulations. When the county adopts regulations establishing subdivision standards, city planning jurisdiction over Washington County areas six miles beyond city limits will be terminated.

Activities Grow in Maryland Counties

Several Maryland counties have initiated new functions reflecting their growing urban characteristics, according to the *Newsletter* of the Maryland State Planning Commission.

Baltimore County, separate from the city of Baltimore, through its board of recreation in cooperation with civic and recreational groups, is developing a community recreation planning program. Twenty-seven public areas, embracing 375 acres currently, are the subject of planning and development. The county planning commission is making a study of industrial land use.

The Montgomery County Council recently appointed a twelve man commission for medical care to determine the need for additional hospital units, coordinate existing medical and hospital facilities and provide for a hospital and medical care program. Its personnel board has issued a handbook for employees, *You and Your Job with Montgomery County, Maryland.*

Rural in character is the program of the Frederick County forest conservancy district which recently set as its goal the planting of a million trees within the next year in the development of the Monocacy River watershed.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Money Rate Dispute Harbinger of Controls

Anti-inflation Program May Affect State-Local Finances

POSSIBLY the most important "war news" to break as summer 1950 drew to a close was a little publicized dispute between the United States Treasury and the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Banks. It was won, at least temporarily, by the "Fed," with results likely in one way or another to affect the fiscal affairs of state and local governments, as well as of private citizens and business, for some time.

Basically, the conflict revolves around the question whether the advantages of low interest rates for financing the Korean war and refinancing the debt legacy of World War II and the great depression are outweighed by the inflationary effects of a "cheap money" policy on the civilian economy. The Federal Reserve has for some time made no secret of its belief that money was too cheap, and there have been evidences of a growing reluctance on the part of its Open Market Committee (whose operations have "pegged" the price of U. S. government securities) to keep interest rates at their recent low level. The Treasury, on the other hand, has talked a cheap money policy and adhered to one in "rolling over" government bond and note issues as they matured and were refinanced.

The stage was set for the recent development by the maturity of two blocks of United States obligations on September 15 and October 1, totaling $13,570,000,000. When the federal budget is unbalanced, of course, large maturities are generally refunded, with the holders of the maturing obligations getting first call on the new issue. On August 18, after unofficial stories had broken news of the refinancing, the Treasury formally announced its plans for handling the September 15-October 1 refinancing. It would issue thirteen-month obligations, bearing a 1¼ per cent coupon, or a yield on an annual basis slightly less than that of the maturing obligations.

The same day the Treasury made its announcement, the Federal Reserve Board announced approval of an increase in the rediscount rate charged by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York to member banks from 1½ per cent to 1¾ per cent. This of itself might have had little effect on the proposed Treasury refinancing, but the Federal Reserve on August 21 implemented its decision by establishing an open market policy of buying all offered "rights" in maturing 1¼s at the rate set by the Treasury and of selling from its portfolio any necessary amounts of short-term Treasury obligations to yield higher figures. Within three weeks the Federal Reserve had increased its holdings of certificates of indebtedness and maturing bonds by $4,813,000,000 and decreased its holdings of short term government paper by $4,204,000,000.

While the success of the Treasury refinancing is assured—the Federal Reserve itself will apparently be the chief holder of subscription rights to the thirteen-month 1¼ per cent refunding obligations—the Federal Reserve has accomplished its purpose of making short term money somewhat dearer. Discount bills, yielding 1.16 per cent in mid-August, were up to 1.31 per cent by the first week in September, while smaller increases were shown by short term and intermediate term maturities. For the period, the one-year maturity rate was up from the vicinity of 1¼ per cent to a 1⅜ per cent basis.

This was, of course, news of a highly technical character, not for page one, but its significance extended to everyone for it was the first positive anti-inflationary move made since the Korean war boom began in July. To what extent the "Fed" by its action speeded up presidential approval of the economic stabilization act is not known, but it is not without interest that the Federal Reserve Board's promulgation of curbs on installment credit terms followed immediately on presidential approval of the law. It preceded, in fact, the president's own "belt tightening" address announcing establishment of the economic stabilization agencies.

The higher interest rates which have resulted from the Federal Reserve's action are not sufficiently high to cause dismay to state and municipal officials with large improvement programs still to be financed with borrowed money, but they are sufficient to constitute the psychological warning for which they were at least partially intended. To this writing, the market for municipal bonds has not shown much evidence of any effect one way or the other, a situation reflecting mainly continued lively interest in municipals by investors (heightened by proposed personal income tax rate increases) and by keen competition among dealers and other bidders. The situation seems to be that dealers expect an increase in rates on shorter maturities, but in the bidding no one is willing to shade bids for fear of losing out to competitors. Ultimately, cities and other local units will pay somewhat more for the money they borrow, but whether this will be a deterrent to the issuance of a continuing large volume of local government bonds remains to be seen.

San Francisco Voters Say No!

San Francisco voters refused to approve eight out of nine local ballot measures at the June 6 primary election to break a ten-year trend of approving ballot measures seemingly regardless of cost. Measures that were procedural in character involving no additional cost, as well as costly salary and pension proposals, were defeated.

A surprising thing about this upset was the substantial majorities polled against fire and police department salary increases. Previously both business interests and the general public apparently would give these departments anything they requested. In this election the police department salary raise lost by 119,000 to 71,000. Firemen who had circulated an initiative petition providing $420 per year increase to a maximum of $4,200 and secured 132,000 signatures, fared even worse. Their proposition polled only 83,855 votes with 107,261 against it. An important factor was the first effective organized citizen opposition to such proposals in a decade.

One must go back to the spring election of 1939 to find a similar outcome. Only one issue was on the ballot. A citizens committee used the referendum to place a new salary schedule for city hall employees on the ballot. It provided for $1,500,000 in salary increases and was defeated three to one. Prior to 1939 the public had repeatedly refused to approve fire and police pension measures granting greatly increased benefits. They also refused to pass most bond issues, the only exceptions being small school, airport, hospital and county jail bonds and so-called unemployment issues in the early depression period.

Since 1939 the voters have generally been liberal in their attitude towards spending measures. Bond issues authorized by the voters totaled $200,840,000. The policemen and firemen had appealed successfully to the public sixteen times for either improved pay or pension systems.

The record discloses no parallel in 50 years for the defeat of eight out of nine measures in the 1950 election.

Citizen opposition centered on the city and county employees salary measure. A proposed ordinance setting city employee salaries in accord with generally prevailing salaries in private employment in San Francisco and public jurisdictions in the state of California, which was compiled by the Civil Service Commission, was ignored by a majority of the board of supervisors who decided to use percentage increases across the board. The ordinance finally placed on the ballot provided for 8 per cent for employees up to $500 per month and 6 per cent for those receiving $501 to $833.33 per month with certain exceptions.

As a result of the election the taxpayers will not be forced to pay an additional $4,646,586 in taxes annually or 38.1 cents increase in the property tax rate on each $100 of assessed value. Whether the citizens' reaction was merely resentment at a ballot overloaded with city employee demands, or means that they have finally reversed their attitude towards free spending, time alone will tell. The best guess seems to be that the time when the public will approve any measure without regard to its cost has passed, at least for the present.

ALFRED F. SMITH, *Director*
Bureau of Governmental Research
San Francisco

Financial Reporting Recognized

A certificate of compliance, indicating adherence to the standards of municipal financial reporting recommended by the National Committee on Governmental Accounting, has been awarded by the committee and the Municipal Finance Officers Association to the nineteenth unit of government, Thetford Mines, Quebec.

The other eighteen units are: Saint-Jean, Quebec; Rockcliffe Park and township of Tisdale, Ontario; Berkeley, Oakland and Stockton, California; Detroit, Pontiac and Saginaw, Michigan; Barrington, Rhode Island; Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii; Chicago Park District, Illinois; Kansas City, Missouri; Knoxville Utilities Board, Tennessee; New Haven, Connecticut; Harrisonburg, Virginia; and the states of Michigan and Rhode Island.

If this seems a small list—and it is—it must be recognized that many otherwise excellent annual financial reports are ineligible for the certificate because the system of accounts and accounting classifications imposed by state law or city charter preclude complete adherence to the recommended system. More gratifying is the fact that a large number of municipal financial reports carry some note to the effect that, "This report follows the recommendations of the National Committee on Governmental Accounting to the extent compatible

(Continued on page 480)

Citizen Groups Probe City Operations

Little Hoover Commissions Help Solve Local Problems

CITIZEN advisory committees, frequently appointed by the mayor, have been lending their talents to cities in an effort to solve the many problems facing communities today. Sometimes known as "Little Hoover Commissions," many of them are doing an excellent volunteer job of analyzing local governmental affairs. Others, especially in large cities like Los Angeles and New York[1] are bringing in governmental experts to make recommendations and the city will foot the bill.

The Commission on the Economic Study of Milwaukee, composed of five citizens appointed by the mayor in 1948, completed in four months a comprehensive study with recommendations which has greatly benefited the city's economic situation.[2] Research for the project was supervised by Professor Harold M. Groves of the University of Wisconsin, who gave his time as a civic contribution. He assigned four graduate students to the project.

The Stamford (Connecticut) Citizens Committee to Study the City Government has made a comprehensive management survey which has cost neither the city nor the committee a penny. At the suggestion of the Stamford Good Government Association, the mayor of that city appointed a committee of five, whom the association recommended, to undertake the project. These men in turn appealed to public-spirited industries to supply a technical and professional staff. One firm provided an office for the staff. Seventeen engineers, methods men, accountants, etc., were assigned to the city departments.

In each department studies were made of: performance of the department's functions, its methods of operation and job analysis, efficiency of layout and personnel, use of labor-saving devices, existence of overlapping functions, efficiency and adequacy of supervision, and a comparison of costs with the same departments in cities elsewhere. Since the city and town of Stamford had consolidated in 1949 as a result of adoption by the voters of a consolidated charter, costs of running departments were compared also with costs under the previous dual setup.

Local business cooperated even to the extent of getting out the committee's report. Two firms, working together, turned it out in their own plants.[3]

The *Progress Report* to the mayor and city council of the Alameda (California) Citizens' Advisory Committee analyzes the work that group has already done and lists projects for the future. Its research has been conducted in five major fields: Comparative study of activities and policies of other citizens' advisory committees; studies of departmental expenditures and organization of Alameda compared with other selected cities; study of Alameda's tax structure as compared with that of other cities; preparation of a handbook on proposed capital improvements with alternative methods of programming and financing them; studies of the police and fire employees' pension system and certain other large municipal expenditures.

---

[1] See "Future of an Oversize City," by Luther Gulick, the REVIEW, July 1950, page 324.

[2] See "Economic Study Pays Off," by Bruno V. Bitker and William L. Slayton, the REVIEW, July 1949, page 324.

[3] *Report of the Citizens' Committee to Study the City Government.* Stamford Good Government Association, 1950, 131 pages. Price $1.

Organized in March 1950, under authority of the mayor and council, the committee is composed of 25 citizens divided into eight subcommittees: executive, municipal revenue, capital improvements, finance, parks and recreation, police and fire, public health and safety and general government.

A brief description of the work of several citizen advisory committees is contained in *People at Work* (eleven pages) prepared by Harry L. Morrison, Jr., executive secretary of the Alameda committee.

According to the report, in Santa Rosa, California, a committee of ten recommended a city manager to place the community on a businesslike basis, a sales tax to aid the city's exchequer, as well as numerous other improvements. In Toledo a committee of 55, appointed by the mayor, recommended that taxes be raised to pay off old debt, that capital improvements be put on a pay-as-you-go basis and that the council give more attention to operating on a strict budget basis.

A 1947 citizens committee of 25 in Napa, California, studied finance, health and safety, streets, the police department and parks, recreation and buildings, filing its report in February 1948 with the city council. Committees have made studies in Berkeley and Gilroy (California), New Orleans, Chattanooga, St. Louis, Philadelphia,[4] Baltimore and Wichita Falls (Kansas), according to the report.

* * *

New Groups Expand

The Citizens Association of Kansas City, Missouri, organized some months ago,[5] has begun publication of a bulletin, *The Kansas City Citizen.* Hugh Robinson, executive secretary of the organization, is editor. In its first article the *Citizen* compares "city hall government with Jackson County government." "City hall is a tightly-knit governmental unit, with the manager, under the city council, exercising control over the budget and virtually all departments. In the courthouse the equivalents of department heads are elected, subject to little or no control by any other county official. In some cases not even the county court, which sets tax levies, can control departmental budgets." Numerous other comparisons are made pointing up the efficiency of the city and the lack of it in the county.

"Finer communities are built by citizens who care," says the slogan of the Municipal League of Spokane. Organized less than a year ago, the league has started publication of a *News Letter.* According to recent issues, fifteen standing committees have been named "to undertake the plan and purpose of the league." Activities of some are already well under way. The school committee is conducting "a thorough and exhaustive study of classrooms and building facilities in the city's public schools." The city-county planning committee is making a study of needs in a coordinated planning program and has already received from some of its members reports which it will investigate. Another committee plans a detailed study and analysis of traffic and parking problems.

---

[4] See "Corrupt But Not Contented," the REVIEW, October 1948, page 473.

[5] See "Kansas City Revives Civic Group," the REVIEW, July 1950, page 360.

* * *

Group Activities

The Seattle Municipal News has published a series of "thumb-nail appraisals of our local government." Citizens are somewhat below average in their civic interest on the basis of voter turnout at the 1948 mayoralty election, says the *News*, and only average on the basis of the 1948 presidential election returns. Other appraisals cover forms of local government, reporting to the public, area and population density, financial soundness and employment practices. Comparisons are made with cities of Seattle's population group having similar economic and social characteristics.

The Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council reports that "the turnout at the polls on July 4 was gratifying" to them as well as other state organizations which participated in the "Get-Out-the-Vote" campaign. Several single-sheet flyers, widely circulated by the Oklahoma "Get-Out-the-Vote" Committee, blazoned "Your *One* Vote Counts!"

A city-wide investigation of gambling corruption is strongly urged by the Citizens Union of New York City. Following up its request to the mayor for an investigation of police corruption in connection with illegal gambling, the union has now called upon the district attorneys to conduct probes in their own boroughs, with exchange of leads and information.

The speakers bureau of The Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester is not only prepared to furnish speakers on the city's Plan E charter, proportional representation in the counting of the ballot, what the city is doing under the new charter, etc., but it has also given its speakers hints on how to present the talks and prepared manuscripts covering the subjects. The association has been interviewing candidates for the state legislature with a view to endorsing those pledging full support to Plan E—council-manager government with proportional representation for the election of the council.

The Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) reports that although a county-wide smoke control law is now in effect, the work of its Smoke Committee continues. Its program is (1) to educate citizens of the county on the provisions of the law and (2) to insist on proper enforcement of the law by county officials. The committee is functioning as part of the United Smoke Council, which the Civic Club was instrumental in forming.

* * *

Town Meeting

Pre-town meetings are becoming popular in Massachusetts communities, reports *Taxtalk*, issued by the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations. Sponsored by local taxpayer groups, the sessions discuss matters to be brought before the official town meeting for decision. Citizens are thus able to cast a more intelligent vote.

* * *

Recent Publications

A new leaflet of the Connecticut Citizens' Committee on State Government is *Your Family Shares the Cost—Does the State Government Waste Your Money?* The committee is publicizing the recently published report of the Commission on State Government Organization.[1]

"No form of government is better than the men who run it," says the

---

[1] See the REVIEW for March, page 140.

League of Women Voters of Des Moines in its six-page leaflet *Need a Yardstick for Judging Council Candidates?* Its "yardstick" would be a good one for any local group to use.

Better Government—Economy in Our Time (fourteen pages) sets forth the platform of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association.

The *Washington Voters' Handbook* (71 pages, 50 cents), by Ernest H. Campbell and George D. Smith, published by the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services of the University of Washington at Seattle, was prepared at the request of the League of Women Voters of Washington. New edition of a 1948 report, the *Handbook* covers just about all the questions a potential voter needs to have answered. Listed are voting qualifications, registration and voting procedures, how to become a citizen, how to become a nominee, how the president is elected, the working of the initiative, referendum and recall. Appendices show classifications of counties, list the 238 municipalities of the state. Maps portray legislative districts. A sample ballot is attached to the inside back cover.

The Citizens Union of New York City has published "A Complete Record of Legislation in the Council and the Board of Estimate of New York City" 1949. George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the union, has written an appraisal of the 1950 legislative session at Albany, where over 6,000 bills were introduced—most of them failing of passage.

The Unspared Rod, a Progress Report of the Committee of 70 of Philadelphia (12 pages), is liberally sprinkled with drawings of a gentleman whose body is made up of the numerals "70." This character is shown investigating the magistrates' courts, kicking out the old-fashioned ballot box in favor of voting machines, knocking at the door of the state legislature with a home rule bill for the city, describing election procedure to school classes and, last but not least, investigating the neglect of the city's water and sewer systems with a clothespin clamped down on his nose. "For the last 46 years," says the pamphlet, "the Committee of 70, the citizens' civic patrolman in plain clothes, has been snatching the veil of secrecy from corruption, fraud and incompetence in city government and the conduct of elections."

The Dynamics of Discussion, by D. M. Hall, assistant professor of Agricultural Extension, University of Illinois (The Interstate, Danville, Illinois, 66 pages, 75 cents), is an "operating manual" for group work. It suggests how to form the group, steps in defining the problem and procedure to solve the problem.

The Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report has just issued its Circular Letter No. 10, devoted to "Reductions in Postal Deficits" (fifteen pages). "If the recommendations of the Hoover Commission are enacted and installed vigorously," says the letter, the Post Office Department deficit for 1951, estimated at $555,000,000 in the President's Budget Message, "can be reduced by $262,000,000 or more."

"Meeting Community Needs Thru Conference Planning," by Dorothy and Curtis Mial, institute director and field service director of the New York State Citizens' Council, and Olaf F. Larson, professor of sociology at Cornell University, is an evaluation case study of the New York Citizens' Council. It has been reprinted from the *Adult Education Bulletin* (Cleveland).

A *Report on Citizens Organizations* (52 pages, mimeographed, 50 cents), by the Civic Advisory Council of Toronto, was prepared for the consideration of its committee on reorganization of the council. Describing the setup of numerous groups in the United States

(Continued on page 484)

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Principle and Practice in State Government

Reports on Constitutions and Administration Pile Up

ONE SURE result of the movement to modernize state constitutions and administrations is the piling up of an unprecedented amount of printed and mimeographed literature on state government.

The Council of State Governments has issued for two dollars an indispensable manual, *Reorganizing State Government—a Report on Administrative Management in the States and a Review of Recent Trends in Reorganization.* The book begins with a brief review of the theory and principles of administrative reorganization. It then summarizes the organization of state government today under eleven heads and concludes with a similar review of the trend of recent reports on state reorganization in numerous states and territories. The volume abounds in useful tables of character familiar to users of the *Book of the States.*

Students and researchers in state government will also be interested in the June number of the Council of State Governments' publication, *State Government.* This number presents the following articles: "State Government at Mid-Century," by Charles E. Merriam; "The Role of the States in Education Since 1900," by Walter D. Cocking; "Fifty Years of Accomplishment on State Highways," by Thomas H. MacDonald; "Public Welfare and Health, 1900-1950," by Fred K. Hoehler; "State Conservation and Development of Natural Resources," by Roland R. Renne; "The States Are in the Middle," by John M. Gaus.

Ever since A. E. Buck set forth five "standards of administrative reorganization" in *The Reorganization of State Governments in the United States,* published for the National Municipal League by the Columbia University Press (now out of print), it has been more or less customary for reports on this subject to propound similar principles or standards of public administration. A good brief summary of orthodox principles is the opening feature of a rather novel 67-page *Handbook for the Study of State Government Administration,* by the Minnesota Efficiency in Government Commission, for which LeRoy F. Harlow is director of research. The remainder of the volume consists of a check list of 391 practical suggestions in question form designed "to promote increased efficiency and economy in state government operations." The volume concludes with 84 definitions.

Robert Johnson, director, has prepared for the Oregon Interim Committee on State Administration a 64-page mimeographed memorandum which includes an introductory discussion of objectives, principles and summaries of governmental reorganization in Oregon, reorganization in other states and present organization of state governments. The memorandum shows very clearly the wide gap between the commonly accepted "principles" and the present status of administration in most states.

The literary battle for a new constitution for Connecticut continues. Among the more significant and substantial contributions to this battle is a two-part article "A New Constitution for Connecticut," by Professor

George D. Braden of Yale Law School and Fred V. Cahill, Jr., assistant professor of political science at Yale University. Professor Braden was the project director of the survey unit on the constitution for the Commission on State Government Organization. Mr. Cahill was his principal project associate. Part I of the article appeared in the *Connecticut Bar Journal* for June. It reviews the background and explains section by section the first five articles of the new constitution proposed by the Connecticut Commission.

An illuminating explanation of the reasons for the remarkable success of New Hampshire's Little Hoover Commission in securing almost complete adoption of its proposals is provided in an article in *Tax Outlook* published by the Tax Foundation, New York City, for July. The article, by Dr. John F. Sly, who was a staff consultant of the commission, is headed "Approved—Unanimously! In Nine Months New Hampshire Drafts, Discusses and Approves State Reorganization Plan."

The New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation's July issue of the *New Hampshire Taxpayer* includes a discussion of problems and progress in carrying out the New Hampshire reorganization.

The Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government has issued a four-page bulletin prepared by the Bureau of Governmental Research at Detroit consisting of an appallingly graphic presentation of the maze which is "Michigan State Administrative Organization."

State Governmental Organization in Kansas, 1865-1950, by Jack F. McKay and Howard Hallman, a sixteen-page "Citizens' Pamphlet" from the Bureau of Government Research at the University of Kansas, gives a clear picture of the growth of Kansas state government since statehood in 1861. The picture is made graphic by organization charts dated January 1, 1865, 1885, 1905, 1925 and 1950.

The Public Administration Clearing Service of the University of Florida has recognized the current movement for revision of the Florida constitution by devoting the second and third numbers in its Civic Information Series to the subject. These numbers are *Modernizing State Constitutions,* by J. E. Dovell, and *The Constitution of Florida,* by Manning J. Dauer.

Intergovernmental Relations Studies

The first three of ten monographs in the intergovernmental relations series edited by William Anderson and Edward W. Weidner, to be published at intervals until early 1952, are: *Intergovernmental Relations and the Courts,* by Forrest Talbott; *Intergovernmental Relations in Highways,* by R. A. Gomez; *Intergovernmental Relations in Education,* by Robert L. Morlan.

The series will constitute the definitive report on extensive studies made in Minnesota since 1946 under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The ten monographs may be ordered now from the University of Minnesota Press for $25. Purchased singly at list price the series would cost $34.50.

The forthcoming numbers are: *Intergovernmental Relations in Public Health,* by Laurence Wyatt; *Intergovernmental Relations in Social Welfare,* by Ruth Raupp; *Intergovernmental Relations in Employment Security,* by Francis E. Rourke; *Intergovernmental Relations in Agriculture,* by Robert A. MacDonald; *Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations* by Waite D. Durfee, Jr.; *Minnesota and its Local Governments,* by Edward W. Weidner and staff; *Minnesota and the Nation*, by William Anderson and staff.

Springfield Library Study

Future Springfield, Inc., Sherman P. Voorhees, executive director, has issued an unusual study in community service. It is a 110-page, illustrated report, *The Springfield City Library Association* (price $1.25), prepared for Mayor Daniel B. Brunton and the trustees of the City Library Association. Charles M. Mohrhardt, associate director of the Detroit Public Library, and Francis Cormier, of the Parks Department of the City of New York, were the consultants. Mr. Mohrhardt wrote Part I, "The Springfield City Library," and Mr. Cormier Part II "The Springfield Museums."

Springfield's City Library Association is an unusual if not unique quasi-public body, partly supported by endowment and partly by city funds, which administers the city library and its branches, the Museum of Natural History, the George Walter Vincent Smith Museum, the Connecticut Valley Historical Museum and the Springfield Museum of Fine Arts. The study covers the services provided by these institutions and explores thoroughly organizational structure, management, personnel practices and relations with other public agencies.

Numerous specific recommendations are pointed up throughout the reports and summarized at the end of each part. Future Springfield, Inc., appends seven recommendations of its own dealing with such practical matters as telephone book listing, parking, trash cans, publicity, rest rooms. As in the case of previous Future Springfield reports, it is attractively gotten up and illustrated and includes numerous well planned tables and charts.

Bureau Notes

The Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research has just sent a 1948 pamphlet giving a brief account of the establishment of the institute in 1922 on the advice of Charles A. Beard and reviewing its objectives, work and facilities. Mr. Sadayoshi Tanabe, managing director of the institute, also provided information about the National Municipal League of Japan, organized in 1948 as a league of Japanese cities to conduct joint studies, exchange materials and continue the biennial national conference on municipal problems which has been held since 1927. The eleventh conference took place in Yokohama in 1949 with 1,715 participants discussing: (1) Scientific management of municipal administration and (2) questions of local government police and fire brigade.

The Tokyo Institute has also set up the Local Autonomy Research Institute for the purpose of contributing to the development of local autonomy through investigation of relevant problems and publication of information. Membership is open to anyone engaged in local government affairs or interested in improving local administration. Its principal undertaking is publication of the magazine *Local Government.*

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budgets

Baltimore City Budget Appropriations. (Showing ten-year trend.) **Baltimore City Budget Revenues.** (Showing ten-year trend.) **City Budget-Making and the Citizen.** (With recommended procedure for better citizen participation in city budget-making.) Baltimore, Commission on

Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* July and August 1950. 2, 2 and 5 pp. respectively.

City Budget for 1950-1951. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* July-August 1950. 4 pp.

1951 Budget Suggestions. Seattle, University of Washington, Association of Washington Cities in cooperation with the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* June 30, 1950. 23 pp.

Organization and Staff for Boston's Budget Department. Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, June 1950. 28 pp.

What Local Governments Propose to Spend Next Year. Des Moines, Iowa, Taxpayers Association, *Civic Flashes,* July 31, 1950. 1 p.

County Government

Some County Problems. Federal and State Laws Increase Costs. By Willard Smith. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, August 1950. 5 pp. 25 cents.

Education

Citizens Take a Look at $113,391,803 Los Angeles 1950-51 Tentative School Budget. Los Angeles, Government Research, *Monthly Bulletin,* July 1950. 4 pp.

City-County Educational Relationships in Tennessee. By George C. Howard, Jr., and Edith Foster Howard. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration, 1950. v, 32 pp.

Finances and Administration, University of Nevada. Reno, Nevada Taxpayers Association, *Nevada Tax Review,* July 1950. 15 pp.

Financing Education in Efficient School Districts. A Study of School Finance in Illinois. By Francis G. Cornell, William P. McLure, Van Miller, Raymond E. Wochner. Urbana, University of Illinois, Bureau of Research and Service, 1949. 165 pp.

One-Teacher Schools in U. S. A. Downward Trend Reported. By Walter H. Gaumnitz and David T. Blose. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* August 1950. 6 pp. 25 cents.

School Census, Cost, Indebtedness and Transportation. Denver, Colorado Public Expenditure Council, *Colorado Taxpayer,* August 1950. 4 pp.

Who Pays the Piper? The Fiscal Side of the Public Schools. By H. LeRoy Jackson. Hartford, State Bar Association of Connecticut, *Connecticut Bar Journal,* June 1950. 20 pp.

Home Rule

Home Rule for Municipalities. By Edith Foster Howard. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. iv, 39 pp.

Hospitals

A Survey of Thirty Public Hospitals. Salaries, Rates of Charges, Admission Standards. San Antonio, Planning Board of San Antonio and Bexar County, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1950. 27 pp.

Illegitimacy

Filiation and Related State Legislation. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1950. ii, 33 pp.

Justices of the Peace

A Guidebook of the Justice of the Peace. By Huey Blair Howerton and Helen Hyde McIntire. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1950. v, 48 pp.

Licenses

City Bureau of Licenses. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* June 9, 1950. 8 pp.

Missouri Basin Development

Bibliography of Materials on Missouri Basin Development. By Virginia Coker Westfall. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Governmental Research Bureau, 1950. 24 pp.

Municipal Government

Appraisal of City Government in Schenectady, New York. A Report by Abbett Pulliam. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities*, June 14, 22 and 29. 6, 3 and 4 pp. respectively.

Form and Structure of City Government in Florida. By Hulda Grobman. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1950. 8 pp.

Pensions

Pressure for Pensions. The League Reports on Retirement Plans in Local Governments. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter*, June 1950. 9 pp.

Personnel

Baltimore's Municipal Personnel. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar*, July 1950. 4 pp.

Eighteen Thousand on State Payroll as of June 1950. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *Taxpayers News*, August 1950. 1 p.

The Heart of the State Personnel Problem. (Chief deficiencies of personnel administration in Nevada.) Reno, Nevada Taxpayers Association, 1950. 3 pp.

A Reduction in Number of City Employees. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities*, August 22, 1950. 2 pp.

Police

Atlantic City's Police Resources. An Examination of Police Performance, Requirements and Costs in a Resort Community. Atlantic City, New Jersey, Tax Survey Commission, 1950. 29 pp.

Joint Use of Police Radio Systems. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration*, July 1950. 3 pp.

Maryland Municipal Police Systems. By Christian L. Larsen and Edmund C. Mester. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Public Administration, 1950. 22 pp.

The Police and the Public. By Richard L. Holcomb. (Distinctively illustrated with numerous cartoons.) Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs, 1950. 36 pp.

Public Employee Bonds

New Blanket Bond. (Now available to local governments throughout the country.) By Philip P. Laing. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, *Connecticut Government*, July 1950. 3 pp.

Public Health

Report on the Maryland State Department of Health. ("Concentrates on problems of functional allocation, structure, controls and internal service operations"; recommends substantial overall reorganization of the department, a few other changes requiring legislation, and many others requiring only administrative action. Many proposals were planned jointly by the bureau and operating units concerned.) Baltimore, State Fiscal Research Bureau, 1950. ix, 107 pp. 37 charts.

Public Welfare

Total Cost of Public Welfare in Monroe County for the Welfare Years 1938-1949. Including County, City and Town Expenditures. Rochester, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Municipal Research*, June-July 1950. 2 pp. Tables.

Public Works

Business Management for Public Works. Providence, Rhode Island, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, June 1950. 2 pp.

Salaries

Monthly Salary Ranges of Miscellaneous City and County Positions. Oakland, California, Alameda County

Taxpayers Association, 1950. 9 pp. Tables.

Sewers

Sewer and Sewage Treatment Plant Improvement Program. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities*, August 11, 1950. 9 pp.

Sewer Rentals as a Means of Financing Sanitation Improvements in Connecticut Towns and Cities. By John E. Dever. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, July 1950. 11 pp.

Special Assessments

Special Assessments. Lincoln, Nebraska, Governmental Research Institute, *Bulletin*, July 1950. 3 pp.

Streets and Highways

Planting, Maintenance and Removal of Trees From Streets. Including Considerations with Reference to Street Lighting and Liability of Municipalities and Abutting Property Owners. By Joseph H. Vogel. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with Association of Washington Cities, 1950. 74 pp. Charts, bibliography. $1.

Taxation and Finance

Financing State Government. Massachusetts Revenue Collections and Dispositions 1949. Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 1950. 26 pp.

A Rating for the Cities. (Fourth annual comparative report on 25 western Pennsylvania cities.) Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter*, July 1950. 18 pp. Tables.

Revenues and Expenditures of Eleven Utah Cities 1948-1949. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1950. 6 pp.

Seventeenth Annual Study of Debts, Taxes, Assessments. Chicago, Civic Federation, *Bulletin*, May 1950.

State and Local Finance in Virginia. Papers Presented to the Institute on State and Local Finance, Arlington, Virginia, January 27-28, 1950. Charlottesville, University of Virginia, Bureau of Public Administration, 1950. v, 57 pp.

Tax Rate at All-Time High. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin*, August 29, 1950. 2 pp.

The Tax System of Hawaii. (Revised.) By Robert M. Kamins. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1950. 37 pp.

Water Systems

The Next Steps in the City's Water Loan Program. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar*, June 1950. 4 pp.

What Shall We Do For Water? New York, Citizens Budget Commission, July 13, 1950. 7 pp.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 470)

with the system of records we are required to maintain." Unfortunately, even a list expanded to include these ineligibles would be all too short.

A Correction

In a note in this department for June, congratulating the National Association of Assessing Officers for advocating that assessed valuations be brought up to date with a discounting of present-day prices only for occupancy premiums and shelter bonuses, etc., mention was made of an upstate New York City which was in process of completing a reassessment using 1941 price and cost levels as the base for full value. New construction is also being assessed on the basis of 1941 unit costs, not on present-day costs as erroneously stated in the note. Happily, therefore, taxpaying owners of new structures are not being discriminated against.

Books in Review

The Initiative and Referendum in California. By Winston W. Crouch. Los Angeles, The Haynes Foundation, 1950. 56 pp. 50 cents.

This excellent monograph brings down to date the foundation's prior reviews of 1939 and 1943. If scholars in the thirteen other states where the initiative is available would produce similar studies, the picture of statewide direct legislation would be complete, but if we must be content with a sample, California is the state whose experience we all are most curious to examine.

In most states legislatures submit constitutional amendments to popular vote. But California, with a bulky constitution packed with detail that ought never to have been put there, has used that familiar procedure 278 times in the 38 years, 1912-1949, resulting in adoption of 161 amendments. There are, in addition, 155 "direct legislation" measures that have been submitted: 70 constitutional amendments were submitted by petition of which twenty were adopted, 51 statutes were submitted by petition and fourteen adopted, and 34 petitions for referenda to veto laws passed by the legislature killed 21 of them. So, of these 155 measures, active popular intervention adds up to the modest total of 34 measures placed on the books and 21, already passed by the legislature, killed.

Some of the initiated measures were radical or improvident but only one such ever passed—unexpectedly—and was repealed by another initiative proceeding a year later. On the other hand some important advances have thus been secured despite hostile legislatures.

The general picture is reassuring and should allay the fears of those who oppose the adoption of "I & R" in other states.

R. S. C.

Transforming Public Utility Regulation. By John Bauer, assisted by Peter Costello. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1950. xi, 367 pp. $5.

Government regulation of privately owned utilities, including gas, electric, water, telephone and transportation companies, has shown an irregular development over the last 40 years. Not all states have comprehensive regulatory commissions and among those that do there is still much variation in practices and policies—tending toward substantial uniformity through the National Association of Railroad and Utility Commissioners and the example of leading federal and state commissions. Dr. Bauer, long in contact with utility regulation as a student, consultant and critic, has written various books dealing with the subject and now professes to set forth goals and procedures for making regulation a more effective instrument of general public welfare than he considers it to be at present.

In this attempt the present diversity of development naturally leads to a treatment in various stages: a somewhat discursive detailing of generally established practices, an emphasizing of advanced methods and policies adopted by some but not all of the commissions, and recommendations going beyond present development.

An outstanding feature of Dr. Bauer's program is the proposed establishment of a "rate equalization reserve"—it might also be called an income stabilization reserve—which would be built up from revenues in excess of "total costs" (including bond interest and a fixed dividend on common as well as preferred stock). If revenue in a particular year is less than such total cost the amount of the difference would be transferred from the reserve to income so as to maintain the fixed dividend (if cash were available for the purpose). If the reserve were to rise above a certain limit, set with commission approval, a reduction in utility rates would be in order; conversely a shrinkage of the reserve below a set limit would call for a rate increase.

This "equalization" plan, if legal and practicable, would tend to simplify rate regulation, from the capital standpoint; but with the reduction or elimination of financial incentive for economy or efficiency on the part of private management it would call for greater commission control of operations. This would place a heavy burden on the commissions, of doubtful legality (the courts discourage commission interference in management) and would raise the question whether outright public ownership and operation are not preferable.

H. M. O.

The New York Civil Service. 72nd Annual Report. New York, Civil Service Reform Association, 1950. 15 pp.

This association deals only with New York State. It deplores the run-down conditions of the Municipal Civil Service Commission under former Mayor O'Dwyer and the prospects for further deterioration in view of the new appointments to its membership. "The publicized disclosures of impersonation in examinations and certification to city departments of persons whose existing records showed unfitness for appointment, indicative as they are of laxity and even of stupidity, give only a hint of what has really been wrong within the Civil Service Commission. The real truth is that Mayor O'Dwyer and his appointees have shown an entire lack of concept of what a central personnel agency and personnel administration should be."

The First 100 Years—1850-1950. (Year Book 1949.) Los Angeles, Office of the Mayor, 1950. 98 pp. Illus.

Your City and Its Government. City Manager's Centennial Year Report. Kansas City, Missouri, Office of the Manager, 1950. 66 pp. illus.

"The First Hundred Years" were completed for Los Angeles and Kansas City in 1950 and so each municipality has published a popular highly illustrated pamphlet to celebrate its centenary. Both succeed in making one wonder how their cities could have been built in ten short decades and effectively dramatize the staggering speed and dynamism of America in pictorial case studies effectively and proudly presented.

City employees received copies of the Kansas City report with their pay checks and a brisk demand was developed among citizens for the 40,000 copies printed. Public schools received 3,000 for classroom use in view of the report's unusually clear description of municipal services and the forthright recitation of the city's often tumultuous political history.

Municipal Index and Atlas. New York 16, American City Magazine Corporation, 1950. 835 pp. $5.

Contains a who's who in equipment and supplies with advertising, lists state highway personnel, council-manager cities and their managers, mayors, purchasing agents, city engineers, superintendents of water works, streets and sewage treatment, and police and fire chiefs for cities over 10,000. Includes maps of all the states.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Assessment

Recent Improvements in Assessing Procedure. By Dixwell L. Pierce, L.

D. Daily, etc. Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, May-June 1950. 24 pp. 25 cents.

Civil Service

Selling Civil Service. Public Relations for Municipal Civil Service Commissions. Albany 7, New York State Department of Civil Service, Municipal Service Division, 1950. 16 pp.

Defense

Atomic Attack. A Manual for Survival. By John L. Balderston, Jr., and Gordon W. Hewes. Los Angeles 7, University of Southern California, Council on Atomic Implications, 1950. 55 pp. $1.

Community Planning for the Peacetime Serviceman. By the President's Committee on Religion and Welfare in the Armed Forces. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1950. 26 pp. 15 cents. Illus.

Democracy

Voluntary Action. Mainstay of a Free Society. Claremont, California, Pomona College, Institute of Public Affairs, 1950. 96 pp. $1.50.

Parking

Teamwork Can Solve the Downtown Parking Problem. By C. T. McGavin. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, July-August 1950. 6 pp.

Planning

Debunk: A Critical Review of Accepted Planning Principles. CPA Symposium. By William Wurster, Hans Blumenfeld, John M. Gaus, etc. Boston, Council for Planning Action, 1949. 32 pp. 35 cents.

Planning in the Metropolitan Area 1950. Summary of Recommendations, Comprehensive Plan Greater Winnipeg 1950. Winnipeg, Metropolitan Planning Commission, 1950. 24 and 27 pp. respectively. Illus.

Recommended Program of Public Improvements 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955. Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, 1949. 113 pp. Illus. maps.

Today's Marina and Community Planning. By Joseph E. Choate. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, May 1950. 3 pp.

Public Health

National Compulsory Health Insurance Is Not the Answer. New York 5, Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, 1950. 19 pp.

Public Employees

State Employment in 1950. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950. 12 pp.

Race Relations

Instruction in Race Relations in American Colleges and Universities. By Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations of the University of Chicago. Chicago 15, The American Council on Race Relations, 1950. 25 pp.

Public Utilities

Economics and Public Utilities. By Eli Winston Clemens. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950. xii, 765 pp. $5.75.

Smoke Abatement

Proceedings Forty-second Annual Meeting Smoke Prevention Association of America. Birmingham, Alabama, May 23-27, 1949. St. Joseph, Michigan, John Paul Taylor, publisher, 1950. 188 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Expenditures of the State of Oklahoma 1941-42 to 1948-49. Forms of Taxes Levied by the States. Payments to Local Units of Government 1949-50. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1950. 49, 51 and 13 pages respectively.

Final Report of the Administrative

Survey by the Finance Commission of the City of Boston. Boston, The Commission, 1950. 51 pp.

Fiscal Authority of City Schoolboards. Washington 6, D. C., National Education Association, Research Division, *Research Bulletin,* April 1950. 36 pp. 50 cents.

1950 Conference Issue. Addresses by David M. Wood, Charles de L. Mignault, etc. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Public Finance,* August 1950. 68 pp. 50 cents.

Traffic Safety

Crazy Drivers. Detroit, Traffic Safety Association, 1950. 12 pp. $2.50 for 25 copies, $4.50 for 100, etc. (Apply Safran Printing Company, 3939 Bellevue Avenue, Detroit 7.)

Operation Safety. Program Kits on Traffic Safety Promotion. September Theme, **Child Safety;** October, **Night Traffic Hazards;** November, **Pedestrian Safety.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1950. Variously paged.

Model Traffic Ordinance for California Cities. Los Angeles 13, League of California Cities, 1950. 33 pp.

Virginia Traffic Accident Facts. Richmond, Virginia Department of State Police, 1949. 32 pp. Illus.

Water

Guide to Source Material on Water Pollution Control. Washington 25, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service, Division of Water Pollution Control, 1950. 28 pp.

Study on Water Consumption in Westchester County, New York, for the Years 1946 to 1949. White Plains, New York, Westchester Water Works Conference, Water Resources Committee, 1950. 19 pp. Map.

CITIZEN ACTION

(Continued from page 474)

and Canada, it discusses their "interesting features," and sets forth the constitutions or by-laws of the Chicago Civic Federation, the Municipal League of Seattle and the Citizens Council of Fort Wayne, Indiana.

The 1950 edition of the *Illinois Voters' Handbook* (213 pages, one dollar) is available from the League of Women Voters of Illinois in Chicago. Prepared by Helen Kingsley McNamara, the book presents information "on many subjects which are the concern of every citizen." It includes a digest of election laws, a description of the purpose and functionings of political parties as well as information on the structure and financing of local, state and national governments. Numerous charts diagram the governments of Chicago and Illinois, describe where the tax dollar goes, and show election and judicial district boundaries.

A Handbook for Town Meeting Members (sixteen pages), published by the League of Women Voters of Amherst, Massachusetts, presents a political history of the town, describes the representative town meeting and parliamentary procedure, and summarizes the act under which the town is governed.

The *47th Annual Progress Report* (176 pages) of the Commonwealth Club at San Francisco describes the club "in tabloid," lists its officials and its 7,000 members, and publishes the 1949 report of Executive Secretary Stuart R. Ward, the votes of the club membership on important questions before the public in 1949 (with a list of some important mail ballotings since 1922), speakers and topics for Friday luncheon meetings in 1949, and the work of sections (committees) with lists of section members.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

VEMBER 1950 VOLUME XXXIX, NO. 1

161

PERIODICAL DEPT. Public Library Kansas City, Mo.

Human Freedom for Us, Too .... Editorial
Pittsburgh — 'Smokeless City' .... F. E. Schuchman
Rubbing Out the Coroners .... Richard S. Childs
Tradition Bows to Efficiency .... William F. Larsen
New Type Civic Laboratory .... Harry H. Shapiro
Mutual Aid Keystone of Civil Defense 507
Santa Clara County Charter Upheld 513
P. R. Used in Local Elections Abroad 515
State Taxes Set New Record 518
Foundation Offers Get-Out-the-Vote Awards 521
GRA Meets in Asbury Park 525

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR
ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR., Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD, Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN, *Maryland*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
HARVEY WALKER, *Ohio*
YORK Y. WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *President*
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J., *Vice President*
J. W. Clise, Seattle, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York, *Treasurer*
William Collins, *Finance Chairman*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
John E. Bebout, *Assistant Secretary*
George H. Hallett, Jr., *Associate Secretary*

COUNCIL

Richard S. Childs, New York, *Chairman*

William Anderson, Minneapolis
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
Frederick L. Bird, New York
Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati
William Collins, Yonkers, N. Y.
L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Mo.
James A. Cunningham, Chicago
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
C. A. Dykstra, Los Angeles
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
B. H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Clarence Francis, Bronxville, N. Y.
Arnold Frye, New York
Lloyd E. Graybiel, San Francisco
Harrison S. Hires, Berwyn, Pa.
Robert W. Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
John S. Linen, New York
Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis
Mrs. Thomas H. Mahony, Boston
D. K. Pfeffer, New York
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Walter M. Phillips, Philadelphia
Lawson Purdy, New York
Harry W. Schacter, Louisville, Ky.
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Henry L. Shattuck, Boston
George S. Van Schaick, New York
Richard Weil, Jr., New York
A. C. (Jack) White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXIX, No. 10 **Total Number 404**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

Contents for November 1950

The League's Business 486

Editorial Comment 487

Pittsburgh—'Smokeless City' .... *F. E. Schuchman* 489

Rubbing Out the Coroners .... *Richard S. Childs* 494

Tradition Bows to Efficiency .... *William F. Larsen* 497

New Type Civic Laboratory .... *Harry H. Shapiro* 501

News in Review

City, State and Nation .... *H. M. Olmsted* 507

County and Township .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 513

Proportional Representation ...... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 515

Taxation and Finance .... *Wade S. Smith* 518

Citizen Action .... *Elsie S. Parker* 521

Researcher's Digest .... *John E. Bebout* 525

Books in Review 530

The contents of the National Municipal Review are indexed in the *Index to Legal Periodicals,* the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Copyright November 1950 by
National Municipal League

The League's Business

Henry Bruere Nominated for League President

At the meeting of members November 20 at the National Conference on Government in Buffalo, Henry Bruère, chairman of the board of The Bowery Savings Bank, New York, will be nominated for president of the National Municipal League to succeed Charles Edison, who was elected at the Philadelphia Conference in 1946 and has been re-elected each year since then.

Mr. Bruère, who is treasurer of the Institute of Public Administration, is a lifelong student and practitioner of public affairs, having started his career as organizer and director of the old New York Bureau of Governmental Research, the pioneer organization of its kind.

For first and second vice president, the Nominating Committee will offer John S. Linen and George S. Van Schaick, who currently are members of the Council. Mr. Linen, vice president of The Chase National Bank, is one of the most active members of the League's Committee on a Model Fiscal Program. Mr. Van Schaick, an attorney, is former New York State superintendent of insurance.

An innovation will be the recommendation that eight or more regional vice presidents be chosen to strengthen the League's program throughout the country. Proposed by the Nominating Committee are: John W. Agnew, Boston; James L. Beebe, Los Angeles; James W. Clise, Seattle; William Collins, New York; Arthur E. Johnson, Denver; John Nuveen, Jr., Chicago; Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond; and Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati.

For new members of the Council, terms to expire in 1953, the committee will nominate: Frederick E. Baker, Seattle; Herbert Emmerich, Chicago; Max E. Friedmann, Milwaukee; George H. Gallup, Princeton; L. E. Marlowe, Richmond; Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse; Spencer Miller, Jr., Springfield, Massachusetts; Frank C. Moore, Buffalo; Ben Moreell, Pittsburgh; James M. Osborn, New Haven; Kenneth Perry, New Brunswick; Fred E. Schuchman, Pittsburgh; Carroll M. Shanks, Newark; Cloud Wampler, Syracuse.

Program Highlights — National Conference

Approximately 150 people have accepted invitations to take part in the 21 sessions of the National Conference on Government to be held in Buffalo, November 20, 21 and 22, and the annual meeting of the National Association of Civic Secretaries Sunday night, November 19, and Monday morning. Four group sessions will be held at 9:20 A.M. Monday, November 20.

The conference will open formally at a luncheon Monday noon held in cooperation with the Buffalo and Erie County Planning Association and the Leagues of Women Voters of Erie County with a welcome from Mayor J. Mruk and Rob Roy MacLeod, chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements. League President Charles Edison will respond. Dr. Roscoe C. Martin, head of the Department of Political Science, Syracuse University and former president of the American Society for Public Administration, will discuss the necessity for viewing governmental problems in their relation to one another and to the total picture of modern life.

President Charles Edison will give the keynote address at the annual dinner Tuesday evening which will be held in cooperation with the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce.

The Tuesday luncheon, held in cooperation with the Greater Buffalo Advertising Club, will feature an address by Dr. Thomas H. Reed on "City vs. Suburbs." The League and the Advertising Club are bringing Dr. Reed to Buffalo because of his extensive experience in dealing with this problem in various urban centers.

The conference will close with an address by George Gallup, vice president of the National Municipal League, on "Our Dangerous Citizens," at a luncheon Wednesday noon in cooperation with the Kiwanis and Rotary Clubs of Buffalo.

The general conference session Monday afternoon, titled "Escape from the Ox Cart," will hear outstanding speakers on reorganization of state and municipal governments and the problem of regional planning. Speakers include Carter W. Atkins,

(Continued on page 529)

Editorial Comment

Human Freedom for Us, Too

HUMAN freedom nowadays is generally considered a good thing in this country; that is, it is considered good for people in other countries.

We forget, however, that this is one of those things that should begin at home.

If someone could list and identify all the barriers to freedom in this country, which is supposed to be the chief custodian of that blessed element, it would be shocking. It might be a very fruitful field for the new Ford Foundation to explore.

A few random current examples:

Massachusetts provides five different forms of government from which the people of its municipalities may choose. For the last ten years there has been a strong trend toward adoption of Plan E, which calls for the election of a city council by the proportional representation method and a city manager appointed by the council. Disturbed by this growing appetite for escape from party domination, the politicos in the legislature have repealed P. R. from this enabling law and came within an ace of taking P. R. away from the cities which already have it and which, according to reports, have been doing right well with it.

A generation ago the people of Pennsylvania amended their constitution to provide municipal home rule. The legislature was authorized to provide alternative forms of government and to give cities power to draft home rule charters. It never has. Indeed, it has knuckled under to the League of Third Class Cities, made up, as the *Pottsville Republican* points out, of a "relatively small group of municipal officials" . . . who might "lose their jobs if the people were allowed to have their say as to how the business of their cities shall be conducted."

Newspapers and civic leaders in Pennsylvania are becoming steadily more indignant, however, over this anti-democratic situation and are rallying to the support of the demand of the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce and the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor for optional legislation which is 28 years past due.

In Philadelphia, a city which has had more than its share of governmental corruption, public opinion polls eleven years ago showed Philadelphians were ready to vote three to one in favor of a proposed manager plan charter. The state legislature refused to let the charter go to popular vote and held a hilarious mock funeral over the enabling bill the last day of the session. Philadelphia may at last have an opportunity to vote on a home made charter on which a commission is working, however.

In Indiana, Illinois, Rhode Island and Connecticut local officials have blocked for years every attempt to let the people of their cities have easy freedom of choice on forms of government and other essential matters.

In Rhode Island, for example, the governor and legislative leaders have expressed themselves as favorable to home rule. The voters of Jamestown and Newport approved the council-manager plan at the polls. Whereupon the officials hedged, saying they would pass special acts for these or other cities only if 51 per cent of all the qualified voters demanded them. Hmmm! In many places 30 per cent or fewer voters bother to vote on such special questions. Agreement to the extent of 51 or more per cent on ANY question seems to be gained only in mock elections in communist countries.

All this is less exciting and disturbing than having people dragged out of their beds at midnight, police state style, but there are things other than immunity from physical violence involved in human freedom.

We cannot afford to develop an irresponsible ruling class that is instinctively insubordinate to its presumed masters.

Corruption and Punishment

LAST YEAR the editor of our esteemed contemporary, *The American City,* asked the editor of the National Municipal Review and others to look into their crystal balls and forecast municipal developments during the decade 1950-60.

The Review editor, feeling a bit cynical after repeated appeals from citizens and honest officials for ideas on how to combat the corrupting influence of organized gambling, finished his predictions with this:

> The nation will be rocked by the revelation of political scandal in the widespread bribery of public officials and law-enforcement officers by slot-machine racketeers.

The American City editor telephoned at once to term this prediction "very disturbing" but it was published, well before the Kefauver committee started its investigations and revelations, before Mayor O'Dwyer of New York put on his unfortunate performance which temporarily embarrassed the investigation of police graft, and before two Chicago investigators were murdered while "telling all" to the staff of the Senate committee.

Now the time has passed for predictions. Now is the time to do more than demote, transfer or retire on comfortable pensions policemen who have been corrupted and to let off easily elected officials who have forgotten that public office is a public trust. What are pensions for? Are they a reward for long and faithful service or are they a means of living for life at public expense after forfeiting all moral right to such reward?

Does it make sense to punish a petty thief and permit to go free with what amounts to mild admonishment those who are the greatest traitors to our ideals? Unless the punishment fits the crime, the people grow cynical; and that is no favorable climate for the operation of a self-governing system which must show by example that it provides the best way to meet human needs.

Pittsburgh—'Smokeless City'

Over half century of citizen protests finally results in abatement ordinance; visibility has risen 70 per cent.

By **F. E. SCHUCHMAN***

PITTSBURGH'S successful fight for smoke control took the better part of seven years. But in the first winter it became operative, the city received 39 per cent more available sunshine than the previous winter. Immediately visitors began to comment on the improvement. Airline pilots said the only break in the "great smoke bowl" of western Pennsylvania, northern West Virginia and eastern Ohio was over Pittsburgh.

In the nearly three years that have followed, visibility is up by almost 70 per cent, laundry and painting bills have gone down, buildings have been cleaned, and the whole aspect of the community is more cheerful and bright. Housewives and hotel men say there is much less grime to clean off draperies and furnishings and department stores report reductions in cleaning bills. Interestingly enough, the coal interests have not suffered; the slack in residential demand has been taken up by the tremendous need for industrial bituminous fuel.

For over a hundred years visitors cursed Pittsburgh's smoke and residents of the city and surrounding municipalities patiently endured the black pall, hoping for the dawn of a brighter day. But because high volatile fuel is native to the area and heavy natural fogs prevail, the impression gradually became firmly fixed that not much could be done about Pittsburgh's reputation as "The Smoky City," and it was accepted as such by visitors and natives alike.

Many citizens and organizations have made valiant efforts to attack the problem over the years. As early as 1890 the Health Protective Association (founded by citizens who were later to become the organizers and charter members of the Civic Club of Allegheny County) "visited a smokeless furnace in successful operation in an Allegheny industrial plant and prepared for the press the first public report on its economic advantages."[1]

In 1895 the necessity for smoke prevention was stressed at the first meeting of the Civic Club, and it has since stood in the forefront of the fight for clean air, sometimes working independently, more often with other organized groups under its leadership.

Over the two decades following 1895, pioneers in the movement experienced repeated successes and setbacks in the adoption and subsequent rescinding of smoke control legislation. As far back as 1916, the Civic Club realized that a satisfactory solution must include the county of Allegheny as well as the city of Pittsburgh. That year the city set up a bureau of smoke regulation and some measurable progress came with an ordinance which took effect in 1917. It was aided by the fact that increasing numbers of industrial and business buildings were being equipped with mechanical firing devices.

---

*Mr. Schuchman, president of the Civic Club of Allegheny County from 1946 to 1949, has led the fight against air pollution, serving since 1945 as chairman of the United Smoke Council of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development.

[1] *Fifty Years of Civic History,* Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh), page 4.

Enforcement Lax

A sincere attempt was made to enforce the 1917 law, but there was only a handful of smoke inspectors. Thus, many users of soft coal, who were simply unwilling to manage their furnaces in such a way as to keep the smoke within allowable limits, escaped the legal penalties; other users, willing to comply with the law but uninstructed in proper methods of firing, also became violators. Hope for abatement of the smoke evil again faded.

With the coming of the depression of the 30s, the skies cleared to some extent because industry was so greatly curtailed. But there was still too much smoke and in some thoughtful minds a question began to form: Had the enforcement policies of the bureau of smoke regulation failed because the ordinance of 1917 exempted from regulation all private homes and apartment buildings of less than six units? The forest of domestic chimneys pouring forth black smoke into the atmosphere certainly seemed to confirm the suspicion.

About this time there were several outstanding efforts toward smoke prevention on the part of individual citizens. Especially noteworthy was that put forth by R. B. Mellon and his son, R. K. Mellon. They hired graduate and undergraduate engineers to instruct householders in the smokeless firing of Pittsburgh's native high volatile coal. Because of the rapid turnover in household heating equipment, however, they found after a few years that they had taken on an endless and impossible task. Several other local groups which adopted a similar approach were likewise compelled to abandon it. But Mellon Institute continued to obtain and distribute information on smokeless firing, lent its scientists to various civic organizations concerned with air pollution and passed along with unfailing generosity, to all who asked for it, valuable scientific knowledge obtained in the laboratory and in the field.

In 1936 Mrs. Enoch Rauh, one of the Civic Club's board members, organized an independent committee of representatives from Mellon Institute, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh City Council and Health Department, Common Pleas Court and the Civic Club. Through a grant from WPA and an appropriation from the city, a survey was begun, under the title "Air Pollution," with Dr. H. B. Meller of Mellon Institute as director. A vast amount of significant material was collected, but because of Dr. Meller's death no formal recommendations were made. This effort, however, marked the beginning of the pooling of information by interested organizations and set a pattern of attack that was ultimately to prove successful.

By the late 30s the situation had

grown desperate, with civic pride at an exceedingly low level. Smoke abatement groups generally seemed to have achieved no permanent results and in 1939 the city itself virtually acknowledged defeat by abolishing the bureau of smoke regulation. Still, some bright rays managed to filter down through the grimy air. A half-dozen or so enthusiasts didn't seem to realize that "it couldn't be done," and manfully continued to carry the clean air banner. Then, too, the years between the two world wars, with their improved standards of living, had been productive of one profound change in the thinking of all Pittsburghers: they were more than ever dissatisfied with the sprawling, squalid giant their city had become.

Technical Angle Pursued

With all the apparent lack of progress in smoke control, scientists and industrialists continued to work on the technical aspects of the problem and the old clichés—"Smoke means prosperity," "Smokeless chimneys mean hungry children," etc.—were also being discarded by workers and leaders alike.

Then the right moment arrived. The winter of 1940-41 was dirty almost beyond any known in the city's history. Citizens walked the streets wearing gauze filter-masks, and day and night the street lights glowed mistily through a swirling mixture of black smoke and yellow fog—Pittsburgh "smog." Disgusted residents began once more to ask if something couldn't be done.

Sensing the possibility of an aroused public support, the Civic Club promptly revived its smoke committee and, under the chairmanship of M. Jay Ream, proceeded to form the United Smoke Council, its members recruited from 80 organizations convinced that only a cooperative movement could clear the smoke from Pittsburgh skies. Newspapers and radio went all out in support of smoke elimination and excellent help was given by bus lines and the street railway company which permitted display of placards and distribution of small, informative pamphlets. Members of the Smoke Council spoke untiringly before all kinds of organizations in Pittsburgh and the neighboring communities, urging people to support the cause.

In 1941 a smoke commission and a technical advisory committee were appointed by Mayor Cornelius D. Scully to restudy the whole matter and draft corrective legislation. A definite plan of action was recommended and, after study of the successful St. Louis anti-smoke law, public meetings sponsored by the Smoke Council and a three-months series of hearings covering the effect of smoke on health, industry, city appearance and living conditions, an ordinance was presented to city council and adopted.

There was early recognition of the fact that the problem could not be solved by simply demonstrating the proper methods for firing the local high volatile fuel, so the new legislation was aimed at controlling the smoke at its source. It provided that all fuel users must either burn a smokeless fuel or employ mechanical equipment that would prevent smoke. Fuel vendors were required to secure licenses from the city. Some opposition by the coal interests had been feared but, at a public ceremony in 1941, the mayor signed the ordinance in the presence of long-time advocates of smoke control and with the blessing of the Western Pennsylvania Coal Operators' Association and the United Mine Workers.

Unfortunately, before the strictest provisions of the ordinance could be put into effect, the war intervened; and because the necessary fuel and equipment were not obtainable, the city council voted, with full approval of the United Smoke Council, to postpone the effective date of these portions of the law until six months after the conflict ended.

Campaign Continued

Needless to say, the United Smoke Council did not remain inactive during the period of hostilities. Realizing that the program would need public support both then and after the war, the council concentrated on this aspect with an intensive educational campaign. When the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, fast becoming the catalyst of the civic energies of the Pittsburgh area, saw the possibilities for community betterment in this effort, it immediately offered financial, executive and moral assistance to the Smoke Council. Since the conference enjoyed the wholehearted cooperation of legislative and political leaders as well as newspapers and business organizations, the offer was gratefully accepted.

As the full strength of the campaign developed, there came to both public officials and civic leaders renewed realization that even when the new law became fully operative there would be no control of smoke in the surrounding territory. At an open meeting of municipal representatives called by Mayor Scully to explore this phase of the problem, Henry King Siebeneck, attorney and for many years a Civic Club board member, countered the various suggestions of public officials by proposing that state enabling legislation required for the passage of laws to control emission of smoke in Allegheny County be granted on behalf of the county itself rather than its individual units. This meant that enforcement of a county-wide smoke law would devolve upon the county rather than upon its cities, boroughs and townships. The suggestion was quickly picked up by the Civic Club's chairman and, by noon of the next day, Mr. Siebeneck himself was pledged to draft the bill which was later presented to the legislature.

Working quietly and efficiently, the United Smoke Council obtained endorsements of the bill from the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, Kiwanis, garden clubs, business, labor and professional groups, literally scores of women's organizations, and every other civic group of importance in the county. As a result of these labors the legislature passed the act, which was introduced by Assemblyman Robert Fleming and signed by the governor on May 28, 1943.

Eventually, the grim days of war drew to a close and efforts were made to have the Pittsburgh ordinance go into full effect on October

Public Library Kansas City, Mo.

1, 1946, as previously planned. Opponents of enforcement came to the city council, arguing that shortages of smokeless fuel, heaters and firing equipment would make compliance with the law impossible for the average resident. A considerable campaign was built up around this concern for "Little Joe." Full restrictions were nevertheless clamped on all but private consumers and here a compromise was worked out; homes were to be allowed an extra year after the industrial and commercial provisions of the ordinance became effective. The following spring another postponement was demanded but city council was adamant. On October 1, 1947, Pittsburgh's anti-smoke law took full effect.

The enabling legislation passed by the legislature in 1943 permitted the Allegheny County commissioners to regulate smoke from all sources "except railroad locomotives," and the United Smoke Council next turned attention to correcting this serious omission. The need to include railroads was forcefully brought to public notice and, at a public hearing called by the commissioners in November 1946, the council was able to present petitions favoring complete control signed by 48,000 county residents. An appropriate amendment to the original act was introduced at the 1947 session of the state legislature and overwhelmingly adopted.

In order to draft a comprehensive county law, the commissioners appointed, in September 1947, a seventeen-member Citizens' Advisory Committee on Smoke Abatement. Under the chairmanship of Dr. Edward Weidlein, director of Mellon Institute, this representative group of civic, coal, labor and steel leaders drafted an ordinance which was passed by the board of county commissioners and placed in partial enforcement June 1, 1949. Substantial progress has already been achieved and, over the next three years, enforcement will be extended to include one- and two-family dwelling units.

Essential Factors

This, then, is the history of Pittsburgh's experience with smoke control. In the light of it, the following factors would seem to be essential:

1. A strong ordinance, permitting control at the source,
2. Adequate enforcement — cooperation where it is possible, court action when that is necessary,
3. Participation of citizens at all levels (Pittsburgh's campaign was spearheaded and brought to successful conclusion by citizen groups),
4. A completely non-political approach,
5. Control on a metropolitan or county-wide basis,
6. Regulation of emission of smoke from all sources—commercial, railroads, industrial, river and domestic.

A waning opposition to smoke control lingers on, and the United Smoke Council's work of education and extension continues. But the overwhelming majority of the district's people have tasted the fruits of the anti-smoke victory and only continued progress is anticipated in the months and years ahead. Pittsburgh has become a center for smoke

(Continued on page 506)

Rubbing Out the Coroners

National Municipal League joins with other groups to draft model law replacing outmoded office with competent staff.

By RICHARD S. CHILDS*

FOR AT least two generations the typical elective county coroner has been the despair of competent observers. The position calls for a combination of legal and medical knowledge neither of which can be appraised by the processes of popular election even if the voters looked in that direction. On the ballots the office is usually at the bottom of the ticket, below the sheriff and clerk and other county officials. Election reflects no popular opinion whatever but constitutes a bit of the patronage which the county politicians distribute, practically unobserved, to one of their supporters. Technical competence by any modern standard is not to be expected under the conditions and few prosecuting attorneys take seriously the coroner's jury proceedings where such juries survive.

In recent months juicy magazine articles and a newspaper series have jeered at coroners with dramatic stories of ineptitude, as the titles indicate—"How Murderers Beat the Law," *Saturday Evening Post,* December 10, 1949; "Murder by Courtesy of the Coroner," *Cosmopolitan,* November 1949; "The Scandal of Our Blundering Coroners," *Liberty,* November 1949 (condensed in *Reader's Digest* of the same date); "They're Getting Away with Murder," a 1949 United Feature Syndicate series for newspapers; and "The Coroner Racket: A National Scandal," *Coronet,* June 1950.

Earlier complaints within the decade consist mainly of an eighteen-page report published by a committee of the American Medical Association in 1945, exhibiting and deploring the common incompetence of the medical evidence produced by the county coroner system where "medicine participates less effectively in the administration of justice . . . than it does in any comparable country in the world," which "undoubtedly predisposes to (a) the nonrecognition of murder, (b) unjust accusation of innocent persons," etc.

In recent years the gap between coroner standards and medical science has been widening by reason of the development of advanced methods of plucking dependable evidence from corpses. The advance has been led by the pioneering Department of Legal Medicine of Harvard Medical School, headed by Dr. Alan R. Moritz and his recent successor as acting head, Dr. Richard Ford, and aided by Mrs. Frances G. Lee of New Hampshire, a great lady whose curious hobby has made her an authority in the field and has included construction in a shop of her own of a fine array of dioramas of murder scenes in miniature for the department's museum, to illustrate to students and police seminars the importance of sound autopsy evidence. A recital of the modern technical fact-finding methods accumulated and taught at Harvard would dazzle any ordinary medical practitioner and obviously goes far beyond the resources and imagination of almost any county coroner or his available medical advisors.

---

*Mr. Childs is chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League as well as a volunteer member of its staff.

The coroner is frozen into the constitutions as an elective county officer in over half the states and is elective in 36. In several more coroners, or their equivalent, are appointive but are used as political patronage without tests for competence.

Reform of this obsolete system must begin with the realization that probably no more than 50 of the 3,050 counties in the United States have enough business for their respective coroners to warrant the cost of expert staff and laboratory equipment. Competence in technique is to be found in a few metropolitan counties even when, as in Chicago, the coroner is elective and a layman—the volume of cases develops expertness among subordinates. In New York City since 1918, and in the populous adjacent counties of Nassau and Westchester, highly qualified medical examiners have displaced coroners. The skill of the medical examiner and his staff in New York City—all chosen from civil service lists—has uncovered an annual average of 50 otherwise unsuspected deaths by violence since the notorious elective political hacks were ousted.

But the provision of adequate legal medicine for the other 3,000 counties means taking the task out of the counties entirely. Most of them indeed may have no inhabitant, even among physicians, who could pass a logical examination in modern legal medicine for the post of medical examiner. Pooling of the business over a larger area and population is essential to justify adequate laboratory equipment and to develop the expertness which accumulates only from daily practice of this grisly art. Where constitutional difficulties prevent abolition of the office, deliberate duplication by modern services may be the only immediately feasible correction.

Experience Gratifying

Four states have shown the way —Massachusetts (1877), Maryland (1939), Virginia (1946) and Rhode Island (1949). Massachusetts finds distances no barrier these days to a prompt service which commands the respect of physicians, prosecutors and courts, and the briefer experience of the other states is gratifying.

The office of coroner being in part a judicial post, the National Municipal League has hitherto left it, along with judges and prosecutors, to the field of the American Judicature Society. But that society developed no program either; the office fell between two stools. Dr. Moritz and Dr. Ford of Harvard, as consulting experts, did contribute to setting up the sound systems of Maryland and Virginia as well as helping in abortive attempts at correction in other states from time to time.

The proposal to bring forth another in the National Municipal League's successful series of model laws was welcomed by the Harvard group, the Division of Legal Medicine of the American Medical Association and the American Judicature Society. An outline of the model was discussed at the National Conference on Government, at St. Paul in November 1949, by a group of authorities under the chairmanship of Dr. Ford.

Thereafter Dr. Ford revised the outline of provisions for a medicolegal investigative system, following those in the Maryland law, the National Civil Service League prepared a description of an orthodox civil service structure, and the National Municipal League provided supportive argument for taking coroners out of the elective list.

The draft was reviewed, debated and enriched by various authorities on the committee, including medical examiners. The newly formed American Academy of Forensic Sciences created a committee to check the text of the proposal and became an additional sponsor. All five organizations will issue the pamphlet to their constituencies.[1]

The *Model Medico-Legal Investigative System:*

(a) Establishes adequately the classes of deaths to be investigated (to the extent of autopsy when necessary), including deaths incidental to employment and deaths in public custodial institutions;

(b) Creates an unpaid supervisory medico-legal commission including *ex officio* members such as the attorney general, chief of state police and medical society officers, to establish qualifications for appointment within the system, help to rate applicants, make regulations and review the condition of the service;

(c) Creates a chief state medicolegal investigator (salary $10,000 or more) who must be an M.D. and pathologist, appointive from civil service eligible list, and regional investigators similarly chosen;

(d) Establishes a central state laboratory;

(e) Authorizes investigator to determine the necessity of autopsy;

(f) Requires the investigator to furnish the prosecutor with records of cases requiring further investigation (obviating coroner's inquest and coroner's jury proceedings);

(g) Makes such records acceptable in the courts without personal attendance.

The gist of the law is to pool the medical business of the coroners' offices sufficiently to justify employment of experts and keep them busy, the trivial vestigial judicial and legal aspects of the office being abolished or transferred to the prosecutor and the courts. The small scale of operation in a typical county and the obscured application of the elective process to what nowadays can and should be a highly technical office, are both incompatible with competency in this function. The much derided elective county coroners themselves should welcome relief from impossible positions wherein they are vested with highly technical duties in counties which cannot afford to provide them with the resources requisite for modern service.

---

[1] The final draft is available from the office of the National Municipal League ($1. mimeographed).

Tradition Bows to Efficiency

Modified manager plan brings Charleston County surplus at end of first year as citizens cheer good government.

By **WILLIAM F. LARSEN***

COUNCIL-MANAGER government in staid Charleston County, South Carolina, has passed successfully the test of its first year. Actually, the election of a county council took place in January 1949. Transition from the older, disintegrated form of county government with its host of elected and appointed officials, however, occupied several months and the selection of a professional county manager did not take place until mid-year 1949.

The problem of government in Charleston County before the advent of the manager plan was similar in many respects to the traditional "bill of particulars" which political scientists long have raised against the government of American counties. Most important was the complete lack of any responsible official or body of officials through whom the problems of county finance, taxation, education, protection of persons and property, public works, public records and the rest might be brought into focus for popular understanding and control. Charleston County was typical of the disintegrated and irresponsible county government so often found in the United States, where a primitive faith in the infallibility of promoting "democracy" by electing more officials to public office has ignored the rise of new concepts in public administration.

It is worth noting that county government in South Carolina faces not only customary popular indifference, divided responsibility and the lack of integrated managerial control necessary for effective administration, but also that the repeal by constitutional amendment in 1889 of the powers of county commissioners was the forerunner of usurpation of the county's executive activities by the county delegation to the state legislature.[1] This withdrawal of county governing powers into the hands of the state legislature created a political and administrative vacuum into which the members of the county legislative delegations stepped.

In South Carolina, except for Charleston County since 1949, the members of the State Senate and House of Representatives are organized in their home county constituencies as a species of *ad hoc* executive committee for the government of the county although this is without constitutional or legislative sanction and, in fact, violates the traditional concept of the separation of the legislative and executive power. These "rump" executives hold undeclared meetings and exact information about their activities is often hard to obtain.

---

*Mr. Larsen has recently become director of the University of Florida's Public Administration Clearing Service. He was formerly assistant professor in the department of political science at the Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina.

[1] See "Legislators Usurp Counties," by Anne King Gregorie, the REVIEW, July 1948, page 361.

In addition to having powers of appointment, the county's legislative representatives hold the power of the purse in voting the annual county supply bill and they invariably secure its acceptance by logrolling and "legislative courtesy" in the statehouse. Frequently they vote themselves special or contingent funds which serve as remuneration for their alleged services to the county although they are not legally entitled to dual office-holding and dual salaries.

The result, as may be expected, is a considerable degree of administrative confusion and much financial irresponsibility. The opportunities in this kind of system for the wrong kind of politics, for waste and extravagance, and for the frustration of effective democratic control by the voters is obvious.

A comprehensive study of Charleston County made in 1945 by the Public Administration Service recommended sweeping changes, but many improvements could have been made only by revision or amendment of the state constitution. A strong current of opinion led by business and civic groups promoted the idea of limited, but desirable, reforms within the scope of legislative enactment. When, in 1948, it could be shown clearly that several important industrial plants forsook the Charleston County area for locations offering more stable and responsible governmental conditions, the county legislative delegation was persuaded to put through the legislature a bill calling for a local referendum on a modified county manager type of government. In September 1948, the voters adopted by a large majority a plan calling for a popularly elected, seven-member county council to be chosen on a district system for four-year terms.[2] Receiving only nominal salaries and selecting their own chairman, this council has power to govern many matters of local concern. It has assumed all the duties formerly held by the board of commissioners, sanitary and drainage commission, county police commission, county board of highway beautification and certain functions vested in the county public welfare board. To execute these powers, the council is given the power to appoint administrative officials. Of primary importance is the county manager appointed by the council for an indefinite term.

Full Integration Limited

To the extent that the county auditor, treasurer, sheriff, clerk of court, probate judge, master in equity, register of mesne conveyance (deeds), coroner and superintendent of education remain outside the jurisdiction of the council and the manager, full integration of county government is limited. These changes can be made only by constitutional amendment. However, the powers which the new plan does possess leave it far from helpless.

Although not possessing extensive ordinance-making power in the area of public health, safety and morals within the county, the county council has power to tax for local purposes and to incur indebtedness before such taxes have been collected.[3] It may acquire, own, lease and dispose of real and personal property. Bonds may be issued by the council upon the credit of the county when approved by referendum. The council is empowered to set the date of maturity, rate of interest, method of sale and similar matters. It is responsible for the receipt, custody, allocation and disbursement of county expenditures and for establishing a system of accounting. Further, the council has authority to establish a public works department with the task of regulating, constructing and maintaining public streets and roads, public structures, public improvements and other facilities under the county government.

---

[2] See "Charleston County Adopts Manager Plan," by Elwyn A. Mauck, the REVIEW, October 1948, page 513.

The achievements of this reorganized county government during its first year are not inconsiderable. Under general government it has:

1. Adopted a supply ordinance based upon quarterly appropriations,
2. Established a central budgetary control system for county expenditures recording all liabilities as incurred,
3. Established under the county manager a system of centralized purchasing for all county agencies,
4. Revised county automotive insurance coverage effecting a saving of 59 per cent in premium rates,
5. Made complete inventory of all real and personal property owned by the county, fixing a valuation thereon and establishing an equipment replacement program,
6. Finished the fiscal year with a cash surplus of approximately $120,000,
7. Established uniform sick leave and vacation rules for county employees,
8. Purchased voting machines for the county—first in South Carolina,
9. Relocated the county offices from rented quarters to property owned by the county.

Under the heading of public works, the county council:

1. Created a department of public works,
2. Established two maintenance districts within the public works department, each division headed by an engineer under the general direction of the director of public works,
3. Inaugurated an intensive maintenance program for public buildings including extensive repairs to the county courthouse which had suffered badly from long years of neglect,
4. Made available at cost services of the public works department to special public service districts within the county.

Under the heading of public safety the council:

1. Created a police committee of the county council to act in advisory capacity to council on police matters,
2. Inaugurated a merit system for the county police department along with a revised salary plan based on service and efficiency,
3. Arranged an intensive training program in cooperation with the FBI for all county and city policemen followed by specialized classes,
4. Contracted for purchase of three-way radio equipment for police cars,
5. Contracted for rental of fourteen police cars to replace use of privately-owned cars by county police,
6. Undertook entire rehabilitation of county jail.

In the field of public health and welfare, the county council has:

---

[3] See "Charleston County Manager Plan Upheld," the REVIEW, June 1949, page 295.

1. Completed a bond issue for a new county tuberculosis sanitorium,
2. Completed plans for construction of an auxiliary county health center,
3. Purchased 66 acres of land for location of a new armory and other public purposes.

The Charleston county manager plan stood its first test at the polls during the July Democratic primary. It is important to observe that all candidates for the state legislature representing the county went on record as supporting the plan. The degree of popular support for the council-manager plan may be deduced from the fact that no political challenge to the county council arose during an otherwise hotly contested election. Of the two council seats at stake, one incumbent was returned and, although the other incumbent was defeated for re-election, his successful opponent stood as a supporter of the work of the council.

Citizens Impressed

The average citizen is currently impressed with a number of things about his county government. For the first time he has a responsible, non-political county executive to whom he can turn with complaints and suggestions or to whom he can go for advice and assistance. Further, he has a county governing body which is no longer in the main current of statewide political tides or subject to absentee control by legislative maneuvering in the state capitol. The voter is pleased and slightly surprised that the county has turned up a surplus in its first year of operation under the new plan. He knows this to be an index of economy and is satisfied that it is also equated with efficiency and good management.

Despite constitutional barriers to complete rationalization of county government, Charleston County's experience with a modified manager plan shows evidence of significant administrative accomplishments. The integrated fiscal controls, the careful planning and execution of the budget and the centralization of purchasing, for example, have made themselves felt even in the offices not directly under the council. The influence of sound organization and management in those offices directly under the county manager is bound to have a salutary effect on the peripheral county agencies. The skill of the manager in developing and maintaining good relationships with all departments during the first year may be reckoned as a contribution of the plan to the progress of the county as well as a tribute to the manager.

The ease with which traditional county ways of operating were abandoned in favor of a more rational administrative system should be heartening to the student of politics and administration. The urge for political experimentation is not notably strong in South Carolina, but in this instance the change was made with commendable ease and appears to have developed strong local roots. To some extent this may be an indication of the need for the change although the system was not installed as the result of a wave of popular indignation following scandals. Feeling the need for improvement, Charleston County has looked upon the county manager plan and finds the prospect pleasing.

New Type Civic Laboratory

Philadelphia teachers and pupils study work of citizens drafting first home rule charter in 250-year history.

By **HARRY H. SHAPIRO***

THE community William Penn founded as a "noble experiment" has for several years been taking critical political stock of itself. A searching self-analysis of its political way of life, as well as the direction which its future can take, will reach a climax within the next several months. Philadelphia is witnessing a serious attempt to modernize its form of government by its own citizens—not by the legislature of the state of Pennsylvania. For the first time in its more than 250-year history the city will write its own home rule charter. The draft of the proposed new charter, submitted to the public on September 6 for critical evaluation, gives "bright promise of really better government for the people of Philadelphia."

In April 1949 the state legislature gave Philadelphia the opportunity to draft its own charter. This has presented a challenge to the citizens to make good on their expressed conviction that a modern form of government will stimulate civic consciousness and make possible efficiency and honesty in government.

When the Philadelphia Charter Commission began its deliberations and public hearings, an opportunity presented itself for the dissemination of information on home rule. Planning of the Curriculum Office of the Philadelphia Public Schools has given teachers an opportunity to participate in a learning activity—the Philadelphia city charter—and to encourage pupils to study the work of the charter commission, to enlist parents and friends in learning about the needs of Philadelphia's government and so to lend much needed support to the deliberations of the commission.

Involved in this educational project are several well known citizen organizations. The Greater Philadelphia Movement, the Committee of Seventy and the Citizens Charter Committee have from the beginning participated vigorously. The professional staff of the charter commission and the University of Pennsylvania, through its Department of Political Science and Institute of State and Local Government, have also been significant participants.

On March 3, 1950, the Curriculum Office of the Board of Education met with the principals of the secondary schools to consider an education program on the charter movement. Educators in Philadelphia had long been mindful of their civic responsibilities. What better "real life teaching experience" than this. The following statements from this March meeting point up the inherent values of education for citizenship:

---

*Dr. Shapiro is curriculum assistant for city government and planning in the Philadelphia Public Schools. Formerly a teacher of social studies, he was, from 1945 to 1949, college coordinator for veterans education in the Philadelphia schools.

1. A program of education giving youth and community an opportunity to demonstrate the importance of public education in a democratic society should be undertaken by the Philadelphia Board of Education.

2. This program should be the beginning of a continual process geared to Philadelphia's need for civic education.

3. Plans for a flexible program of instruction related to the city charter should be developed, offering all students a minimum basic program. Opportunity for special activities could be planned in individual schools.

4. The program should be designed to include citizen groups, parents, as well as students.

5. While a cooperative relationship with nonpartisan community groups is desirable, activities should be kept on an educational level. This would eliminate awards, contests and prizes.

'City Charter Week'

With these objectives in mind, the week of April 10 was designated as "City Charter Seminar Week." The purpose of the seminar was to provide intensive training for the department heads or teachers of the 45 secondary schools attending, so that they could impart to teachers, pupils and parents the basic issues and problems related to the proposed charter. It was hoped that the teachers, using their own creativity, would find appropriate educational activities for their schools.

Representatives of the public schools of Baltimore, New York and Cincinnati were invited to participate in the seminar. Because of the work being carried out by the Committee of Seventy, Greater Philadelphia Movement and Citizens Charter Committee, as well as the members of the Charter Commission itself, their representatives were asked to participate in this program. Cooperation between these groups and the schools augurs well for the political conscience and for civic awareness.

The Curriculum Office of the schools afforded both a guide and credo to those participating in the seminar by issuing this statement:

"The city of Philadelphia is now engaged in a reconsideration of its governmental structure. Soon its adult citizens will be asked to vote either *for* or *against* a new city charter. . . .

"While youth enrolled in the Philadelphia public schools will not vote in this election, they too are citizens whose welfare throughout their lives will be vitally affected. An improved city charter should bring to them increased opportunities and responsibilities for helping achieve a better Philadelphia.

"The teachers, principals and administrators of the Philadelphia public schools welcome the privilege of sharing in the development of a comprehensive educational program with respect to the proposed city charter. . . .

"It should be clearly understood that the work of the schools will be effective only as it is paralleled by vigorous activities of many other civic agencies. Youth should not be asked to carry the responsibilities that properly belong to adults.

Program Announced

"That there may be understanding of what the public schools will do, and also what it is not suitable for them to do, the following points relative to policy and program are here set forth:

1. All pupils in grades seven through twelve, and many pupils in lower grades, will study the work of the commission while a city charter for Philadelphia is under consideration.
2. In matters of city government that are controversial, the schools will provide study on a comprehensive and nonpartisan basis. They will not permit the classrooms and assemblies to be used to spread propaganda for one side of any issue. This is in accord with the schools' policy on all social questions.
3. It will be the objective of the schools to conduct this study so as to develop lasting interests, understandings and skills concerning city government. Pupils will be taught that no governmental structure is any better than the citizens who operate it. They will be challenged to think and act as the inheritors of the great civic ideals that have here in Philadelphia so often been given new and enduring expression.
4. In this study of city government, schools will utilize the most effective teaching methods and instructional devices at their command. Much use will be made of dramatization, discussion, debate, opinion polls, visual aids, radio and television programs and excursions. These will be used to enrich group projects and individual study.
5. The schools will share with other organizations the conduct of adult education activities with regard to the proposed charter. Pupils will be encouraged to discuss this topic with parents and other adults. Parent-teacher organizations will study the subject. Teachers and principals, acting as private citizens, will participate, at their own discretion, in the related programs of non-school groups.
6. Throughout the years ahead the schools will do their part in maintaining an adequate program of civic education. They will act with full recognition of the stubborn truth that good government will be maintained only as each generation eagerly shoulders its civic responsibilities."

The seminar was both intensive and extensive in material covered and aspects of city government considered. During the five morning sessions formal addresses by key representatives in the field enabled those attending to become thoroughly acquainted with these pertinent topics: (1) Structure of Philadelphia's present government, (2) past attempts to improve the structure of Philadelphia's government, (3) government in America's cities, (4) the form of government, the executive and the council, (5) personnel selection and management, (6) financial management, (7) municipal services.

Following each morning session, the teachers considered appropriate methods for classroom teaching, preparation of material suitable for distribution to students and other related matters. The teachers felt impelled to express their views in a petition to the Charter Commission. It requested the commission to:

"Present to the electorate of Philadelphia a proposed charter embodying the best ideas of municipal government now known. . . . In each instance where it is within the power of the commission to choose between what is fundamentally right and what is expedient the right shall prevail. As teachers, we and our associates carry large responsibilities for developing among youth those attitudes, understandings and skills essential to effective citizenship. To the extent that we may point with justifiable pride to a city charter, noble in purpose, efficient in plan and consistent in detail—to that extent will we be able to instruct and challenge youth for their full responsibility as citizens."

During the seminar sessions the teachers heard strong and persuasive arguments for varying points of view. Although it is the policy of the schools not to engage in political disputes nor to advocate any particular point of view, teachers were free to discuss the merits and weaknesses of the suggestions presented. This helps promote independent and critical evaluation of political programs of civic agencies as well as local political parties and encourages among teachers and students the widest latitude of discussion. At the same time this policy avoids involvement in sectional politics which would dissipate the necessary independence of the teaching staff.

Several weeks after the charter seminar teachers of grades seven and eight were invited to participate in a one-day institute on the charter. A program similar to that of the earlier week-long meeting was developed.

Charter Activities Reported

So that the several thousand public school teachers could be kept informed of activities related to the charter and important events in municipal government in other cities, a weekly publication, the *Philadelphia Charter Reporter,* is distributed to all the schools. Issued with the cooperation of the Citizens' Charter Committee and prepared jointly by Dr. Tanner G. Duckrey of the Charter Commission and this writer, it informs teachers of city charter news, gives editorial comment from local papers and from organizations, lists notes of interest to teachers on activities within the schools, and suggests teaching aids, materials available for instruction and the like.

The many and varied activities within the schools are indicative of the acceptance by teachers and pupils of the importance of citizen education. The approach to students through assembly programs has proved popular. These have included talks by students as well as members of civic organizations. Panel discussions have evoked sharp discussion among students. The Committee of Seventy has provided model voting machines and speakers to explain voting procedures.

Students have conducted neighborhood polls on the new charter. One high school, in polling nine thousand residents on local civic affairs, was surprised to learn that 50 per cent did not know a new charter was in process. It seemed incredible that 31 per cent did not know Philadelphia's present form of government and 29 per cent evinced so little interest that they did not intend to vote on the proposed referendum. Certainly the challenge to education is evidenced here.

In line with the interest of students in the coverage given the activities of the Charter Commission by the press, several students of a junior high school wrote letters to the editor of the evening paper, requesting daily news releases on the charter. An editorial in that paper attested to the importance of the students' activities. At another junior high school, located in a new residential area, students devised their own subject matter in a poll on the charter. The results indicated a strong feeling for some definite change in the form of government that would make city government more truly responsive to the will of the citizens.

In classrooms, student interest has been aroused and maintained through discussion in current events courses as well as in the formal course in government. Graduation exercises in some schools have dwelt upon the theme of Philadelphia government. School papers and magazines have been used as a means of arousing interest in the study of city problems. Bulletin board items and posters, cartoon contests, construction and drawing of posters, have deepened interest. Schools have sent classes and student government representatives to the public meetings of the Charter Commission.

There has been considerable activity in local communities through the use of neighborhood papers and polls. One school is conducting a parents' class on Philadelphia government with a volunteer teacher as leader. Another has enlisted the interest of the Fathers' Association. Parent-teacher meetings have focused attention on the charter. One meeting of the charter seminar centered around the ideas of students relative to the needs of Philadelphia.

Long Range Plan

The culminating activities for the spring semester centered around a four-day institute on the charter. During the 1950 summer workshop for teachers, opportunities were presented for the development of teaching materials on the charter movement.

The long range plan of the public schools envisages a program of civic education which will exert maximum influence in preparing the future citizens of Philadelphia to be intelligently concerned with the carrying out of a project which will, in the words of the Committee of Seventy, "Develop a better informed electorate for the future and at the same time help to secure better results today. With a quarter of a million boys and girls getting a working knowledge of the grass roots of our political system, the setup of municipal government and the right way to use the tools of citizenship, they are bound to develop a greater political and civic interest among parents."

The Philadelphia Inquirer comments that this educational project "Should help develop a lasting interest in good government that must prove valuable to the community later on."

The Greater Philadelphia Movement has attributed to the work of the schools, "The expansion of fundamental interest in government and an extremely important element in wider citizen participation. This by-product is as important as the charter itself."

As Dr. C. Leslie Cushman, associate superintendent of schools, has said, "The schools are making an all-out attempt to carry their full share, and a little more, in education with respect to the charter. We are doing this because of the evidence we have that over a period of years good or bad government comes more from the understanding and sense of responsibility that characterizes the citizenry than from the structure of that government."

With the first draft of the new charter completed and ready for public appraisal and discussion prior to the referendum on the issue, the schools will carry that "full share, and a little more." It is essential that we appraise the results of this program not only in its more immediate effects but in the greater task of educating the generations of future citizens who will exert their influence upon local community affairs in the years to come.

PITTSBURGH—'SMOKELESS CITY'

(Continued from page 493)

control information; cities with similar problems, both in our own country and abroad, constantly send their queries and delegations. Indeed, smoke control appears to be the very cornerstone of the great civic improvement program now going forward. It has quickened the civic conscience against traffic congestion, stream pollution, parking problems and blighted areas.

Impressive as the accomplishments have been, they are modest in view of what remains to be done. In seven short years, Pittsburgh has gone well on the way toward wiping out the mistakes and neglect of nearly three generations. Its average citizens, as they buy fuel and fire their furnaces, are trying hard to remember that their city's future progress is at stake in that simple act. Perhaps much more may depend upon it. It may be even as the *Christian Science Monitor* has said: "Pittsburgh is the test of industrialism everywhere to rebuild upon the gritty ruins of the past a society more equitable, more spacious, more in the human scale."

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Mutual Aid Keystone of Civil Defense

Federal Blueprint Spurs Intergovernmental Action

WITH the publication and distribution of the National Security Resources Board's report on *United States Civil Defense,* the way has been more widely opened for municipal, state and interstate organization and cooperation in the field of civilian defense, primarily against the effects of possible bombing, atomic or otherwise.

After considerable delay the 162-page booklet was transmitted to Congress on September 18 by President Truman, with a message stating that he would set up a temporary Civil Defense Administration to provide "a central point of leadership for state and local efforts," pending enactment of permanent legislation by Congress. Such action is expected some time after the return of Congress, scheduled for November 27. It recessed September 23.

The report is credited to the NSRB's Office of Civil Defense, headed by Paul J. Larsen, formerly a research official with the Atomic Energy Commission; he resigned from the OCD upon completion and issuance of the report. He urged that each governor at once appoint a state civilian defense director and a civil advisory council, the director in turn to enlist the specialized assistance of other state officials such as police and health department heads; and that the states evaluate their civil defense needs and resources as an aid to Congress in determining the amount of federal assistance. Present plans are said to limit the federal government's share in the program to planning, training and provision of some of the necessary equipment, with Congress to determine the extent of federal financial aid.

The report emphasized the need of close cooperation between citizens and government and between all levels of government. It states that the basic operating responsibility for civil defense lies on the individual and his local government. The state should stimulate, supervise and coordinate civil defense planning and operations within its area and direct operations as necessary in emergencies; it should also "participate in interstate planning and operations in collaboration with the federal government, provide supervision, instructors and facilities for appropriate training programs, assume its share of financial responsibility and accept and allocate such federal funds, supplies or equipment as may be provided for the counties, cities and towns."

The plan calls for mutual aid arrangements between municipalities, with state participation so far as necessary, especially in the vicinity of important potential target areas. Mobile support units, under direction of state authorities, are also specified, including fire, rescue, first-aid, engineering, radiological defense, police and other special teams to serve wherever needed.

On October 5 and 6 a special session of the U. S. Conference of Mayors was held in Washington, with W. Stuart Symington, chairman of the NSRB, and other federal officials attending, to discuss civil defense plans. Despite complaints that preparations by some cities have been delayed by lack of information on the extent of federal financial aid, it developed that a number of states, including New York, are pushing ahead with their programs on the theory that the problem is largely local, that self-reliance is an important element in self-defense, and that the source of funds is the American people, in any event.

On September 30, Harold C. Ostertag, New York legislator and chairman of the Eastern Conference on Civil Defense, announced the formation of an interstate committee to draft a ten-state civil defense compact, to provide mutual aid across state lines in case of a war emergency. The prospective participants are the six New England states, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware.

Mutual aid plans have not waited for a federal program, except in part. In the west as well as the east communities have gotten together to make cooperative arrangements. *Western City* reports, "Throughout the west, and especially in the three coastal states, mutual aid plans are being made, revised, tightened and expanded." Mayors of 65 northern and central California cities met with representatives of the state and the League of California Cities to initiate civil defense planning on an area basis, and other regional meetings have been held in the coast area.

City Manager C. A. Harrell of Norfolk, Virginia, has had 100,000 copies of a sixteen-page civilian defense handbook, in simplified, graphic form, prepared for free distribution to all families in that city—probably the first to do so.

Census of Governments Placed on Five-year Basis

Under legislation signed by President Truman on September 7 a complete "census of governments" will be taken for 1952 and each five years thereafter, covering at least the subjects of "taxes and tax valuations, governmental receipts, expenditures, indebtedness and employees." The new law replaced a part of the old Census Act of 1902, which merely authorized—but did not require—that such a census be taken each ten years. Periodic reporting of benchmark government statistics is thus placed on a statutory basis like that for the quinquennial censuses of manufacturing, trade and service industries and agriculture.

In planning the census of governments for 1952, the Census Bureau has sought the help of a representative group including state and municipal officials, economic research agencies, professors of political science and economics and others directly interested in governmental statistics.

The first major phase of the 1952 census will involve identification and listing of all local governments in the nation. The Census Bureau expects to publish such figures by early 1952, bringing up to date the count last made for 1942, when over 108,000 school districts and 46,000 other local governments were reported in existence. Reports on other subjects are being scheduled for publication at intervals from 1952 until mid-1954.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The following cities have adopted the council-manager plan in recent months: **Park Forest, Illinois,** (11,500) **Santa Paula, California,** (8,986) **Jasper, Alabama,** (6,847) and **Falls Church, Virginia,** (2,576). **Corona, California,** (8,764) adopted the plan in 1949.

The borough of **Lititz, Pennsylvania,** (4,840) has created the office of borough manager.

The city council of **Avalon, California,** a municipality of about 2,000 on Catalina Island, adopted a city manager ordinance on August 7. A manager has since been appointed.

At a recent special town meeting in **Bar Harbor, Maine,** citizens voted 572 to 354 to retain council-manager government.

The coming town meeting in **Dartmouth, Massachusetts,** will consider the appointment of a committee to study the manager plan, reporting to the next annual town meeting.

In **Quincy, Massachusetts,** which came under the manager plan this year, City Manager W. J. Deegan, Jr., has announced plans to abolish twelve autonomous boards and commissions in that city, thus testing the charter provision that the manager shall have all powers and duties, other than legislative, possessed by "the mayor, board of aldermen, common council and all other boards, commissions and committees of the city" immediately prior to adoption of the manager plan.

In **New Britain, Connecticut,** after two years of study with the aid of two expert consultants, the Citizens Non-Partisan Committee has completed a council-manager charter for submission to the people and their elected representatives.

The people of **Niagara Falls, New York,** will vote November 7 on three charter amendments designed to strengthen the manager plan now in use in that city. One would delay the removal of a manager for 30 days during which he would be entitled to a public hearing. The second would empower the manager to appoint and remove city employees, including officers of the police department, necessary for the proper conduct of city work, without approval of the city council. The third would prohibit the council from directing or requesting the appointment of any person by the manager, or from attempting in any way to influence his appointments, or from interfering with the manager's performance of his duties. A citizens' committee has been established to furnish the voters with information about these proposals.

Pennsylvania's League of Third Class Cities, at its 1950 convention in York, rebuffed as usual a proposal to allow voters of the 47 third-class cities to adopt the council-manager plan if they wish it, as is permitted in the case of boroughs and first-class townships. A resolution by Mayor Edward L. Sittler, Jr., of Uniontown, favoring local referenda on the manager plan, was reported unfavorably by the resolutions committee on September 30, and the report of the latter was apparently approved by a voice vote. Mayor Sittler demanded a roll call on his resolution but the convention adjourned while he spoke.

The Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce on September 21 approved proposed legislation for optional council-manager government for third-class cities. The bill would allow the voters to elect a mayor and a comptroller, however.

At a recent hearing on a proposed charter for **Philadelphia** the Philadelphia Committee of 70 called upon the city's Charter Commission to draft a new, alternative charter, based on the council-manager plan, for submission to the voters. The charter draft just completed by the commission proposes the strong mayor plan with provision for a managing director.[1]

Petitions for a November 17 vote on the council-manager plan have been filed in **Buena Vista** and **Harrison-**

---

[1] See the REVIEW, October, page 455.

burg, Virginia. Harrisonburg now has the plan by ordinance.

The Charter Commission of the village of **Berrien Springs, Michigan,** elected last spring, will present a council-manager charter to the voters.

The **Allegan, Michigan,** *Gazette* for September 25 comments that the Allegan city manager reports a cash balance of $47,190 at the end of the fiscal year while the state auditor general's report on examination of the books of Allegan County shows no balance in the county's general fund. In the county responsibility is vested in a dozen or more departments, under a board of supervisors that meets only four times a year.

The **Marquette, Michigan,** Charter Commission is providing definitely for a manager charter, Marquette now having a manager by ordinance. The **Manistee** Charter Commission will present to the voters in January a charter strengthening the present manager plan. The city of **Farmington** will vote in November on revising its charter, with the expectation that a manager form will be the result.

For the second time in less than five months voters of **Cheboygan, Michigan,** will hold a referendum on the council-manager plan, on November 7. The question lost on June 26 by 95 votes.

The city council of **Madison, Wisconsin,** has authorized a referendum for November 7 on the question of retaining the council-manager plan.

The **Newport, Kentucky,** Civic Association charges that politicians and gamblers are behind a movement to abolish the council-manager plan in that city. A vote on the question is scheduled for November 7.

A campaign for the council-manager plan is in progress in **Greeneville, Tennessee,** and a referendum on the subject is anticipated by the end of the current year.

Petitions have been circulated in **Fort Scott, Kansas,** for a referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan at the November 7 election. The Junior Chamber of Commerce is spearheading the campaign.

The council-manager plan was narrowly defeated in **Chanute, Kansas,** on October 10. The vote was 1,462 to 1,429.

A petition asking a vote on the council-manager plan, signed by 464 voters, has been filed with the city council of **Tonkawa, Oklahoma.**

Petitions have been presented to the city council of **Miles City, Montana,** asking for an election on the question of adopting the manager plan.

Petitions have been circulated in **St. Anthony, Idaho,** calling on the mayor and council to submit to popular vote, probably in November, the question of adopting the statutory manager plan (chapter 79, Laws of 1917).

The charter commission of **Ogden, Utah,** which has been drafting a council-manager charter, states that it will be ready for submission to the voters soon after January 1.

A vote on the council-manager plan will be held in **Puyallup, Washington,** on December 9.

A referendum will be held November 7 in **Albany, Oregon,** on the question of retaining the council-manager plan approved two years ago. A petition bearing 749 certified names requested the referendum.

A draft of a council-manager charter has been submitted to a committee of 22 citizens in **Arcadia, California,** named by the mayor and city council.

The city council of **Davis, California,** has voted unanimously for a resolution setting up the office of city administrator.

The city council of **Mountain View,**

California, has authorized the city attorney to draft a petition for election in November of a board of freeholders to frame a new charter, possibly on the council-manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Sarnia, Ontario,** is promoting the idea of council-manager government for that city.

The fifth annual New England City Management Institute met at the University of Maine (Orono) August 26-31 with 107 city and town managers in attendance.

The Committee on Managerial Assistance of the League of California Cities has been working on the duties, qualifications and methods of selection of administrative aides and assistants to city managers.

The twentieth biennial convention of the International Association of Fire Fighters (AFL), held in Milwaukee in September, adopted a resolution assailing the council-manager plan as "dictatorial" and "anti-labor," urging the compilation of data on experience of the union's locals with city managers, and prohibiting the association from giving fire department information to city managers.

Over 100 Cities Have Administrative Assistants

A special questionnaire sent out by the International City Managers' Association shows that 101, or 29 per cent, of the 346 cities and counties responding, have administrative assistants on their payrolls.

California cities reported the greatest number, twenty; Michigan was next with twelve.

As considered in the association survey, an assistant is a full-time appointed employee, aiding with at least several functions which are the final responsibility of the city manager.

The types of work performed by assistants included research, answering complaints and public requests for information, minor correspondence for the manager's signature, preparation of the budget or assistance thereon, representing the manager at certain public meetings, taking care of routine purchase orders, preparing bid information and analyzing bids, organizing personnel records, preparing job specifications and conducting examinations and preparing or aiding in preparation of annual reports.

Fifty-three of the 101 reporting cities that have assistants have less than 25,000 residents.

Hatch Act Modified by Congress

Under a bill (H. R. 9023) signed by President Truman on August 25, the Hatch Act was amended so as to permit the U. S. Civil Service Commission to impose lower penalties than removal from the civil service for political activities. The new bill makes the minimum penalty 90 days' suspension.

Canadian Cities Draft National Municipal Program

The Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities has prepared a comprehensive statement of immediate and long-run problems and objectives under the title of a National Municipal Program. It acknowledges the helpful nature of the National Policy and Program announced[1] by the American Municipal Association but goes beyond that program in various respects, particularly as dictated by Canadian conditions and needs. The program is set up under 29 heads and may be summarized briefly:

1. Responsible and autonomous municipal government,

---

[1] See the REVIEW, September 1948, page 435.

2. Urban representation on basis of population for federal and provincial legislative bodies,

3. Furtherance of the dignity and significance of municipal office,

4. Local control of elections, schools and police,

5. Simplified structure of local government,

6. Federal-provincial-municipal relations; direct relations between municipalities and the federal government where necessary,

7. Better cooperation between provincial and municipal governments,

8. Citizen participation in government,

9. Adequate revenues,

10. A proper balance in provincial-municipal fiscal relations,

11. Motor vehicle revenues to be equitably distributed,

12. Strengthening of municipal credit,

13. Lowest municipal cost consistent with adequate service,

14. No exemption of federal and provincial property from local taxation,

15. Improvement of housing by intergovernmental effort,

16. Improved urban transportation,

17. Cooperation of governmental agencies involved in metropolitan area problems,

18. Urban decentralization and redevelopment; study of intergovernmental problems,

19. Municipal airport policy—national approach and integration,

20. Safe and adequate water supply, national and local soil and water conservation efforts,

21. Enhancement of status of municipal civil service,

22. Support of municipal research, with intermunicipal cooperation,

23. National municipal organization to represent the public interest at national level in regard to municipal matters,

24. Coordinated municipal action for federal and provincial legislation to aid municipalities,

25. Problems of the smaller municipalities—cities to cooperate regardless of size,

26. Municipal, provincial and federal services—equitable sharing of financial burden,

27. Municipal control of civilian defense except in extreme emergencies,

28. Federal financing of unemployment relief during depressions,

29. The welfare of the nation to be paramount.

AMA to Hold Annual Meeting in Washington

The American Municipal Association will hold its 27th annual convention (which it now designates American Municipal Congress) at the Hotel Statler in Washington, D. C., December 4, 5 and 6. Special programs for cities of various sizes have been arranged. Topics include home rule, civil defense, crime and the cities, social security, public relations, sewage disposal, highways, traffic and parking problems.

Colorado League Fosters District Organization

In line with a resolution adopted at its recent convention the Colorado Municipal League is taking steps to organize district branches or subdivisions of the league, to hold more frequent meetings and give more attention to local matters than the league itself finds possible. One district organization, the Metropolitan Area Municipal Association, covering Denver, Adams, Arapahoe and Jefferson Counties, was established early in 1949.

(Continued on page 517)

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Santa Clara County Charter Upheld

But Freeholders Draft New Document for November Vote

THE county manager charter for Santa Clara County, California, adopted at the polls on November 2, 1948,[1] has finally been declared valid by the Court of Appeals, highest court in the state. Because of errors in pre-election newspaper publication of the document, the charter has twice been the subject of action seeking to invalidate it.[2]

Meanwhile, since the charter seemed hopelessly tied up in litigation, proponents of the manager plan had asked for election of a second board of freeholders to write a charter which would be free of legal entanglements. On June 6 all members of the board of freeholders drafting the 1948 charter—with one exception—were reelected as a new board on campaign pledges to draft a similar manager document. This new charter has been placed on the November 7th ballot.

County Charter Developments

Fresno, Monterey, Stanislaus and San Joaquin Counties, California, are all working on charter plans.

The board of commissioners of Harnett County, North Carolina, has taken under advisement a recommendation that the county adopt the manager plan. The action was taken at the suggestion of the local certified public accountant who had audited the county's books.

94 Candidates Seek to Write County Charter

Ninety-four persons have filed for election to the fifteen-man King County, Washington, Freeholders' Charter Commission. This is producing for November 7 the longest ballot in Washington state's history. Every voter will have an opportunity to vote for the fifteen of his choice, but the five residents of each of the three election districts who receive the greatest number of votes in their districts will be declared elected.

Some of the candidates would favor continuation of the present county government without change, but another group favors adoption of the merit system, nonpartisan elections, an enlarged county board and a central executive or administrator. In the latter group are the sixteen candidates who served on the Advisory Charter Commission of 34 which was appointed by the county commissioners last year and which has done much preliminary work on a proposed charter.[1] A similar procedure was followed in the 1946 Seattle city charter campaign.

City-County Consolidation Explored

The exploration of the possibilities of city-county consolidation continues in metropolitan areas where the inefficiencies of duplicate and overlapping governmental units are recognized and where there is interest in seeking solutions to the problem.

The Albuquerque, New Mexico,

---

[1] See the REVIEW, December 1948, page 612.

[2] See the REVIEW, January 1949, page 46; April 1949, page 187; and January 1950, page 42.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, January 1950, page 42.

Journal recently stated editorially, "Proposal to merge the city and county governments in Bernalillo County has much to recommend that enabling legislation be secured at the next session of the legislature.

"The city government has appointed a three-man committee to work with Representative Calvin Horn on the drafting of such legislation, and it is expected that the county will do likewise.

"If such legislation is obtained a charter would have to be drafted and then it would be up to the people to approve or reject the plan.

"Albuquerque, with its extension of the city limits, now has the greater part of the population of the county, though not area, and it presents an ideal situation for a single government—one under which economy and efficiency in operation ought to be possible."

In Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia *Inquirer* recently pointed out, "Because the county offices in Philadelphia's government are still a law unto themselves, the proposed new city charter cannot yet weave them into its plan for streamlined administration at city hall.

"That must wait upon an amendment to the state constitution consolidating the city-county government here. The last session of the Assembly approved such an amendment but it must be approved also by the coming session and then ratified by a majority of the voters of the state at a special referendum before it can become effective.

"When consolidation is achieved, according to the charter draft, council may by ordinance transfer the present functions of county offices to suitable city departments, boards and commissions. Costly duplications in service can then be ended, unnecessary agencies abolished and all employees placed under civil service. . . .

"Should the 1951 session of the Assembly pass the consolidation amendment, the proposal would in the ordinary course be placed before the voters in the subsequent November election. By that time, however, a number of county officials, including the sheriff, district attorney, recorder of deeds, clerk of courts and county commissioners, would already have been nominated and would be up for election for four-year terms under existing legislation. Changes in their setups and possible mergers with city offices, would probably have to be put off for another four years.

"A special election is planned for early next year so that Philadelphians can vote on the proposed new charter. If the legislature should approve the consolidation amendment early in its session—and bipartisan agreement should make that possible—a statewide vote on the amendment might be held the same day as the charter referendum in this city. Here is a time-saving process that is worth consideration."

Road District Consolidation Continues

Union County, Illinois, an agricultural county lying along the Mississippi River, recently reduced the number of its road districts from thirteen to four, following an investigation by the county farm bureau that revealed a disproportionately high percentage of road funds absorbed in supervisory costs. The reduction was accomplished by securing twenty signatures on petitions in each district under consideration for consolidation. The petitions were filed with the county commissioners who reorganized the road districts after

(Continued on page 532)

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Used in Local Elections Abroad

Eire, Sweden, Finland Choose Council Members

ELECTION of municipal and county councils by P. R. systems took place this fall in Eire (Ireland), Sweden and Finland. The Irish election held September 20 utilized the Hare system (single transferable vote), whereas the Swedish elections of September 17 and the Finnish elections on October 1 and 2 were under party list forms of P. R.

Probably the most remarkable circumstance of the Irish elections was the light vote: only 55 per cent of the eligible voters participated. In contrast the Swedish elections brought out a heavy vote, more than 80 per cent of those entitled to participate. Even the 55 per cent participation in Eire, however, compares favorably with national elections in the United States.

Nation-wide totals for the Irish county council and other local elections published on September 30 in the *Irish Advocate* (New York) show that on first preferences the various independent candidates obtained substantially more votes than those running under party labels, 554,446 out of the 1,040,344 votes tabulated. The candidates of the two largest parties, Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, obtained respectively 217,222 and 127,346 first preferences. Of course, upon further progress of the Hare system count, the votes tended to concentrate upon party candidates and the more outstanding independents and the largest parties, particularly Fianna Fail, did quite well while the Labor party and Clan na Poblachta, among the smaller parties, were heavy losers on transfers.

Fianna Fail won decisively in Meath and Cavan Counties and in the city of Cork, obtaining five of the six aldermanships in Cork. This party lost county council seats in Monaghan and Mayo, however. Fianna Fail forms the opposition, in the national government, to a coalition of parties that has successfully maintained Prime Minister John Costello's government since the national election of 1948.

In the city of Dublin the final results were: Fianna Fail 19, Fine Gael 13, Labor 4, independents 4, Clann na Poblachta 3, Ratepayers 2. The results of the last previous election were: Fianna Fail 19, Fine Gael 12, Labor 11, independents 3.

No elections were held for Dublin and Kerry County councils or for the town council of Traymore, these bodies having been more recently elected than the outgoing councils in other communities which were replaced in the September 20 election.[1]

Finnish Results

Preliminary figures for the election in Helsinki, the Finnish capital, showed a Communist gain with the party, known in Finland as the Popular Democratic party, almost equaling in votes the second largest party, the Conservative, which had dropped considerably in strength. The Social Democrats were again the largest group, registering only a slight loss in strength. The distribution of seats according to figures reported in the Newark, New Jersey,

---

[1] See the REVIEW, February 1949, page 95.

News on October 3, was: Social Democrats 19, Conservatives 16, Communists 15, Swedish People's party 13, Liberals 8.

As the returns came in from the rest of the country it became apparent that the Right and Center parties would obtain an aggregate majority of the seats on the various county and city councils, but it was not until the returns from the Aaland Islands, polled two days later than the rest, came in that a popular vote majority for those parties was indicated. In those islands, whose population is Swedish-speaking, not only did the Communists obtain no seats in city or county councils but also the Social Democrats were equally unsuccessful. Preliminary nation-wide figures reported in the Newark *News* on October 6, excluding only a dozen small election districts, showed an aggregate vote of 742,832 for the Right and Center parties out of a total poll of 1,449,388.

Swedish Elections

The most striking effect of the Swedish municipal elections was the defeat of the Communists in every section of the country. The Communist party on the aggregate lost 66 per cent of the representation it had obtained in the 1946 municipal elections, losing seats even in its traditional strongholds in the mining country north of the Arctic Circle and in the big industrial cities and ports.

On nation-wide totals the Social Democratic party polled about 49 per cent of the vote, as compared with 44.4 per cent in 1946 and 46.1 per cent in the parliamentary elections of 1948. The People's party, sometimes referred to as the Liberals, obtained 22.8 per cent of the votes, maintaining almost all of its gains registered in 1948. The Farmers' Union, with 12.4 per cent, did not regain ground lost in 1948 but maintained its position percentagewise. The Conservatives, with 11.8 per cent showed a continuing slight loss beyond that indicated by the 1948 vote. The Communists obtained less than 5 per cent of the vote, as against 11.2 per cent in 1946 and 6.3 per cent in the 1948 parliamentary elections.

Because the seats in the various counties and the six cities—which are not represented in the county councils—represent constituencies of widely varying sizes, no close correlation between the total votes and total seats of each party can be expected. Thus the Farmers' Union with only a slightly larger total vote than the Conservatives, obtained 221 seats, while the Conservatives obtained only 146.

The People's party registered the largest gain in number of seats, adding 112 to make 356. The Social Democrats added 86 for a total of 828. The Communists lost 76 seats to retain only 31.

The election results in Stockholm swept a dozen Communists out of the city council, leaving only five, a number insufficient to entitle the party to representation on administrative boards and agencies of the city. The People's party won fourteen seats, more than offsetting the Conservative losses. The People's and Conservative parties together polled 49.12 per cent of the vote and obtained 51 out of 100 seats, obtaining a joint majority for the first time in many years. The Social Democrats obtained 44 seats with 43.16 per cent of the total vote, a gain of six places. The Communists polled 7.72 per cent of the Stockholm vote.

Wheeling Votes on Retention of P. R.

The city council of Wheeling, West Virginia, placed on the November 7 ballot the question of whether the city will continue to use the Hare system of proportional representation for the election of the council. At the same time voters will be given an opportunity to choose between two alternative plans for choosing council members, the so-called ABC plan and a modified ward system. The first would divide the city into three districts each of which would elect three councilmen; the second would provide for nomination of two each in eleven wards, one of which would be selected from each ward in the general election but with the voting at large.

The Wheeling Association, which was active in the city's adoption of the council-manager plan and P. R in 1935, is conducting a campaign in defense of proportional representation.

P. R. Meeting to Stress Massachusetts

At the annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League, to be held in Buffalo, November 21, the topic will be "Massachusetts—P. R. Laboratory." Speakers include Francis A. Harrington, Worcester Citizens Plan "E" Association; Gabriel L. Kaplan, legislative counsel to Stanley Isaacs, minority leader in New York City council; George H. Hallett, Jr., director 1949 P. R. election in Worcester, consultant to Revere and Medford. Seven Massachusetts communities are governed by Plan E charters providing council-manager government with proportional representation for the election of the city council and school board — Cambridge, Lowell, Worcester, Medford, Revere, Quincy, and Saugus. Somerville and Gloucester have also adopted the plan, to go into effect a year hence, but may be deprived of the use of P. R. because of legislative action. Hon. Albert D. Cash, mayor of Cincinnati and president of the P. R. League, will preside at the meeting, held during the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 512)

Civil Service Law to Be Recodified in New York State

Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York has appointed five members of a Temporary Commission to Recodify the Civil Service Law. Three more members are chosen by the president pro tem of the Senate and three by the speaker of the Assembly. An appropriation of $50,000 has been made for expenses and staff salaries.

PACH Receives Half Million Grant

The Public Administration Clearing House, with headquarters at 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago, has received a grant of $500,000 from the Ford Foundation. As a result it plans to expand its activities promptly in the fields of national and international administration. These are expected to include the providing of advisory services to administrative officials, encouraging practical research, interchanging information on administrative practices, holding of conferences and enlisting the services of specialized organizations in the field of administration.

PACH was established in 1931, with the aid of grants from the Spelman Fund of New York, for the purpose of facilitating the exchange of information and experience among groups and institutions which are concerned with the improvement of the administrative techniques of government.

State Taxes Set New Record

Collections for 1950 Double Those of 1942

TAX collections of the 48 states in the 1950 fiscal year aggregated $8,967,198,000, a gain of 7.4 per cent over fiscal 1949, according to the preliminary report of the Census Bureau.[1] Exclusive of the tax contributions of employers and employees for unemployment compensation, tax receipts were $7,939,165,000, a figure 7.6 per cent above 1949 and 103.4 per cent higher than fiscal 1942. The 1950 collections set an all-time record, receipts excluding unemployment taxes comparing with $4,307,000,000 in the last wartime year, fiscal 1945.

As compared with 1949, receipts from individual taxes in fiscal 1950 showed considerable variation.[2] Sales and gross receipts taxes as a group, which represented 59 per cent of the total (excluding unemployment compensation taxes) rose 4.7 per cent to $4,686,603,000. General sales taxes, amounting to $1,678,571,000, or 21.1 per cent of the total, rose only 4.3 per cent over fiscal 1949, however, while motor vehicle fuel taxes were up 13.7 per cent over the prior year to $1,547,895,000, or 19.5 per cent of the total. Gains between 8 and 10 per cent were shown by most other components of the sales tax group, but alcoholic beverage taxes were down 1.1 per cent to $421,603,000.

License and privilege taxes as a group accounted for $1,210,937,000, or 15.3 per cent, of the total. They stood 11.2 per cent above fiscal 1949. Motor vehicle and operators licenses, up 12.7 per cent over the prior year, accounted for the bulk of the receipts in the group, $749,154,000. Other taxes in the group were led by a 17.2 per cent increase for general licenses on corporations. Alcoholic beverage licenses barely held their own, however, increasing only 6/10 of one per cent over fiscal 1949.

Income Taxes Increase

While rate adjustments were minor factors in sales tax and license increases for the year, they appear to have played an important part in raising income tax collections in fiscal 1950 above 1949 by 7 per cent. New York, which had permitted a 40 per cent deduction in the payment of 1948 taxes in 1949, cut the rebate to a 10 per cent deduction for 1949 taxes, payable in 1950. California, another state where income tax collections bulk large, eliminated a temporary reduction dating from 1943, and there were adjustments in rates or deductions in exemptions in other states. Consequently, individual income tax receipts advanced sufficiently to offset a decline in taxes on corporate income. Individual income tax collections in fiscal 1950 were $743,000,000 compared with $593,000,000 the preceding year, and corporation income taxes were $578,000,000 compared with $641,000,000 in fiscal 1949. Individual and corporation income taxes together represented 16.6 per cent of state collections in fiscal 1950.

---

[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, *State Tax Collections in 1950*. Washington, D. C., August 1950, 10 pages, tables.

[2] The 1950 fiscal year closed June 30, 1950, in 42 states; on May 31, 1950, in Pennsylvania; on March 31, 1950, in New York and Washington; on September 30, 1949, in Alabama and Wyoming; and on August 31, 1949, in Texas.

Tax collections ranged down from $888,000,000 in New York to $10,000,000 in Nevada (the totals again excluding unemployment compensation taxes). California, second to New York, had collections aggregating $805,000,000, only 8 per cent below the Empire State total. The third-place holder, Pennsylvania, had collections of $440,000,000, less than half New York's total. Below Pennsylvania in rank were nine states with collections exceeding $200,000,000, while there were sixteen states with receipts between $100,000,000 and $200,000,000.

Many of the states derived a relatively large proportion of their tax revenue from a single type of tax. The largest yield produced by a single tax was in California, where the general sales and use tax produced $321,560,000, or 40 per cent of the state's total tax receipts. New York's $262,916,000 from the individual income tax ranked second largest among the taxes and accounted for roundly 30 per cent of the state's receipts. With the related corporation income tax, all income taxes in New York raised $443,580,000 or half the total. The third highest individual yield was of the sales tax in Michigan, the $204,417,000 collected accounting for slightly more than half the state's total collections.

The sales tax accounted for better than one-third of total collections in such states as Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. In Texas, $102,692,000, or nearly one-third of all receipts, was produced by severance taxes, reflecting the state's leading position in oil production. In Florida, $51,205,000 or about 30 per cent of all state receipts came from the motor fuel tax.

Houston Area Studies Assessments

An intensive study of the relationship between the selling price of real estate and the assessed valuation of the parcels of property concerned has been made by the Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, Texas. On the basis of actual sales, it was found that Harris County assessments amounted to 16 per cent of the actual selling price, city of Houston assessments to 29 per cent, and Houston independent school district assessments to 27 per cent. The "official" ratios of assessment to full or fair value are 40 per cent for the county and 70 per cent for the city and school district, based on prewar cost levels.

A wide variation was found in the assessed value–selling price relationship. In one census tract outside Houston, but with urban-type development, there was a range from assessments as low as 3.04 per cent of selling price to as high as 88 per cent of selling price. For the entire tract the assessed value represented 15.8 per cent of the selling price. The range here was apparently larger than in most cases, but otherwise fairly typical.

While the study was carefully set up to eliminate sales showing evidence of factors which would make the transactions other than sales between willing buyers and sellers, it did not cover property not sold during the period on which the assessment was legally based. Hence, the results are not necessarily indicative of the level of assessments on properties which have not changed hands, although it seems likely that ratios of assessed value to market value are as low or lower in properties not surveyed as in those sold and studied by the association.

The findings of the study emphasize one disadvantage of a policy of fixing assessed values at a level relatively much below full or true value: wide variations in assessment ratios easily become the rule. In the case of the tract cited above, 87 per cent of the properties studied were assessed by the county at less than the 40 per cent ratio officially used. It is hardly likely that the owners of any of these properties have or will protest their assessments as unfair. The other 13 per cent might protest, and get their assessments lowered, or they conceivably may include some owners who regard their properties as advantageously priced relative to some other property which also happens to be assessed at a higher ratio and hence "fairly" assessed.

Where as a matter of policy a relatively high ratio of assessment is used, the area in which owners will tolerate any material variation in assessment equality without protest is reduced. If, for example, assessments are made at a stated 100 per cent of present fair value, any property assessed markedly below that basis is conspicuous as an instance of incompetence or gross favoritism to the owner, while any over-assessment may be expected to result in prompt protest to the reviewing agency. There may under such a setup be considerable argument as to what full value actually is, but each taxpayer will be able readily to provide his own test, something not easy or likely in many instances when the assessment ratio is low and the base is a remote period when different price levels prevailed.

Fraud Charged in New York Schools

New York City's police-gambling inquiry has not been edged off the front pages by a new scandal, but it has been given serious competition by the disclosure that the city's school system has been squandering vast sums by systematic evasion of purchasing regulations. According to press reports, evidence has been presented to the New York County grand jury and indictments requested.

Most flagrant violations appear to have occurred in connection with "oral" purchase orders, which under the board's regulations are permitted on purchases involving less than $200. New York Commissioner of Investigation James H. Sheils reported that in 1948-49 the school maintenance bureau issued 9,994 oral orders with a total value of $1,072,349. During the first half of 1949-50, with the investigation under way, use of oral orders dropped to 961 totaling $107,153.

Unit prices were found generally higher under oral orders than under competitive bidding. Mr. Shiels was reported by the press to have found that half of $65,890 spent for paint in 1948-49 was distributed under oral orders, with oral order prices ranging from $2.65 to $4.25 per gallon compared with prices for the same paints under quantity contracts of $1.50 to $2.72 per gallon. The savings thus ranged from 44 per cent to 36 per cent under the quantity contracts.

The board's regulations required that purchase orders exceeding $1,000 need approval of the budget director and the board's building committee. There were instances, the commissioner of investigations reported, where orders were "deliberately split" to avoid submission of orders for this approval. Evidence was also found of failure to inspect materials for adherence to specifications. Since the investigation began last winter, responsibility for purchase of paints and other supplies has been taken from the maintenance bureau and placed with the bureau of supplies.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Foundation Offers Awards for Getting Out Vote

Civic Groups Campaign for Intelligent November Ballot

PRE-ELECTION activities of local and state civic groups have been highlighted by efforts not only to get the voters out to the polls but also to educate them to cast an intelligent ballot.

To dramatize the importance of voting, the American Heritage Foundation has offered "a series of awards to communities, counties and organizations that conduct outstanding community-wide campaigns on the theme, 'Voting Is Everybody's Job.'" Two requirements are laid down: (1) That the foundation be sent, not later than November 20, "a scrapbook or other evidence of nonpartisan community-wide voting effort"; (2) That at the same time an official report of the 1950 election returns of the community or county involved be submitted to the foundation. An application blank for the award may be secured from the foundation, 25 West 45th Street, New York 19.

The foundation has published an excellent brochure, *Voting Is Everybody's Job,* available upon request. Ideas for the conduct of a get-out-the-vote campaign are also available with numerous one-minute spot announcements, messages from prominent citizens, etc. The foundation announces that "among the awards will be original historical papers and authentic reproductions of the most important documents of our American heritage, handsomely framed and inscribed."

Countless citizen organizations over the country are working along just these lines. The Voters' Service of the League of Women Voters has been doing yeoman service in urging voters to be sure they register so they may be eligible to cast their ballots in the November election. During registration week the New York City league, for instance, manned information booths in department stores, libraries and on street corners; distributed hundreds of posters to stores, libraries, schools, etc., urging voters to "run not walk" to registration booths; candidates meetings gave voters an opportunity of seeing and hearing those people seeking election. The Girl Scout Council of Greater New York cooperated with the league during registration week and on election day, scout members acting as baby sitters.

The League of Women Voters of voteless Washington, D. C., does "a big absentee voters job before every national election," according to *Action,* the national league's publication. Voters from all states come to the booth by the thousands seeking information on how to vote. "This past year the Economic Cooperation Administration printed the league's information on voting privileges and sent it to all overseas employees," reports *Action.* "It forwarded sample copies to other federal agencies who in turn sent them out to more than 150,000 employees serving abroad." Large business concerns secured the information for their men and women abroad.

Blue Ballot Campaign

The League of Women Voters of Illinois, Illinois Agricultural Association, Illinois Council-Manager Conference, State and Junior Chambers of Commerce, State Federation of Labor, the Women's City Club and Men's City Club of Chicago, the Chicago Civic Federation and many other statewide and local groups participated in the work of the Illinois Committee for Constitutional Revision to secure adoption of the so-called "gateway" amendment[1] to the state constitution. The ballot on which the amendment will be voted, the descriptive leaflet issued by the secretary of state and all campaign literature features the color blue. "Vote Yes on the Blue Ballot for the Gateway Amendment," is the slogan.

The Illinois League of Women voters has also distributed widely a circular, "When You Vote," with information on how to split a ticket, vote a straight ticket, vote for amendments, propositions, etc.

Voters Directories

Over 20,000 voters have been sent *Let's Look at the Record: A Voter's Guide to the Candidates for the State Senate and House of Representatives* by the Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester. That city, as well as a number of others in Massachusetts, has adopted the state's optional charter popularly known as Plan E. It provides council-manager government with proportional representation for the election of the city council and school committee. Originally passed by the legislature, the plan has been subjected for some years to constant attempts on the part of legislators to discontinue it entirely or to rip out certain features. For this reason the Worcester association determined to seek the election of legislators from the city sympathetic to the Plan E setup. Each candidate who is "considered capable and supports Plan E" is labelled "preferred." Endorsed were six Democrats and five Republicans.

The Seattle Municipal League has distributed over 46,000 copies of its sixteen-page *Report on Candidates* for the September primary election—the largest number ever given out for a primary. "The large distribution was made possible," says the *Seattle Municipal News,* "through league members' support plus special contributions from several hundred civic-minded citizens." The league anticipated an even greater demand for the report issued prior to the November 7 election.

The Detroit Citizens League and the Civic Club and League of Women Voters (joint project) of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania, are distributing large numbers of their voters' directories.

The Citizens League of Port Huron held a meeting addressed by candidates for the fall primaries. Invitations were issued to candidates for governor, congressmen, state senators, state legislators and county officers.

The Commonwealth Club of California has held several luncheons at which speakers discussed November ballot measures. The club also published a 44-page pamphlet discussing the proposals and took a mail ballot of all its members on them. The Portland (Oregon) City Club has issued committee reports on measures to appear on the ballot in that state with recommendations for or against.

The Citizens Union of New York City, in questioning candidates for the legislature, asked their views on issues in fifteen fields, among them permanent registration, expansion of state aid or New York City's borrowing power for school building, open competitive examinations for top positions in the Attendance Bureau of New York City schools, equality of districts in legislative reapportionment, split legislative sessions, reforms in the method of electing judges, direct election of party district leaders, and the right to amend the state constitution by petition and popular vote. These are all items on the union's legislative program. The four candidates for mayor received a questionnaire on city problems in eleven fields, among the questions: "Will you, if elected, try to appoint as deputy mayor a man with training and experience comparable to the best of the city managers and delegate to him a large part of the administrative supervision? Would you favor the city manager plan for New York City?" The union distributes some 75,000 copies of its *Voters' Directory.*

---

[1] See the REVIEW, October 1950, page 461.

The Citizens Budget Commission of New York has invited candidates for mayor to "make use of the commission's extensive files relating to the city's fiscal and administrative affairs." It also invites mayoralty candidates to discuss with the commission certain specific matters of great public importance. The latter include management, finance, city planning, civil defense, civil service, transit, traffic, housing and urban redevelopment, water supply, education, smoke control and port facilities—all burning questions in the country's largest city.

The State Chambers of Commerce of New York and Pennsylvania have analyzed the votes of past years in their respective states. "Too many Pennsylvanians in the past have failed to register and vote, either overlooking or ignoring this major obligation of citizenship," says the *State Affairs Bulletin* of the Pennsylvania chamber. The New York chamber's pamphlet, *Voter Participation in New York and the Nation,* lists for each state potential voters, votes cast, and the percentage of potential voters actually casting their ballots for 1940, 1944 and 1948. For 1948 the percentage runs from 13 per cent in Alabama and South Carolina to 77 per cent in Connecticut, Massachusetts and Utah.

The Chicago City Club called for volunteers to act as watchers at the November 7 election. In order to educate these volunteers half-hour lectures were given on specified days and election kits were distributed with brief instructions, credentials and assignments.

With the Women Voters

The National League of Women Voters reports that "We Almost Cover the Map." There are 35 state leagues and 739 local leagues in 41 states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii and Alaska, an increase of 45 per cent during the past six years. Present membership is 93,000, a 90 per cent gain over that of six years ago. These six years cover the stewardship of Miss Anna Lord Strauss, national league president, who retired this year. Mrs. John G. Lee, who succeeds Miss Strauss, commented in a recent issue of *Action:* "Thanks to Miss Strauss and her six years of wisdom and untiring effort, the league house is in order. We are healthy and growing. We have sound organizational structure and orderly working procedures, but at the same time we also have the flexibility needed to keep us from becoming static. We shall always be pioneers, constantly trying new ways to meet both old and new needs."

An Institute on State and Local Government was held by the League of Women Voters of Illinois September 15-16 at Springfield. Purpose of the conference was "to measure political pressures and practices at the mid-century against the yardstick of basic American political philosophy and experience, to examine present trends in government operation and to discover where and how citizens may take responsibility for shaping government policy." Among the governmental experts heard were Roy V. Peel, director of the U. S. Census Bureau, Rowland Egger of the University of Virginia, Frank Bane, executive director of the Council of State Governments, Kirk H. Porter of the State University of Iowa, and John E. Bebout, assistant secretary of the National Municipal League.

Support of the county manager plan was indicated by numerous candidates in Anne Arundel County, where the local League of Women Voters sent out questionnaires on various aspects of good government.

The current agenda of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota, as adopted at its convention this year, includes "work for a new state constitution or for constitutional revision with emphasis on (1) strengthening home rule, (2) re-apportionment, and (3) fewer elective officials."

* * *

Planning Activities

Guiding the Growth of the Metropolitan Area (22 pages) is the 1949 report of Lyman Field, general chairman of the Citizens Regional Planning Council for the Counties of Jackson, Clay and Platte in Missouri and Wyandotte and Johnson in Kansas. The pamphlet describes accomplishments of the association and plans to be undertaken.

One accomplishment reported was the successful termination of the Kansas City (Missouri) bond program by the Citizens Planning Council of Kansas City (Missouri), an affiliate. The council sponsored formation of a Citizens Bond Committee as a separate organization to do what the *Kansas City Times* described editorially as "a magnificent job" in citizen research and promotion of a bond program for the city and for Jackson County.

Because of the success of the bond program, the mayor of Kansas City called upon the local council to set up a similar citizen organization to solve the school problem. The Emergency School Committee, as it was termed, was composed of an executive committee of some 60 representatives of local civic, labor and professional groups. Its ten special committees dealt with separate phases of the school system. The final report of the Emergency School Committee gave for the first time "a comprehensive citizen survey of our local education system showing its faults, its good points and its needs."

Recreation Guide to the Pittsburgh Region, by Gilbert Love, (108 pages, 50 cents) was sponsored by the Recreation Conservation and Park Council of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development. It is designed to encourage utilization of the vast recreation opportunities available to the Pittsburgh area.

The Metropolitan Plan Association of St. Louis has pledged its full support to the Bi-State Development Compact and Agency (Missouri-Illinois metropolitan St. Louis area), which has been one of the association's major objectives.

A recent publication of the Passaic-Bergen Community Planning Association is *Families Eligible for Low-Rent Housing*, a report to the city council of Clifton, New Jersey. It is illustrated with charts and maps.

"Municipal Off-Street Parking Systems in the New York Metropolitan Region" are discussed in the *Bulletin* of the Regional Plan Association. Another issue describes "Planning Activities in the New York Metropolitan Region," by Frederick P. Clark, the association's planning director.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

GRA Meets in Asbury Park

New Orleans Bureau Wins Award; Officers Elected

MERLE W. DEWEES, executive director of the New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, succeeded Robert E. Pickup, director of the Northeastern Division, Pennsylvania Economy League, as president of the Governmental Research Association at its annual conference at the Berkeley-Carteret Hotel in Asbury Park, New Jersey, September 6-9. Carl R. Dortch, director of the Bureau of Governmental Research, Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, was elected vice president.

George Bestrom, executive vice president of the Minneapolis Taxpayers Association; Victor D. Brannon, director of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute; and Frank J. Zeo, assistant executive director of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers' Associations, were elected to second terms as Trustees. Bruce Smith, secretary and acting director of the Institute of Public Administration, and Carlton W. Tillinghast, executive director of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association, were elected as trustees to succeed Robert E. Pickup and Steve Stahl, executive vice president of the Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council.

The award for the most noteworthy piece of research prepared by a member of the association in 1950, was presented by D. Benton Biser, chairman of the Award Selection Committee, to Val C. Mogensen for the New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research study, *Administrative Organization and Relationships in the New Orleans Public School System.* The Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau won honorable mention for *Proposal for an Executive Manager Form of Government for Onondaga County.*

The program theme, "Governmental Research in the Second Half of the 20th Century," was high-lighted in an address at the opening luncheon by Alvin A. Burger, director of the Department of Governmental Research, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, and in a round-table discussion toward the end of the conference.[1]

Speakers and discussions revealed wide agreement that the governmental research conducted by members of the association must increasingly recognize the impact of national and world economic and political developments, deal with intergovernmental relationships and concern itself with the "what" of government as well as the "how."

Indicative of something or other was the fact that approximately one third of the 225 conferees who came to the Jersey seashore from 28 states, the District of Columbia and Canada, chose to take part in an informal, extemporaneous discussion of "Bureau Answers to Governmental Problems" one sunny afternoon in preference to a scheduled sampling of the recreational facilities of Asbury Park. Thomas J. Graves, assistant director of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, led the group through lively arguments on such varied questions as tax consciousness, applicability of the council-manager plan to large cities, farm subsidies, public opinion polls, the president's salary and the army engineers.

---

[1] See also the REVIEW, July 1950, page 367.

Among the subjects discussed in other conference sessions were the metropolitan area problem, school surveys, public assistance, governmental reorganization and inter-governmental fiscal results. Summaries of the discussions are included in the September-October number of the *GRA Reporter.*

Bureau Notes

The Brockton (Massachusetts) Taxpayers Association has begun publication of a new bulletin, *Your Tax Facts.* The first issue, dated September 12, 1950, is devoted to "Facts About the Proposed 48-Hour Work Week for Firemen."

The Fifteenth Annual Institute of Government, sponsored by the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services of the University of Washington, in cooperation with the Division of Adult Education and Extension Services, was held July 10-14 in Seattle. Topics discussed included: local action in democracy, public library administration, civil rights, county home rule, local government organization for emergencies, public welfare and community relations.

Citizens of Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee, have formed a new organization, the Civic Research Committee. The purpose of the committee is "To make available an organization where citizens of Memphis and Shelby County may examine, study and discuss those things in respect to government which should be understood by all regardless of political connections and beliefs; to report those findings of the committee so that all citizens of Memphis and Shelby County can have a knowledge of the more important aspects of government."

Strictly Personal

John C. Bollens has resigned as executive secretary of the Western Governmental Research Association to become a member of the political science faculty of the University of California at Los Angeles. Stanley Scott of the bureau staff has been appointed acting executive secretary.

On leave as director of the State Bureau of Municipal Affairs and executive secretary of Pennsylvania State College's Institute of Local Government, Harold F. Alderfer has accepted a two-year assignment with the Economic Cooperation Administration in Greece. He will work on the general problems involved in the restoration and reorganization of Greek local government.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Air Pollution

Air Pollution Legislation. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1950. iv, 43 pp.

Annexation

Neighbors or Enemies? A Study of the Vital Factors and Essential Elements in the Problem of Annexation Surrounding the Terre Haute Area. By Municipal Government Class. Terre Haute, Indiana State Teachers College, 1950. v, 60 pp.

Budget

The Performance Budget in Oklahoma. By Steve Stahl. New York City, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* March-April, 1950. 3 pp.

Census

Erie County Population. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* July 13, 1950. 3 pp.

The 1950 Census . . . Its Effects on Government in Iowa. By Dean Zenor.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs, 1950. 63 pp. Tables.

Population of California. Contra Costa County Leads Growth. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* August 1950. 4 pp. 25 cents.

The Returns Are In! Poughkeepsie, New York, Area Development Association, *Plans and Action,* July 14, 1950. 4 pp.

Constitutions

Five Years Under the New Missouri Constitution. A Progress Report. By Martin L. Faust. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, 1950. 27 pp. 50 cents.

County Government

The Development of Erie County. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* August 3, 10, 17, 24, 31 and September 7, 1950. 3 pp. each.

Debt

Capital Note Financing. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* September 28, 1950. 3 pp.

Who Owes State Debt? Rapid Growth of Non-Guaranteed Obligations Presents New Fiscal Problem. By Gordon P. Smith. New York 20, Tax Foundation, *Tax Review,* August 1950. 4 pp.

Economics

The Manufacturing Economy of the Detroit Region Compared to National Manufacturing and Major Metropolitan Areas. By Paul M. Reid. Detroit, Regional Planning Commission, 1950. 41 pp. Tables and charts.

Probable Economic Effects of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge on the Eastern Shore. Baltimore, Maryland State Planning Commission, April 1950. 49 pp. 25 cents.

Education

The Class Will Come to Order. Orange County (New York) Solves Its Educational Problem in True Community Style. New York City, Tax Foundation, *Tax Outlook,* September 1950. 2 pp.

New Jersey Public School Enrollment Trends. Looking Ahead to 1954. By Steven E. Schanes. Newark, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, Department of Governmental Research, 1950. 9 pp. Tables.

Operation of School Law. Progress Reported in Many Counties; Operating and Transport Aid Highest in History. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* August 1950. 7 pp.

Public School Expenditures in Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, July 1950. 6 pp.

School Tax Rate at Legal Maximum. Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* August 1950. 5 pp.

State School Loan Fund. 58 Districts Get First $50 Million. By S. J. Barrick. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* September 1950. 6 pp. 25 cents.

Teachers' Salaries and Pensions. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *Tax Bulletin,* August 1950. 2 pp.

Gambling

Should Gambling Be Legalized? An Expert Analyzes the Case. By Virgil W. Peterson. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* September 1950. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Legislative Bodies

Legislative Apportionment in Louisiana. By Emmett Asseff. University Station, Louisiana State University, Bureau of Government Research, 1950. 86 pp.

The Legislative Process in Florida. By Ernest R. Bartley. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1950. 10 pp.

Record of 1949-50 Massachusetts

Legislature Indicates Need for Legislative Reform. Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, *Taxtalk,* July-August 1950. 8 pp.

Territorial Legislature — Organization and Procedure. (Revised.) Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1950. 34 pp.

Municipal Reports

One Annual General Report for the 96 Governments in Milwaukee County. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* September 21, 1950. 1 p.

Public Welfare

Welfare Expenditures in Oklahoma Counties, 1939 and 1949. Oklahoma City 2, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, *Your Report on Government,* September 1950. 4 pp.

Wisconsin Public Assistance. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* October 1950. 8 pp.

Public Works

Bid Data on Current Municipal Public Works (Report II). Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, 1950. 21 pp.

Refuse Disposal

Have You Considered Sanitary Landfill For Your Refuse Disposal? Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* October 1950. 2 pp.

State Reorganization

A Program for Better Government . . . in the Interest of Connecticut Taxpayers. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, 1950. 8 pp.

Subdivision Control

Regulating and Financing Residential Subdivision Development in Connecticut Towns and Cities. By John E. Dever. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, 1950. 27 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Comparison of Property Tax Rates for New York State Cities Including City, County and School Rates 1948-49 and 1949-50. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer,* September 1950. 1 p. Table.

Cost of Government in Kansas 1938-1950. Based on the Budgets of the State and Local Political Subdivisions Showing Major Items of Governmental Expenditure and Total and Per Capita Amounts by Fiscal Years. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, 1950. 18 pp.

Dallas County Tax Survey. A 1-Star County for 1949. Dallas, Greater Dallas Planning Council, East Texas Chamber of Commerce, 1949. 23 pp. Tables.

Fiscal Year Coup—Capitalizing on the Citizenry's Apathy. Woonsocket, Rhode Island, Taxpayers Association, *Your Business,* September 1950. 4 pp.

Local Government Budgets, Tax Levies, Tax Rates, and Assessed Valuations for the Fiscal Year 1950-51. Report from State and Local Government Committee. Los Angeles, Chamber of Commerce, 1950. 29 pp. Tables.

Local Property Taxes for 1951. (Increases in Des Moines tax rates required to meet unavoidable needs.) Des Moines 9, Bureau of Municipal Research, September 6, 1950. 2 pp.

A New Deal For Canadian Municipalities. Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* October 3, 1950. 5 pp.

Recent Trends in City Finance. A Survey of Ten Cities in Kansas. By Jack F. McKay. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1950. 39 pp.

A Report Upon the 1949 or Fourteenth Annual Survey of County, City

and Town Government in Tennessee. Nashville, Tennessee Taxpayers Association. 1950. 119 pp. Tables.

Taxation Without Representation. The Case of Borough "X". Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* August 1950. 4 pp.

Traffic

Traffic Ordinances for Washington Cities. By Ernest H. Campbell, Joshua H. Vogel and Norbert K. Knecht. **Washington Traffic Statutes** (Supplement No. 1). **Washington State Statutes Relating to Traffic and Motor Vehicles** (Supplement No. 2). Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with the Association of Washington Cities. 1950. 58, 23 and 47 pp. respectively. $1.50.

Transit

Cable Car Crisis. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* September 25, 1950. 1 p.

Units of Government

Governmental Units in Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* September 15, 1950. 1 p.

LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from page 486)

director of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council and chairman of Connecticut's Commission on State Government Organization; Karl Detzer, chairman of the Michigan Citizens Advisory Committee; Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati; Mayor T. Nelson Parker of Richmond; and T. Ledyard Blakeman of the Detroit Regional Planning Commission.

The general session Tuesday afternoon will deal with "Citizen Action for Good Government." Speakers are Bayard Faulkner, chairman of the New Jersey Commission on Municipal Government; Barry Goldwater, vice chairman of the Phoenix city council; Francis A. Harrington, president of the Worcester Citizens Plan E Association.

A general meeting Monday night will hear an address by Spencer Miller, Jr., president of American International College and former New Jersey State Highway Commissioner, on "The Fight for Men's Minds." Hugh Robinson, executive secretary of the Citizens Association of Kansas City, will give the score on his much publicized home town and describe what the good citizens of that city are doing to maintain their present efficient city government and fight off attempts of racketeers and corrupt politicians to resume control.

Fourteen group sessions involving more than 100 especially qualified speakers and panel members will deal with the following subjects: "University Services and the Improvement of State and Local Government," York Willbern, chairman; "Charters to Choose" (how to extend home rule through sound optional charter legislation), Henry W. Connor; "Improving Local Government Through Public Relations," Harold S. Rand (in cooperation with the Association of Municipal Public Relations Officers); "The Voter's Burden" (non-voting and ineffective voting, their causes and cures), L. E. Marlowe; "Strategy for State Reorganization and Constitutional Revision," Spencer Miller, Jr.; "Municipal Finance in a Defense Economy," John W. Agnew; "The Metropolitan County," Robert Merriam; "Civic Education," Benjamin C. Willis; "Massachusetts—P. R. Laboratory" (annual meeting of Proportional Representation League), Albert D. Cash; "Urban Redevelopment," Harold S. Buttenheim; "Governments Working Together" (panel discussion of intergovernmental relations, conflict and cooperation), Joseph E. McLean; "Charters for Counties" (clinic on the League's proposed "Model County Manager Charter"), Richard S. Childs; "International Civic Education" (panel discussion of the program for indoctrinating visitors from Japan and Germany in the meaning and techniques of democracy), Shepherd L. Witman; "The Citizen Official's Job," Arthur W. Bromage.

Conference headquarters will be at the Hotel Statler, Buffalo. There is no registration fee and everyone is welcome. Please make reservations early, being sure to say you are attending the National Conference on Government.

Books in Review

American City Government. By William Anderson and Edward W. Weidner. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1950. xiii, 625 pp. $4.25.

This is a second and welcome edition, the first being dated 1925 and long out of print. In this one Dr. Anderson is reinforced by Dr. Weidner, once of the National Municipal League's staff. The authors relate that "not a page of the first edition has escaped revisions" and it is too bad that the authors could not share with us the interest which they must have found in encountering such incessant necessity for alterations to fit the modern facts.

The volume competently and readably describes American cities, their populations and problems of providing services, and moves on to consider various mechanisms of democratic government used at various stages in our history, covering all the phases of interest to general students and stopping short of problems of departmental administration.

R. S. C.

Small Town Renaissance. A Story of the Montana Study. By Richard Waverly Poston. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1950. x, 231 pp. $3.

A vivid and interesting narrative by a reporter from outside the state covering the inception in 1944 of the project known as The Montana Study and its lively history. Supported at the outset by a small Rockefeller subvention, the project was to stir up social and cultural activity in the dreary small towns of Montana, using the University of Montana as a base. In this politics-ridden state an incredible amount of hostility and misunderstanding developed and the project was continually in hot water. On the other hand, there were some gratifying responses and some residue of accomplishment when the project was abandoned after three years. It seems to have been an illuminating raid on a backward area.

R. S. C.

Election Practices in Maryland. By Franklin L. Burdette. University of Maryland, Bureau of Public Administration, College Park, 1950. vii, 64 pp. $1.

A compact and lucid manual of the laws and customs relating to nominations, party structures and elections in Maryland.

Municipalities and the Law in Action. A Record of Municipal Legal Experience in 1949. Proceedings of the 1949 Annual Conference of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers. Edited by Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., The Institute, 1950. 461 pp. $10.

This is thirteenth in the series of volumes prepared and published by city attorneys through their organization, the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, which serves as a city-owned (city attorney operated) clearing house for municipal legal information on a national scale. It is a yearly compilation of the legal experience of cities and furnishes a ready reference. Included are discussions on taxation and revenue problems, municipal bonds, zoning and planning, housing, airports, utilities, city-state-federal relations, intermunicipal cooperation, civil liberties, tort liability, etc.

Federal Services to Cities and Towns. By Robert H. Blundred and

Donoh W. Hanks, Jr. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1950. 81 pp. $5.

A new index of 500 federal services available to local governments, listed alphabetically. This volume will bring to the attention of municipal and county officials the existence of many useful services which would otherwise escape their attention.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accident Prevention

Accident Factors That Are Major Causes of 17,000 Traffic Deaths Per Year. 1950 Annual Analysis of Fatal Night Traffic Accidents. By Edmond C. Powers. Cleveland, Street and Traffic Safety Lighting Bureau, 1950. 11 pp.

Administration

An Introduction to Administrative Law With Selected Cases. (Second Edition.) By James Hart. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950. xxviii, 819 pp. $7.

Communism

Moscow's European Satellites. Edited by Joseph S. Roucek. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* September 1950. viii, 253 pp. $2.

What About Communism? By Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1950. 32 pp. 20 cents.

Economics

How Can a Better Understanding of Our Economic System Be Fostered. By Charles P. Taft, Frank W. Adams and Everett Needham Case. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1950. 24 pp.

Education

Democracy's College. Higher Education in the Local Community. By John Diekhoff. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1950. xi, 208 pp. $2.50.

Foreign Policy

Our Foreign Policy. By Office of Public Affairs, Department of State. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1950. 101 pp. 30 cents.

Housing

Housing Market Analysis, Cook County, Illinois. 1949 Supplement. Chicago 2, Housing Authority of the County of Cook, 1949. 54 pp. Tables.

Joint Action Can Cut Housing Costs. An approach to cutting building costs through more efficient methods and design, through better use of materials and labor. Proceedings of the Institute of Housing and Planning Studies. Albany. New York State Division of Housing, 1950. 68 pp. Illus.

Low Cost Homes for the Average Wage Earner. Prize Winning Designs in Architectural Competition. Albany, New York State Division of Housing, Institute of Housing and Planning Studies, 1950. 58 pp. Illus.

Labor

Labor-Management Cooperation for Safety. Committee Report. Washington, D. C., United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Standards, 1950. 4 pp.

Libraries

The Public Library in the United States. The General Report of the Public Library Inquiry of the Social Science Research Council. By Robert D. Leigh. New York, Columbia University Press, 1950. x, 272 pp. $3.75.

Planning

Community Planning Annual. Edited by R. C. Eastman. Ann Arbor, Michigan Society of Municipal Planning Officials, 1950. 54 pp.

New Haven's Program for Public Improvements 1951-1956. New Haven, Connecticut, Capital Budget Programming Committee, 1950. 16 pp.

Salaries

Survey on Personnel Practices—Wages and Salaries Municipal Public Works Departments. Chicago 37, American Public Works Association, 1950. 53 pp. $2.

State Government

Virginia's State Government During the Second World War. Its Constitutional, Legislative and Administrative Adaptations, 1942-1945. By Francis Howard Heller. Richmond, Virginia State Library, 1949. xvii, 203 pp. $2.

Stream Pollution

Report of the Stream Pollution Study Commission, State of Tennessee, to Governor Gordon Browning. By Lincoln Caffall. Nashville, Tennessee Stream Pollution Study Board, 1950. 76 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Expenditures and Financial Resources of the State and Local Governments in Illinois. Springfield, Illinois Department of Finance, 1950. 11 pp.

The Federal Tax Outlook. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* July-August 1950. 12 pp. 50 cents.

The Financial Position of the City of Richmond—A Five Year Forecast. Richmond, Virginia, Bureau of the Budget, 1950. 36 pp. Tables.

The New York State and Local Tax System 1949. Albany, New York State Department of Taxation and Finance, Research and Statistics Bureau, 1950. 28 pp. Tables, charts.

Presidential Address 44th Annual MFOA Conference. By Lionel G. Ott. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1950. 4 pp.

School Buildings Report. Third Report of the New York State Comptroller's Committee on Constitutional Tax and Debt Limitations and City-School Fiscal Relations. Albany, New York, the committee, 1950. 30 pp.

State and Local Revenues and Expenditures. Report of the Commission on State and Local Revenues and Expenditures to the Governor and the General Assembly of Virginia. Richmond, Division of Purchase and Printing, 1949. 200 pp.

Withholding Income Tax from Wages. Duties of State and Local Governments Effective October 1, 1950. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1950. 12 pp. 50 cents.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 514)

a public hearing to weigh public sentiment.

In Kansas, where the county unit road system is optional, 52 of the state's 105 counties now have adopted it. Over half this number adopted it since the close of World War II, although the option had been available for many years. The unit plan can be adopted by county board resolution, but if at least 10 per cent of the voters protest by petition within 90 days, there must be a referendum and favorable vote before the plan becomes effective.

County Traffic Officers Hold Institute

Wisconsin county traffic officers held their first institute in May 1950 in an effort to facilitate their search for means of effective enforcement. Its program had been developed cooperatively by the County Boards Association, Traffic Officers Association, University of Wisconsin's Bureau of Government and the State Motor Vehicle Department. Its opening session was addressed by Governor Rennebohm who emphasized the need for cooperation to achieve more effective traffic control.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

MBER 1950 VOLUME XXXIX, NO. 11

161

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.
PERIODICAL DEP

The Voice of the People .... *Editorial*

Awake at Last—A Bit Late .... *Charles Edison*

Hope for 'Suburbanitis' .... *Thomas H. Reed*

From Home Town and Back .... *Bayard H. Faulkner*

Manager Places Pass 1,000 561

Fairfax, Santa Clara Counties Get Manager Charters 567

City Finances Show Moderating Trend 570

New Boston Committee Off to Good Start 573

Wisconsin Coaches Local Officials 577

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR
ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN, *Maryland*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
HARVEY WALKER, *Ohio*
YORK Y. WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *President*
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J., *Vice President*
J. W. Clise, Seattle, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York, *Treasurer*
William Collins, *Finance Chairman*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
John E. Bebout, *Assistant Secretary*
George H. Hallett, Jr., *Associate Secretary*

COUNCIL

Richard S. Childs, New York, *Chairman*

William Anderson, Minneapolis
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
Frederick L. Bird, New York
Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati
William Collins, Yonkers, N. Y.
L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Mo.
James A. Cunningham, Chicago
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
C. A. Dykstra, Los Angeles
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
B. H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Clarence Francis, Bronxville, N. Y.
Arnold Frye, New York
Lloyd E. Graybiel, San Francisco
Harrison S. Hires, Berwyn, Pa.
Robert W. Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
John S. Linen, New York
Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis
Mrs. Thomas H. Mahony, Boston
D. K. Pfeffer, New York
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Walter M. Phillips, Philadelphia
Lawson Purdy, New York
Harry W. Schacter, Louisville, Ky.
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Henry L. Shattuck, Boston
George S. Van Schaick, New York
Richard Weil, Jr., New York
A. C. (Jack) White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXIX, No. 11 **Total Number 405**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for December 1950

EDITORIAL COMMENT 534

AWAKE AT LAST—A BIT LATE .... *Charles Edison* 536

HOPE FOR 'SUBURBANITIS' .... *Thomas H. Reed* 542

FROM HOME TOWN AND BACK .... *Bayard H. Faulkner* 554

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 561

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 567

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 570

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 573

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 577

BOOKS IN REVIEW 581

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Copyright December 1950 by
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The Voice of the People

NOW that the voters have spoken, it is time to find out what they asked for and what they and political leadership may have learned from the November election.

As usual, the various dopesters measure the results in ways that are most comforting to them and try to overlook clear but distasteful warning signs, and everyone is all too anxious to forget (and forgive) everything as quickly as possible.

The REVIEW leaves to others the interpretation of the votes for state and congressional offices except to observe that independent voters had a field day jumping back and forth among party labels. Some incidents and trends in local elections are worth special comment, however.

Big city bosses were repudiated in New York and Chicago. In both places, growing public concern over the corruption intended and produced by organized gambling was evident. In Chicago the dominant party tried to elect "the richest cop in the world" as sheriff and he was snowed under, with complications for the rest of his ticket.

In New York the situation was much more confused. Boss Ed Flynn cooked up a cute scheme to have Mayor O'Dwyer sent to Mexico as ambassador in the hope that, with the mayoralty election held with the gubernatorial and congressional elections, the resultant big vote would sweep in his entire ticket.

Tammy and Flynn told the acting mayor he could not run but that gentleman did anyway. No dynamic LaGuardia, he had always been a regular and obedient party man, but this show of independence made him look like a courageous underdog, a little man being picked on by the big bad bosses.

He had the good fortune or wit, before the campaign had fairly begun, to appoint an apparently honest, able man as commissioner of police. This capitalized neatly on the popular indignation resulting from recent grand jury revelations of the bribery of police by gamblers. When the commissioner proved popular, the acting mayor pledged he would put the same type of independent, competent citizen at the head of every department.

Another revelation of the New York election got lost in the shuffle, although it should have been a shocker and might have been in a place that was not already shock-drunk. The acting mayor charged that Tammany had attempted to buy him off with the promise of a judgeship. Tammany retorted that the acting mayor had demanded no less than four judgeships as the price for withdrawing from the race, one for himself, the three others for his friends.

There was little indication that the people and the newspapers were surprised by this confirmation of the suspicion that judgeships in the city of New York are regularly used for political barter and that the chiefs of the parties get cozily together to pick the candidates, for their own reasons, who will be presented to the people for a mock election.

This deplorable situation was underlined by the fact that newspapers and high-minded groups fought hard to elect one candidate for judge who was denied this bipartisan nod, and he lost. So it was proved again that in our largest city judges are appointed—behind the scenes by party bosses.

All of which recalls two statements from Flynn's good and bad book, *You're the Boss*. In one of these, he boldly argued that he had a "right to speak in behalf of a client to a judge on the bench" who, in the Bronx, would probably be an obligated judge. His excuse is that the same thing is done "throughout the United States," HE says. The other: "a political boss can survive only so long as he wins elections."

Can we look forward to saying a happy farewell to yet another boss who is a devoted champion of the spoils system?

Manager Plan Hits 1,000

ONE of the most significant results of the November election, in the long view, was the fact that new adoptions of the council-manager plan brought to 1,003 the number of communities having this form of government.

The year 1950 has thus far seen 58 adoptions. There were no large, widely known cities among them; just average and small places where life is normal and people are just people. That, after all, is the stuff of which the United States is made. Big cities, some of which get into the headlines frequently with their spoils machines and other strayings, are very few and it seems tragically easy in a number of them for spectacular figures to confuse issues and mislead the people.

Nowadays most of the communities which adopt the manager plan do so for common sense reasons rather than because of scandals. They simply recognize that local government is largely a collection of services that can be provided more satisfactorily with a trained administrator than transient amateurs in the driver's seat.

As the idea spreads that local government should be kept beyond the reach of state and national politics as much as possible, this sensible, businesslike method of administering community business will become standard—probably within the next decade, most qualified observers believe.

And well it might. Although growth was relatively slow during the first three decades of its use, it blossomed from 526 to 1,000 between 1940 and 1950.

Awake at Last — A Bit Late

It took a shooting war to prove true nature of struggle and its demands of citizens to make our way of life safe.

By CHARLES EDISON*

WE HAVE come gradually to realize that the United States is at war. The banner is that of the United Nations but most of the men wear our uniform.

The war may be the most dangerous and fateful the world has known. We cannot predict how long it will last, how far it will spread or how much it will cost. What we do know is that defeat is unthinkable. The stakes are high: the dignity and freedom of the human spirit.

We know some other things. We know, for example, that we must buckle down to the disagreeable need of mobilizing our full physical, economic, intellectual and moral might. And, despite our reluctance to face this fact, we know in our hearts that we cannot preserve our basic ideals if we undermine or neglect them at home while we plan to defend them around the globe.

We are late, terribly late, in recognizing the full scale of our peril. Our economic plans do not yet measure up to the task ahead. But we are learning fast and I pray that we will catch up. It's a good sign when Henry Wallace returns from his forlorn dalliance along the primrose paths of the fellow travelers and tells us to be prepared to fight.

We are still later in appreciating the need for vigorous practice of the values and virtues that we are set to defend even to the last life and the last earthly atom. We have not been so careful as we should have been to protect the basic right of American citizens to differ fundamentally on the ways and means of achieving the American dream.

If every citizen, prominent or obscure, who has been branded carelessly as a "red" deserved the label, we would be in a truly desperate plight. Let us by all means protect ourselves against espionage, sabotage and treason—but we must not betray Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln by destroying the free American market in ideas. How can we hope to break through the iron curtain of the Russians if we erect one of our own?

When I speak of a curtain of our own, I don't mean one designed just to fence in the reds among us. One essential fact about curtains is that they do not distinguish among persons or ideas. Let me give you an example of what I mean.

The campaign manager for a candidate for Congress in the last election was arrogantly irritated because a prominent supporter of his candidate had also endorsed a proposed council-manager charter. The campaign manager belonged to the political gang that had fought the charter tooth and nail. He had the nerve to attempt to coerce the prominent supporter into silence by claiming that his man would lose votes if his friends supported the charter.

---

*Mr. Edison, former governor of New Jersey, served as president of the National Municipal League 1947-1950. This article is his presidential address before the National Conference on Government, Buffalo, New York, November 21, 1950.

I'd like to ask the campaign manager whom he thought he was hoodwinking. His candidate happened to be a good one but he could not have been elected by the machine vote alone. He had to win the support of independent citizens who resent dictation at home even more than dictatorship abroad—the independent citizens who believe in nonpartisan, citizen-controlled and professionally administered government as provided by the council-manager plan in 1,000 communities.

The incident struck me as a perfect illustration of the way in which we unwittingly copy some of the methods of the dictators. The political machine was trying to coerce decent citizens into keeping their mouths shut on the charter by hinting that the gang might knife their congressional candidate in revenge. This was an effort to frighten the voters out of exercising their freedom of political action.

So far as I know this story did not get into the newspapers. But all of us can think of many places where the election of congressional candidates was influenced by utterly irrelevant local circumstances. Few were the candidates in the last election who dared to grapple with the grave questions of national and world policy in forthright terms.

The tieup between national politics, which should be concerned with the whole nation and the whole world, and local political machines that are primarily concerned with patronage is one of the most dangerous weaknesses in our government. And it is one reason why so many voters feel frustrated. The result of this frustration is that the voters often refuse to identify themselves with a political party and even decline to vote.

Too Few Citizens Vote

In spite of the record turnout on November 7 for an off-year election, American voting statistics continue to be scandalous evidence of a serious weakness. Of course, it is much more healthy to have 50 per cent of the people going to the polls under their own power than to have, as on the other side of the iron curtain, 99 per cent dragooned into voting for a new lock on their chains. But 50 per cent isn't good enough. We should be able to show the world that our candidates represent more than 20 or 25 per cent of the citizens.

Because of the dominance of local political machines in our national political system, many of our national leaders are nothing more than third ward boys blown up to look like statesmen. The trouble is that although we can deck these fellows with broad-brimmed hats and black bow ties and give them the title of "Honorable," we cannot make them sound and act and think like statesmen. It is simply the natural and unchangeable habit of these gentlemen to give more serious consideration to sewer contracts than to national and international questions.

John Nuveen of Chicago, a new vice president of the National Municipal League, put it this way after returning from a tour of duty in Europe as an aide to Paul Hoffman of ECA:

"Decisions of greatest moment in world affairs are being made on the basis of political expedience by politicians looking to the next election and not by statesmen looking to the next generation."

Upon this condition he blames our failure to do what is required to make Greece, for example, the bastion of democracy that it should and could be.

How does Mr. Nuveen, a prominent businessman, propose that we go about installing some statesmen in Washington? I quote:

"The only way we will get statesmen at the top of our government, in my opinion, is to elect honest, able and patriotic citizens to the minor political offices in our local government, for one will usually find that the holders of these offices make up the backbone of the party organizations which pretty effectively govern the selection of candidates for national offices."

There it is in a nutshell.

I sometimes think that our American cockiness reaches its high mark when we tell Chiang Kai-shek or the Filipinos that they ought to fire useless civil servants and cut out graft and waste. How about ourselves? The prescription is good for the doctor as well as for the patient.

Mr. Nuveen, who as a Chicagoan should have a faint inkling of the nature of corruption, suggests that we should have patience for the Greeks and their troubles. "New York City," he points out, "for years was unable to throw off the rule of Tammany. Jersey City has had Hague; Kansas City couldn't get rid of Pendergast until the federal government interceded. Chicago couldn't get rid of Capone until they got the same kind of outside help and it looks now as though we are going to have to ask for outside help again. Certainly we here in Chicago can understand Greece's problem."

We must indeed help the rest of the world become fit for democracy. But we are not going to succeed unless we increasingly demonstrate our own fitness for democracy—a democracy strong enough to ride out heavier seas than we have ever encountered.

The 'Big Lie'

We have heard a great deal about the "big lie" used by Hitler and other totalitarians. Uncle Joe Stalin has not yet claimed that the big lie is another one of the early Russian inventions (as he has claimed most of my father's), and if he should make such a reckless statement we in America could easily refute him. The truth is that the big lie was a piece of standard equipment in every American political machine long before Hitler and Stalin learned to tell little lies to their parents.

We complain because the Communists have adopted our good old word "democracy," which they generally use redundantly as "people's democracy." This bit of thievery has unfortunately made some Americans apologetic about using the word. But long before the Communists discovered their "people's democracy" the word had been just as badly misused by every American political boss who ever hid his nefarious designs in a shower of crocodile tears over "the pee-pul." From the reports that reach me I am of the opinion that some of our local politicians are still talking the same way.

If we are going to prove our right to serve as guardians of freedom, we must use our heads. Tanks and jet-fighters will eliminate enemy troops but they won't promote an ideal. The democratic ideal can be more powerful than any secret weapon ever thought of. People in other countries are like us, and we are like them. They, too, want dignity and freedom. Let us prove by our example that these priceless rewards can be enjoyed by every American and can be spread throughout the world.

Tonight I am speaking at the National Conference on Government for the fourth and last time as president of the National Municipal League. I think four terms are too many but I want to assure you that my interest in the League's program for strengthening local democracy is not limited by any term of office.

In the few minutes remaining to me I want to talk to you very simply and frankly about the League program, what it means to me and why I think it is vital to the winning of the war in which we are and, as long as any of us live, will be engaged. For we will be engaged in this war to achieve government that dignifies but never degrades men long after the present masters of the Kremlin have been buried or called to order.

There are many excellent organizations designed to do good to and for people. We need such organizations. We certainly need to have good done in the direction of improving the efficiency, the responsibility and the integrity of our political processes and of the governments nearest to us—those of state, county, city and town.

The thing that has impressed me most about the National Municipal League is that it never tries to do good *to* people. It was started back in 1894 by people who had already organized in local citizens' groups in many cities for the purpose of doing something for themselves—of cleaning up the mess that was city government in those days.

The League has remained an organization of self-helpers. It never tells the voters of Jersey City or Chicago or any other town what to do. But it is always ready to help voters find the answers to their local problems.

League's Value

I found out how valuable the League was when I was governor of New Jersey. The League was the only agency that could quickly advise me on problems of constitutional revision and modernization of state government. More recently the League has responded fully to requests from public and private agencies which, under Governor Driscoll's leadership, have modernized the state's antiquated municipal charter laws.

The League's door, mail box and telephone lines are open to citizens of all states and to our neighbors in Canada and across the seas. The League has been a regular stopping place for visitors from Germany and

Japan brought here by the government to learn the techniques of democracy.

How much easier it would be if we could say to these visitors, "Do as we do," instead of "Do as we say, not as you have frequently seen us do." Many of them, however, are wise enough to understand that full democracy, like heaven, cannot be achieved on earth. But that is no reason to abandon the constant struggle.

The citizens of America's home towns have shaped the program and policies of the National Municipal League by the simple expedient of asking questions to which they needed answers and reporting experience in their own efforts to improve conditions in their own communities. The League assembles the reports of experience, digests them and makes them available to other seekers for help.

Tools for Good Government

During its 56 years the League has built up an unparalleled stock of information and experience in problems of municipal and state government and civic competence. If any requested item cannot be found in its own inventory, the League turns to the practical-minded political scientists who serve as its consultants. These men have supplied the League with its most famous tools—the model laws and charters which have been more widely adopted or copied than any similar documents in American history. That is really not an extravagant statement, for there isn't anything quite like the League's model laws.

Let me name a few of the famous models: The *Model City Charter,* which embodies the council-manager plan with the short ballot and nonpartisan elections; the *Model State Constitution,* which is regularly revised to keep pace with the times; the model county manager law and charter, which are gradually bringing light to the most backward area of American politics; and the model fiscal laws, which have effected a virtual revolution in municipal finance.

There is no magic in these models. But we know from testing that they work. Many of the weaknesses of democracy are not due to evil intentions but to scanty knowledge. The League's model laws are to the citizen what road maps and highway signs are to the motorist.

I said I was retiring from the presidency but not from service in the League. You can't retire from the human race without dying. Once enrolled, you can't retire from service with the League's program except by retiring as a citizen, which is civic death.

The founders of the republic invested large portions of their time, talents and property in discharging their civic responsibilities. They took it for granted that any man of substance and discernment, any man of demonstrated competence in private affairs, owed a substantial measure of himself to the public service. The men who led the Revolution and launched the constitution were neither professional soldiers nor professional politicians. They were, to use a word for which we should develop some additional respect, simply citizens.

We, their heirs, would not be here today if they had not counted themselves as citizens—citizens first and always. How do we count ourselves? It seems to me that the tradition of public responsibility has become rusty with disuse. A great many Americans find that even an annual pilgrimage to the polls is an onerous if not impossible burden.

There are of course many honorable exceptions. John Nuveen and Paul Hoffman are examples. So are the citizens who have traveled to Buffalo for this conference. And so are the thousands throughout the country who have worked with the National Municipal League to bring their local governments closer to the American ideal.

Measuring Up

To win the war we are now in, each of us must measure up to the contribution made by our predecessors 175 years ago. Anyone who thinks that less will do is begging for a free ride to a future to which he is not entitled.

Apart from the imminent risk of destruction in war, our lazy civic habits are as bad for the individual citizen as they are for the community and the nation. Psychologists have told us, wisely, that true health and happiness can be achieved only by persons who take a real part in community life. Our society, more than any other, depends for its tone, its efficiency and its very survival upon general participation in civic, political and governmental activities. I can report from personal experience that there is hard work, disappointment and sometimes real pain in such activities. But these things are more than balanced by the satisfaction earned by doing a good job.

Leaders in both industry and labor have come to recognize the basic truth that the efficiency of human beings depends very largely on their satisfactory identification with their environment. That is why I have been engaged in a modest experiment in Sag Harbor, Long Island, an old community that has been bypassed in the shift from sailing vessel to ocean liner.

We have tried to develop small local industries suitable to the area and the people. Above all, we have tried to revive the ancient sense of community and to give every person, young and old, a real opportunity to become a factor in the life of the community. The results so far have demonstrated what researchers at the Harvard School of Business Administration have been discovering scientifically and what smart personnel men have been discovering pragmatically: happiness and efficiency are not dependent on wages and hours alone, but rather on the sense of belonging to a congenial company of fellowmen who are working, playing and striving together for the good life.

Assuredly we cannot hope to enjoy the good life if we lose the war we are in. We will certainly lose the war if we neglect the underpinnings of the free and democratic society which have made the American dream the brightest promise for the

(Continued on page 553)

Hope for 'Suburbanitis'

"A genuine cure calls for drastic surgery on the present scheme of local government," but the going will be hard.

By **THOMAS H. REED***

THE BUFFALO *Evening News* a few weeks ago coined a new word—"suburbanitis"—to describe a disease which is crippling Buffalo and its environs. Let me reassure Buffalo at once. It is in no danger of catching it. It has it already. It is endemic in every urban community in the United States and Canada and almost everywhere else for that matter. It is not a new disease. Students of municipal administration have been recording and analyzing its symptoms and suggesting means for its cure for a generation. It was discussed for the first time on a National Municipal League program in a paper I read at the 1925 meeting in St. Louis, and it has been on the League's program almost every year since.

Many better and wiser city planners and political scientists than myself have poured out millions of words by tongue, pen and typewriter on the same theme, but frankness requires me to say that so far we have accomplished little more than a world's record for words used in proportion to cures effected. This appears like a pretty sorry performance. Can it be improved? I think it can.

A glance at the nature of suburbanitis will show why it is so hard to cure. Cities have always grown at their peripheries. Growth has to take place where there is room for it. The outward movement of city population until very recently, however, has been held severely in check first by the necessity for defensive walls and later by the absence or inadequacy of transportation facilities. Two great names stand out in the story of urban decentralization, Roger Bacon, whose invention of gunpowder made walls useless, and Henry Ford, whose perfection of the popular priced automobile has made it possible for masses of men and women to live anywhere within a radius of 30 miles or more of the office, shop or factory where they work.

Urban expansion, which throughout most of human history was deliberate enough to permit the slow processes of political change periodically to catch up with it, has in the past 40 years become an avalanche which has left those responsible for local government dizzy and bewildered. Population has spread all over the countryside around large cities with utter disregard of existing political boundaries. Nucleus cities have lost many of their best citizens and have been obliged to meet ever-increasing governmental costs with withering revenues. Counties have had thrust on them functions they are ill organized to carry out.

---

*Dr. Reed, consultant on municipal government, has made numerous surveys of metropolitan areas, including those of Baton Rouge, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and Atlanta. This article is his address before the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, Buffalo, New York, November 21, 1950.

A vast demand has arisen for the extension of water, sewers, highways and other public works which the minor municipalities, except in rare instances, have neither the energy nor the resources to provide. New schools have had to be built while old schools in the nucleus city stood empty. The whole metropolitan area has suffered intensely from the almost entire absence of planning in this vast and unruly growth. This is "suburbanitis," a disease not peculiar to any unit of the metropolitan area but affecting every nook and corner of it.

Surgery Called For

It is easy to see why so little progress has been made toward the cure of suburbanitis. A genuine cure calls for drastic surgery on the present scheme of local government. For a complete cure many of the existing organs — cities, counties, towns and villages—must be removed and the body sewed together again so that it will function successfully. Most local politicians would as soon consent to the removal of their right arms as to such an operation. Simple private citizens are appalled at the prospect of changes so drastic in a matter so complex and, unable to visualize the beneficial results of the operation, assume an attitude of obstinate negation. The combined opposition of the politicians and people of any substantial number of the units of local government in a metropolitan area is usually enough to put a dead stop to any thorough readjustment of the number and relationships of such units. A nucleus city like Buffalo cannot of its own motion put over city-county consolidation. It must have strong cooperation from county, town and village sources.

The single example of a successful attempt at city-county consolidation in the last generation—Baton Rouge and East Baton Rouge Parish (County)—is only an apparent exception to this rule. The new plan of government in this case was violently opposed by the parish politicians. In the referendum the portion of the parish outside Baton Rouge voted against the plan of government. In this case, however, the amendment to the state constitution authorizing consolidation provided for a vote in the parish as a whole, including the city of Baton Rouge which voted heavily for the plan. Success, therefore, was due in large measure to the shrewdness of those who drafted the amendment and the unusual lack of alertness on the part of the parish politicians who let it get through the legislature.

It is not at all surprising, in fact, that public opinion has not yet welcomed the idea of metropolitan unification. To do so requires the acceptance of a wholly new conception of the city, not as a compactly built-up area in which water, sewers, paved streets, lights, police patrol and fire protection are provided, in sharp contrast to the rural areas outside, but as a great sprawling macropolis covering hundreds of square miles where farms and pastures mingle with intense residential developments, factories and shopping centers.

Just such a transformation is rapidly taking place, but the nature and governmental implications of the change are hardly noticed except by professional students of urbanism. Ordinary man is just too busy living to realize the character of the drama in which he plays a part. I see no reason for discouragement in the fact that a single generation has not sufficed to bring about general recognition that new social and economic conditions require a readjustment of the areas of local government. It is natural that such a reform, inevitably leading to the abolition of jobs, the destruction of vested interests and the abandonment of long cherished traditions, should take longer of accomplishment than improvements in the internal organization and procedures of existing units of government. I believe that the next ten years will see startling progress toward metropolitan integration.

That is assuming that we go about it intelligently. In the first place, nothing can be gained by promoting antagonism between the city and the suburbs. The motives which have induced people to seek homes in the suburbs are laudable—cheaper land, lower taxes, more room for the children, purer air, less smoke and dirt, healthier living, a larger share in community life, a new home in place of the old one become shabby and obsolete. Suburbanites are man for man just as good as city people and entitled to every bit as much consideration. To array the city against the suburbs is to court defeat. The objective in every successful campaign against suburbanitis must be the welfare of the whole metropolitan area—the greater city of tomorrow.

An intelligent approach to the problem of suburbanitis also calls for the most careful study of the facts of each situation. Although suburbanitis is present in more or less aggravated form in every large urban concentration, each such area has its own peculiarities which must be taken into account in determining the methods to be adopted in combatting the disease. I personally prefer to take my medicines on a doctor's prescription and, in my opinion, the same principle applies to governmental changes. The attempt to cram down the throats of Community A a dose of reform on the sole ground that a similar dose has produced favorable results in Community B decreases the chance of the dose being swallowed by A and increases the chance that if the dose is taken it will produce an unfortunate reaction. To be of real value the study must be impartial. To be generally accepted it must also appear to be impartial. The best course is to have it sponsored by a committee as broadly representative of all conflicting interests as possible.

Look for Complete Cure

Such a study should consider first what remedy is necessary for a complete cure rather than half measures and palliatives. It does not necessarily follow, however, that if a complete cure — out-and-out city-county consolidation let us say— is bound to be defeated, that all hope of progress must be surrendered. A choice must be made between the relative advantages of the uphill fight over a period of years, in successive elections and before successive sessions of the legislature, and some immediately achievable gain. The uphill fight may be the shortest road to ultimate victory, and the history of local government reform is full of instances in which brave men and women have fought doggedly through defeat after defeat to win in the end. The adoption of half measures or palliatives, moreover, has served to delay real integration. The very success of the state controlled Massachusetts Metropolitan Commission has blocked for nearly three-quarters of a century a self-governing Greater Boston. I do not favor any plan for selling out local self-government for a mess of metropolitan district pottage, no matter how well seasoned the dish may be.

The Borough Plan

There are, however, steps short of complete consolidation which may properly be taken if the opposition to going the whole way seems too overwhelming. One of these is the so-called borough plan in which the functions of local government in the area are divided between a central metropolitan government and the existing municipal units. Such a plan avoids some at least of the usual opposition from suburban units. In fact, the only time that a complete charter providing for such a plan has been presented to the voters of a metropolitan area it was accepted by a majority of the voters in the central city and outside as well.

This was the plan proposed by the Pennsylvania Commission to Study Municipal Consolidation in Counties of the Second Class (Allegheny) in 1929. It preserved, indeed froze in forever, Pittsburgh and the other 121 cities, boroughs and townships of Allegheny County, with all their functions except the few which were transferred to the county under the name of "City of Pittsburgh." It is usual to pass this plan off with the statement that it failed at the polls. It did but only because of the peculiar method of ratification required by the enabling constitutional amendment, to wit, by a two-thirds majority in a majority of the cities, boroughs and townships of the county. It is usually forgotten that while it got a two-thirds majority in four less than a majority of the 122 units concerned, it not only carried in Pittsburgh by better than a two-thirds vote but had a majority of the votes cast in two-thirds of all the units outside. It actually was approved by the people, as votes in America are usually counted, not only of the city of Pittsburgh but the remainder of Allegheny County as well. The vote, moreover, came after a long and hard fought campaign in which the issues were clearly presented to the public.

Only two other borough schemes have been put to vote in any form, the St. Louis plan of 1930 and the Miami-Dade County plan of 1948. In both instances the test came on the adoption not of a charter but of an enabling constitutional amendment. The St Louis amendment was defeated in a statewide referendum at the earnest behest of the County Court of St. Louis County where the vote was also in the negative. The Dade County amendment which would have consolidated Miami and some small municipalities with Dade County while leaving the larger suburban places in status quo was voted down in a preliminary referendum in Dade County at the May primary in 1948. The Miami-Dade County plan, on which 38,000 out of 90,000 of those voting in the primary failed to vote at all, is significant of the difficulty of selling a metropolitan pig in a poke.

It will be worth the while of a community afflicted with suburbanitis to consider the merits of a plan of metropolitan organization which received popular endorsement in its one clear-cut presentation to the public in recent years. I must warn you, however, that the only municipal organization of the kind now in existence is the administrative county of London. New York, it is true, has boroughs, but they are in no sense autonomous units of local self-government. They are the districts from which members of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment are elected. Certain public works activities are organized on a borough basis under the direction of the borough president. These activities aggregate but a minor fraction of the total city budget in which they are included. Like the Paris arrondissements, the New York City boroughs merely provide a means for some deconcentration of an administration which would otherwise be wholly centralized.

It should also be pointed out that the great disparity in size and character between the cities, towns and villages in any large metropolitan area, and in New York State especially where villages are superimposed on towns, presents difficulties in the way of adoption of the borough plan. The reorganization of the area into boroughs of something like equal size might prove every bit as difficult to sell as an out-and-out consolidation. The possibilities of the borough plan should be canvassed but without any commitment in advance that that plan will prove feasible.

Functional Consolidation

Most of the progress toward the integration of metropolitan areas which has actually taken place has been in the direction of what for lack of a better term is called "functional consolidation." I would prefer to eliminate from this discussion functional consolidation effected by the creation of ad hoc authorities. They complicate the already too complex picture of local government. Where they are not responsible to the local electorate they are a threat to local self-government. I would not for a moment think of belittling the credit that is due to some of these authorities (especially some of those furthest removed from popular control) for the outstanding services they have rendered. Where an international or state line cuts the area to be served the only practicable device is an ad hoc authority based on treaty and concurrent legislation. For matters within the jurisdiction of a single state, however, there is seldom any excuse for increasing the number of local units.

Functional consolidation in practice usually has been limited to transferring to a county functions hitherto performed by the smaller municipal units such as cities, towns and villages. Where the metropolitan area covers the whole or parts of several counties such transfers fall a good deal short of providing metropolitan integration. Even in such cases, however, its result is to reduce the number of units struggling with a particular function and, where the county corresponds fairly well with the metropolitan area, actual integration for that particular function, at least, is accomplished.

The Buffalo metropolitan area broadly conceived lies in both Canada and the United States and includes both sides of the Niagara River for its entire length. I take it, however, that Erie County is the maximum area in which as a practical matter we can expect definite progress toward integration in the reasonably near future. Already considerable progress has been made in the way of functional consolidation in Erie County as contrasted with most counties in this country. Health, hospitals, libraries and welfare—including all forms of poor relief, usually wholly or partly municipal functions, are in the Buffalo area attended to exclusively by Erie County. It is obvious that, to the extent that other municipal functions are transferred to the county, they will be administered and paid for on a metropolitan area-wide basis.

Here is the line of least resistance which by-passes for the time at least the question of duplications as between towns and villages, and which avoids any frontal attack on the existence of any unit. Such functional consolidation can be carried to the point where it amounts practically to the borough form of consolidation except for a few points of greater or lesser importance. The Pittsburgh borough plan gave the name "City of Pittsburgh" to Allegheny County. This had a certain prestige value for Pittsburgh businessmen. Especially in a city which has ceased to show any population increase, extending its name over the rapidly growing suburbs is the easiest way in which its chamber of commerce and other business leaders can show the world what a big and thriving place it really is.

Give County Control

Moreover, the effects of suburbanitis cannot be removed unless the county not only takes over services but also controls. It is not only important to repair the ravages of the disease but to prevent its recurrence. As a matter of fact, the tendency for population to seek the outer reaches of the metropolitan area is even stronger today than it was ten or twenty years ago. It was held in check somewhat by the restrictions on building activity during the war and postwar periods, but in the last two or three years the floodgates have opened again. To what extent the flow may be restrained by new regulations no one can say, but one can say that with the removal of the new regulations the outward movement will go on with increased velocity.

The mere words "atomic bomb" suggest a motive to the dispersion of urban population more powerful than any which has preceded it. If the vastly expanded and less dense urban areas of the future are not to become sprawling jumbles of inconvenience in which proper works and services can be furnished only at impossible cost, their growth must be regulated. European cities have to a considerable extent escaped the worst consequences of suburbanitis because they generally forbid subdivision of outlying lands until vacant lands contiguous to developed areas have been built up.

We cannot do this by direct command under our constitutional system but a great deal can be accomplished by vigorously enforced zoning based on comprehensive and intelligent plans. By making lot sizes in outlying areas large—as large perhaps as two to five acres—and by requiring that the necessary services be installed in all subdivisions before the plat can be accepted for filing, a strong curb can be placed on the premature development of thickly built-up sections far from the sources of water supply and sewage disposal facilities. Such planning and zoning powers are not ordinarily possessed by counties but, if suburbanitis is to be attacked by transferring functions beyond the capacity of cities, towns and villages to the county, such strong planning and zoning powers must be entrusted to the unit which has jurisdiction over the whole area.

A frequent motive for settlement in the outlying parts of a metropolitan area is that less stringent building regulations permit the construction of cheaper homes. This means not merely that a few build their own homes in their off hours—an exhibition of American initiative with which we have natural sympathy—but the building of homes wholesale by unscrupulous contractors who foist their jerry-built work on unsuspecting customers. A sound building code on a county-wide basis is a necessary corollary of zoning in securing ordered and substantial development. Power over this matter too ought to be extended to the county if it is to be able effectively to combat suburbanitis.

Millions for Highways

The outward movement of population has been stimulated further by the widely current policy of spending millions to make the central city more accessible to the suburbs, while little or nothing is done to improve or rehabilitate the declining quarters of the city itself. I am not suggesting that arterial highway developments are not in many instances necessary. I am suggesting that making it ever easier to live outside and work inside the city while nothing is done to retain or restore the attractiveness of close-in areas is not the way to cure suburbanitis. It is obvious that if this aspect of the problem is to be grappled with effectively a single metropolitan-wide agency—the county if the attack is along functional lines—must be given planning and public works powers broad enough to deal with both horns of the dilemma.

There is an unwarranted stimulus to the outward movement of population which is beyond the reach of any local authority—the policy of the federal agencies which have to do with housing and the guaranteeing of mortgages. Those dealing with the encouragement of low-rent housing have often sought cheap land in the suburbs for their projects without much regard to future problems of service and administration. The FHA has consistently put the weight of its enormous credit resources behind the development of new projects in outlying sections. It does not do much good to integrate local government within a defined area if immediately thereafter vast housing projects or speculative building developments are to be set up under federal authority just over the border. The federal authorities will say that they conform to the local planning and zoning regulations, but if this means of control is to be at all effective the regulations must apply in the area in which the project or development is projected. This is a further argument for the planning and zoning powers of the county being extended over the whole metropolitan area.

Reorganize County Structure

The greatest single obstacle to the progress of functional consolidation as a cure for suburbanitis is that county government is not organized to handle to the best advantage such extensive powers of policy control and administration. I want to make it clear in what I have to say on this subject that I am not impugning the character or motives of any county official anywhere. I have no hesitation, however, in saying that county government under large boards of supervisors, as in New York and Michigan, is peculiarly unadapted to the job of performing functions of the kind necessary for the cure of suburbanitis. County government, except in a very few counties which have been reorganized in recent years, has no head. Its powers are distributed between a county board and a number of elective officers whose duties are narrowly defined by state law. This board, as a rule, works through a variety of officers and commissions without the benefit of any centralized executive authority. It is a system well enough adapted to the conditions of a simple agricultural economy but hopelessly inadequate to manage the complex affairs of a populous metropolitan area.

Reorganization of the county government along modern municipal lines is therefore a condition precedent to a permanent and constructive plan of metropolitan integration, even one which leaves existing cities, towns and villages with a considerable part of their present responsibilities.

Reorganization of county government is a tough job, especially where it is accompanied by extension of its powers into the municipal field. Take Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Ohio, for example. Reorganization and consolidation have been in the public mind for years. A charter which included nothing in the way of consolidation won a popular victory more than a decade ago but was put to death on a technicality by the Ohio Supreme Court. For most of 1950 a second charter commission toiled and wrangled, coming up with a document which provided for a county board of nine elected at large and an elective county administrator with broad executive powers. It provided also for transferring to the county from Cleveland and other municipalities functions most of which Erie County already handles — hospitals, charitable and correctional institutions, poor relief, public health, airports, enforcement of minimum standards for building construction and the intermunicipal aspects of sewers, water and similar matters. It required a special referendum before the county could take over Cleveland's transportation system. No one could say it was a revolutionary measure, but it went down before a substantial popular majority on the seventh of November.

There are enough examples of reorganized county governments to give encouragement to Buffalonians. Monroe County, New York, has a county manager, while Westchester and Nassau Counties, New York, have elective county executives. All have administrative organizations which compare favorably with the best governed cities of the state. County home rule is already established in the constitution and laws of New York and reorganization in Erie County only waits upon action by its citizens. County managers are also to be found in several large counties in Virginia, California, Georgia and other states.

Sell Idea to Citizens

I think I have said enough to indicate the types of reform which can be attempted with reasonable chance of success in eradicating or at least mitigating suburbanitis. When, however, a reasonable plan, adapted to the needs of the particular community, has been selected after careful and impartial study, there remains the job of selling it to the people, for unless you can sell it to the people the politicians at the courthouse and in the legislature can hardly be expected to do much about it. There are, of course, all sorts of devices for selling ideas to the public. We in Connecticut have just had a deluge of them in the political campaign of 1950: comic strips, singing "politicals," television programs, speakers arriving (or not) in helicopters, as well as the older inducements of quartettes, bands, sound trucks, transparencies and billboards. You can get plenty of better advice than mine on the form of presentation of the case for the selected cure for suburbanitis. Whatever the method, what has to be got to the people are the facts. They must be presented persistently but good humoredly.

We have mentioned the importance of the group which sponsors the study being representative of all elements in the metropolitan area. It is just as important that the campaign be similarly sponsored. The city and its officials cannot wage war on the county and its officials and the lesser municipalities and their officials and win anything but self-approbation and defeat. In these matters I am a believer in citizen action under the leadership of a citizen group without personal axes to grind. The cure of suburbanitis, even its substantial amelioration, requires action of a kind which politicians rarely take except under some form of compulsion. Their personal and party interests are too deeply involved for it to be otherwise.

The task of convincing the public is by no means a hopeless one. The facts looked at from a long-range point of view will do the job. I do not blame home owners in the suburbs for reacting on first impression against the idea of absorption by a neighboring big city. They have gone to the outskirts in the hope of cheaper and better living. They may not have found it. The construction, maintenance and operation of a well and a septic tank, higher fire insurance rates, the fee paid to the garbage collector and other costs incident to semi-rural life, not infrequently balance the lower price of the lot and the lower taxes. All the more reason why they should balk at the higher taxes of a large city on top of these investments. You can't talk them out of their opposition by calling them parasites, chisellers or leeches. They may to some extent be getting a free ride on the backs of city taxpayers but they just can't be expected to see that without some very careful and tactful explanation.

The fact is, however, that suburbanitis is catching up with them. As the suburban population grows, wells and septic tanks become unsatisfactory. They need waterworks and sewer systems. The little towns and villages which a dozen years ago were run satisfactorily on an amateur or part-time basis, at low cost to the taxpayer, have become large towns and villages and have to pay for what they get at the same wages and prices as prevail in the neighboring city. The surge of wartime babies now pouring into the lower grades of the schools has finally demonstrated the inadequacy of the school plant everywhere, and the town and village districts, like the city districts, are going to pay through the nose to make up for the building deficiencies of the last two decades.

Suburban taxes, real taxes—the rate times assessed valuation—have been for some time on the climb and are apparently destined to scramble up so fast that the differential the suburbs have enjoyed will soon be a thing of the past. The plight of the poorer suburbs which never had low taxes except at the sacrifice of needed services will be particularly forlorn in the years ahead. These are facts which can be demonstrated to any citizen with a grammar grade education.

Encourage Unity

The suburbanite usually feels, and often with justification, that his suburban government is more honest, efficient and responsive than that of the big city or the embracing county. To the extent that this is illusion it will be eliminated by the rising costs of the era on which we are all embarked. To the extent that the belief is well founded I can suggest no way out but the improvement of city and county government. A city which feels the need of integration in its metropolitan area must approach the matter with clean hands. Complete asepsis is rightfully demanded of those who would operate on a metropolitan community for suburbanitis.

Every incidental thing should be

done that can be done to encourage a sense of metropolitan unity. Community Chest, Red Cross, March of Dimes and other drives should be if possible on a county-wide basis, with full participation in the honors as well as the work for the suburbanites. Civic organizations, luncheon clubs, all manner of voluntary citizen activities, should also be on at least a county-wide basis. Obviously, Chamber of Commerce and Advertising Club publicity should at all times emphasize the idea of the greater city in whose pride and prosperity all can share. In other words, take the suburbanites into partnership. It often happens that many of the best and most active business and professional men of the city by day are suburbanites by night.

A Recent Problem

All this takes some doing but it can be done. It will take time but the world was not made in a day and the essential institutions of mankind, among which local government is rightly numbered, cannot be changed, unless by violence, in many many days of effort and debate. That is why democracy is the most stable of all forms of government. It makes superficial changes rapidly, it alters the course of its deeper currents very slowly indeed. We are here dealing with a change in the basic outline of local self-government. We should not be disheartened because a problem which emerged only 30 years ago has not been solved.

There has been a lot of nonsense talked about the optimism of youth and the pessimism of old age. Youth is full of animal vigor which takes risks lightly but it is easily discouraged when hope is deferred. In old age personal hopes and ambitions may fail but faith in the future of a good cause grows stronger because progress can be measured against the perspective of a long distant past. It is now just 50 years since I was a senior at Harvard, getting my first bite of a course which dealt in part with local government. There were not then a dozen colleges in the country which thought the subject worth teaching at all. There was no textbook on American local government for student use. The proceedings of the National Municipal League's Conferences on Good City Government, then in their seventh year, contained most of the material in print on the subject.

At that time neither the commission nor the manager plan of government had been heard of. There was no such thing as a merit system for the employees of any city except those in New York and Massachusetts. Every change in party control made a clean sweep of city halls and courthouses. The word "budget" was only a recent importation from Europe, scarcely applicable to anything in the United States. Municipal accounting was concerned only with the inflow and outflow of cash in the sometimes vain attempt to keep the hands of politicians out of the till.

There was no such thing as a nonpartisan municipal ballot. In fact, there was no such thing as a well regulated partisan primary. Nominations for local office were made by caucus and convention, in which the outsider or independent had no chance. There was scarcely a good registration system in the country. In close elections the names on the very tombstones were voted. There were no limitations on election expenditures, no restrictions on political contributions by city or county employees. Reform waves were always sporadic because reform candidates could be elected only by an effort too prodigious to be repeated frequently. In short, Bryce's dictum of thirteen years before, that municipal government was our "one conspicuous failure," was still true and accepted with fatalistic resignation by 99 per cent of those who should have been fighting for reform

I have seen all this change. American politics is by no means spotless but let no one tell you that it is not incomparably cleaner, and American local government infinitely more honest and efficient than it was 50 years ago. When I was a senior at Harvard the subject we have been discussing today had not even been heard of except as it had already affected such great cities as London and New York. Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Atlanta, Birmingham, and a hundred other communities in which suburbanitis is acute today were not even aware that there could be such a disease. The conception of the greater city of tomorrow had not even dawned on the minds of dreamers. I am confident that as we have solved so many other problems of organization and procedure in local government, in spite of the intense opposition of the politicians and the deadening pessimism of the public, we shall in good time—not too far off—conquer suburbanitis.

AWAKE AT LAST—A BIT LATE

(Continued from page 541)

whole earth. A large part of the confidence I feel in the future is based on the knowledge gained largely through my association with the National Municipal League that there are many thousands of Americans who care and work day in and day out on the civic front, recognizing such work as one of the essential parts of a whole and wholesome life. Since what we talk about as the end of World War II, the number of these citizens has increased steadily. Their victories in state and local civic battles have increased proportionately.

The recruiting station is open. The rolls of the civic army are never closed. The need and the opportunity are unlimited.

From Home Town and Back

Struggle for civic improvement takes leader over full cycle from community to state and return to community.

By **BAYARD H. FAULKNER***

IN ONE sense this story is a personal one; in another it portrays the laziness, the grousing, the "what can I do about it" attitude of millions of citizens. More important it demonstrates their inherent capacity for interest in public matters and their ability, once stimulated, to contribute to one of the greatest of all purposes, the forwarding of the democratic ideal.

Perhaps, in true detective story fashion, the story should begin, in 1934, with the ringing of the telephone—the telephone of an average citizen, aged 39. He has been occupied with raising a family, with establishing himself in the social life of his community. He commutes to New York. His home town, Montclair, New Jersey, is his dormitory. Occupied during most of his daylight hours with business activities, he returns at night to dinner with his family, a "bull session" with his sons, a visit to the neighbors for bridge. The lawn and flowerbeds are tended on Saturday—Sunday to church and a sleepy afternoon.

Of public affairs he has but the vaguest knowledge. True he rants at the national administration for this and that, knowing little of the vast economic and political problems facing the country in 1934.

His town is a suburb of a great city—its life affected for better and worse by the metropolis. Its people range from the very rich to the very poor. Essentially it is a conservative town but its orderly complacency is being disturbed by the changing times and the transition brings its problems—social, economic and political.

Of local politics he has heard of the bickering in town hall and is in a ferment at gossip that the politicos have made a deal to abolish the municipal garbage collection system and turn it over to the contractor friend of one of the town commissioners.

By and large, however, he is just an average citizen—no better, no worse, than millions of his contemporaries. But the telephone is ringing. The voice is that of a friend who bids him attend a meeting at his home. Inquiry elicits no further information as to the purpose of the meeting—"just come." Curiosity aroused, he enters his friend's home to find some 50 other average citizens assembled.

Discussion discloses a truly alarming condition in town affairs. For the first time the Hague machine is attempting to gain a stranglehold on the town's political life. The community is governed under the theoretically nonpartisan commission form. The town fathers are divided into cliques. The wrangling and buck-passing is echoing far beyond the town's boundaries. The deal on garbage stinks more than the humble material which is its subject. The citizens that evening center their fire on the commissioner apostle of Frank Hague, but the other members get their fair share.

---

*Mr Faulkner, vice president of the Seaboard Oil Company, is chairman of the New Jersey Commission on Municipal Government and a former town commissioner in Montclair, New Jersey. This article is his address before the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, Buffalo, New York, November 21, 1950.

Under commission government administration of local affairs is divided up among the five commissioners. As a result there are five little independent governments with no one person over all. This tends to disunity and log-rolling, and encourages just such shenanigans as were now being witnessed in town hall. What to do?

Movement Takes Fire

A change to the council-manager plan is suggested which, if successful, would "turn the rascals out" and at the same time introduce a form of government which would at least tend to reduce the divisiveness of the existing system. The business men present recognize the appeal of the manager plan, closely paralleling as it does the organization of the modern corporation. No one is interested in returning to the old mayor-alderman setup of bygone days.

The movement inaugurated that evening quickly took fire. The Montclair Association was formed. Its membership grew from 50 to 700. Petitions were circulated, calling for a referendum on the manager plan in October 1934, and 6,000 signers were secured in short order.

Doorbells and telephones were rung all over that community. Tens of thousands of pieces of literature were distributed. But our opposition was strong and determined. The local newspaper laughed at us; both political parties joined to repel us, their common enemy. Labor unions actively opposed us. And perhaps our greatest stumbling block was our own inexperience in "political" affairs.

The big day came and with it the greatest outpouring of voters in the town's history except for that of the presidential election in 1932. Some 13,000 votes were cast and the manager plan lost by 267. But had we really lost?

Our little group met again. Most of the advice was to disband and lie low until another opportunity presented itself. With this majority view I held no truck. Our experience in the campaign had taught me one good lesson—that, if the average citizen is to cope with vested political interests, he must be alert at all times and not depend on the excitements of a particular campaign.

In the next few months we undertook a comprehensive study of the town budget, presenting the findings to the commission and the town. The affairs of the water bureau, torn by a major defalcation, gave us another opportunity for study and report.

And then along in late summer the telephone rang again. This time, however, it was a local party leader seeking an interview. That evening three gentlemen arrived and stated that, since the Montclair Association was showing such an interest in local politics, perhaps it and they could get together at the next municipal election of commissioners. Our protest, or reform movement if you will, had come of age.

We weighed the proposal carefully. We knew that under state law we could not again propose the manager plan before the next municipal election. We were fearful that should we not acquiesce our new found party friends might be forced, against their wishes, back into an alliance with their normal opponents. We decided to take the plunge.

'Fifth Wheel' Burden

But who would run? It wasn't easy to find five men who could or would agree, if elected, to assume the burdens involved in managing the governmental machinery of a community of 40,000 people, who would expose themselves to the rigors of a hard campaign and the abuse which, unfortunately in America, is the inevitable concomitant of public office.

Four of our candidates, all named by our reform group, were elected in May 1936 along with the Hague apostle, much to our discomfort and dismay.

My associates and I on the commission were thoroughly versed in the theory of commission government. We knew how basically unsound it is. During the next four years we received one practical lesson after another on how it tends to defeat good government.

Almost immediately upon the commission's assuming office, the payroll of its minority commissioner's department began to rise and late in the summer he said that unless we gave him an additional appropriation the functions of his department would be sharply curtailed. Other than to strip him of his administrative duties there is nothing under the New Jersey commission government act to prevent such conduct. A commissioner is king in his own bailiwick.

In 1938, the year of the great coastal storm, the department of public works asked this same individual for help in the emergency which faced the town. Virtually every street was blocked with fallen trees. Fire apparatus, police cars and ambulances were tied to their garages. An uncooperative response again left nothing for us to do about it but to make the recalcitrant a "minister without portfolio."

But inevitably there comes an end to the career of a public official who plays the Hague type of game. In 1940 we elected all of our ticket and were then able to devote ourselves to the all-important task of serving the community.

The place which Montclair occupies in local government is too well known to require further comment. Of two aspects I will speak, however:

First, we tried to make the commission form work as effectively as its basic limitations would permit. Our first move was to employ a former city manager as departmental coordinator—this in an effort to tie together the five loose ends which constitute commission government. Stuart M. Weaver is one of the most competent men in his field. He attained great success in this most difficult assignment. But always he met with the conscious or unconscious barriers of "separate" departments, the feeling that "this is our preserve" and "no trespassing allowed." The experiment was cut short by the war in which Mr. Weaver served.

Our next move was to create a management committee consisting of the operating heads of each department. This committee met weekly, reviewed common problems, prepared the agenda for the next meeting of the commission and in general attempted to overcome the provincialism inherent in commission government.

Both these experiments are probably unique. But neither can be a substitute for an organizational pattern which centers administrative responsibility in one person and under him coordinates all activities into a unified whole.

Secondly, I would emphasize our constant concern for what in my opinion is the greatest problem of democratic government, bringing the citizen and his officials into more intimate contact in order that each may know and share the other's views and problems.

Citizen Committees Active

Shortly after assuming office we asked a large group of citizens to organize themselves into a research committee to undertake a study of the municipal budget and report back any areas for improvement in efficiency or for elimination of unwanted services. For the first time in Montclair a public audit was invited. The books were open for all to see.

Suggestions for reductions in five of the town's services were made by the research committee. The suggestions were summarized and mailed to every household with a return postcard for approval or disapproval of each. The response far exceeded expectations but the interesting result was majority opposition to the reductions. This was only the first of several postcard polls seeking citizen reaction on community affairs.

Literally hundreds of citizens were enrolled on advisory committees covering virtually every phase of town government. The high school was encouraged to inaugurate a plan for student study of municipal functions. Pamphlets on town finances were mailed with water bills. Every civic organization was urged to have a representative at commission meetings.

Notwithstanding all this effort we are not satisfied that the citizens in Montclair, or for that matter in most other towns and cities in this great country, are sufficiently aware of the problems of community living or of the responsibility which falls upon each resident to understand them and then wisely to delegate their solution to capable representatives who will act unselfishly in the interests of all.

One may well ask why the Montclair Association, over a period of twelve years, did not make another effort to install the manager plan. The answer is simple. In 1937, at the behest of the manager of a nearby city, the legislature changed the law to give managers in New Jersey tenure of office. The very essence of the manager plan is the maintenance of an employer-employee relationship between the governing body and its chief executive officer. When that relationship is disturbed, and either or both are hamstrung, the plan ceases to be effective. As a result there has been little recent use in New Jersey of this most modern governmental device. Certainly, the Montclair Association could not in good conscience advocate it.

But twelve years of service on Montclair's governing body was enough and I felt that the time had come to return to my family, my business and my farm. Regretfully I resigned, closing one of the most interesting and stimulating periods of my life. My family received the news very happily but, as I look back on it now, with some skepticism— a skepticism quite justified in the light of later events.

Local Government Study

During the incumbency of former Governor Charles Edison, and under his leadership, a movement had developed for a new state constitution. His successor, Governor Alfred E. Driscoll, took up the cause and with his great enthusiasm succeeded in securing its adoption in 1947.

Fresh from this victory Governor Driscoll, commenting to the press on the sad state of affairs in commission-governed Hoboken, said that an investigation of operations under that form throughout the state might well be undertaken. Telegrams and letters from every direction suggested that such an investigation might go still further and cover the form and structure of all municipal government within the state.

A believer in the importance of strong local government, the governor saw this as a next logical step. In his message to the legislature in 1948 he urged such a study and a joint resolution, sponsored by senators from both parties, was passed. It provided for a commission of nine, five appointed by the governor and two members each from the Senate and Assembly.

And again the telephone, this time to inquire if I would undertake the chairmanship of such a commission. I was at it again after only a few months of surcease from the headaches, excitements and satisfactions of public office.

The new commission organized at once, employed Princeton Surveys as consultants and appointed an additional advisory staff of New Jersey experts in local government, including John E. Bebout, assistant secretary of the National Municipal League. The preliminary report, made in November 1948, was designed to stimulate public discussion. The report to the legislature of 1949 followed but, in view of our condemnation of the commission form and the protests which immediately arose from officials in cities under that plan, the legislature decided to defer action and asked that we continue our studies for another year.

With the aid of many officials and the State League of Municipalities, a revised report was made early this year and, after some further but not crippling amendments by the legislature, the program became law on June 8.

As finally adopted, the Optional Charter Law of 1950 includes three modern forms of government: (1) A strong mayor plan, (2) A council-manager plan (without tenure for the manager) and (3) A plan especially tailored for the small community.

Neither the commission nor the weak mayor form was included.

Aside from the new model optional charters, there are two other major aspects to this legislation.

Under the new constitution, New Jersey municipalities do not have home rule in the sense that each community may devise and adopt its own charter. Under this circumstance we chose a system of basic optional charters and then added provision for a wide number of variations in each, dealing primarily with choice as to the size of council, at large or ward and at large representation and, in the case of the strong mayor and small municipalities plans, choice of partisan or nonpartisan elections. The wide choice of forms thus offered will cover the needs of virtually every community.

But to this broad choice of charters was added a far greater latitude in municipal powers than any heretofore enjoyed by New Jersey communities, this grant, however, confined to those adopting one of the new plans.

Most important is the provision governing the use of the law. In addition to the conventional method of citizen petition and referendum for adoption of a particular form of government, either the governing body or the citizenry by petition may call for a referendum on the question of whether a charter commission shall be elected to study the local structure and recommend adoption of one of the optional charters or retention of the existing form. If change is recommended the voters pass upon the proposal at the next election.

Here is an opportunity for citizen action which any vested political interest finds difficult to oppose. We in New Jersey look forward to a revival of interest in local affairs through this simple and readily usable device.

Any such program must have broad citizen support. In this regard an extraordinary job was done by a statewide citizens committee which campaigned for two legislative sessions on behalf of the bills which gave effect to the program. The League of Women Voters, the New Jersey Taxpayers Association, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Senior and Junior Chambers of Commerce and many more worked without stint for passage of the bills, often with reluctant legislators who were, naturally perhaps, opposed to any change of the status quo in their districts.

Montclair Takes Action

Shortly after passage of the bills, the Montclair town commission unanimously adopted a resolution placing the charter commission question on the ballot. Led initially by the League of Women Voters, a town-wide organization was formed to forward the idea of a study of the local government.

The referendum carried overwhelmingly at the November election and Montclair is the first in New Jersey to undertake such a study. In this activity I am privileged to have a part. Once again there comes to me an opportunity for civic effort in my own home town.

And so the movement for a better town charter in Montclair, begun by a group of average citizens in 1934 and pursued unremittingly through the years, bears promise of fruition. The charter commission elected in Montclair is outstanding. Its members approach their work with complete objectivity, fully conscious of the importance of their task. Their findings will come in due course and I am convinced that there will emerge in Montclair a better pattern of community organization.

New Concern with Democracy

Thus a chapter closes—a cycle is completed. An average citizen, apathetic and ill informed, aroused at last to campaign for civic betterment, plunged, somewhat bewildered but determined, into local public office, moving thence to moulding opinion on municipal government at the state level and now back again to the civic life of his own community.

Increasingly through the years, citizen interest has tended toward national and international affairs. It has been away from the purely local. But the tree can be no stronger than its roots and the soil from which they draw their nourishment. With the coming of World War II and the subsequent problems of dealing with totalitarian communism, we more fully appreciate our freedom and the need for guarding its foundations. Evidence is on every hand of a new concern with the processes of democracy.

It matters little at what point citizen interest and participation first begins—whether with the struggles of the United Nations, national problems, a new state constitution or with the day-to-day problems of local government. Inevitably that interest and participation widens and deepens.

For me these years have been as a fascinating journey. My greatest wish is that every American could know, as I have come to know, the richer, fuller life which flows from even the most humble public service.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Manager Places Pass Thousand Mark

Seven Adoptions One Repeal Voted at November Election

SEVEN council-manager adoptions on November 7, plus several other recent additions to the list, bring the total of manager communities to 1,003. The number has nearly doubled since 1940, when there were 526 council-manager communities.

The village of **Richfield, Minnesota,** (1950 population 17,415) adopted the state's optional village manager law on November 7. The vote was 3,822 to 1,038. The plan will go into effect January 1, 1951.

Two communities in **Michigan** adopted council-manager charters on November 7, **Holland** (1940 population 14,616) and **Cheboygan** (5,673). Both had turned down similar charters on June 26.

Chanute, Kansas, (10,241) adopted the council-manager plan at the polls on November 7. The voters had rejected a similar proposal on October 10 by 33 votes.

The town of **Wilmington, Massachusetts,** (4,645) voted on November 7 to adopt a town manager (or "selectman-manager") plan, 1,041 to 750.

A county manager charter for **Santa Clara County, California,** (174,949) was approved by the voters on November 7 by an overwhelming majority.[1]

Fairfax County, Virginia, (40,929) voted on November 7 to change to a county executive form of government.[1]

Two cities in Virginia—**Pulaski** (8,792) and **Luray** (1,511)—adopted the council-manager plan a year or more ago.

The city council of **Hanford, California** (8,234), voted on September 11 to install the city manager form of government, the action to become effective in 30 days.

Alamagordo, New Mexico, (6,767) adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance.

Wray, Colorado, (2,061) recently adopted a council-manager charter.

Osborne, Pennsylvania, (529) dropped from the official list of manager cities early this year, has been restored.

Greenville, South Carolina, voted for the council-manager plan on November 7 in an advisory referendum.

Voters of **Halifax, Nova Scotia,** (70,488) at a referendum on October 25 approved the council-manager plan, 3,718 to 2,223. It is understood that this is not conclusive but that further action by the city council is necessary.

In **Brookline, Massachusetts,** the seven-member committee appointed at the last annual town meeting to investigate the town manager plan, held a public hearing for discussion of the plan on October 30.

Three charter amendments in **Niagara Falls, New York,** giving the city manager power to appoint and dismiss city employees without council approval, prohibiting council interference with his discharge of duties, and giving him 30 days for a hearing before possible dismissal, were approved by the voters on November 7.

The township committee of **Bridgewater, New Jersey,** has established a charter commission which is studying forms of government, with special attention to the council-manager plan.

---

[1] See also page 567, this issue.

Laurinburg, North Carolina, which has had a city manager since 1947, is expected soon to have a referendum election on the manager plan, as doubt has been cast on the power of the council to appoint a manager under the charter.

A council-manager charter was defeated in **Mansfield, Ohio,** on November 7 by a vote of 11,123 to 4,970. Distribution by the county board of elections of an attack upon the charter on October 24 had been protested by the Citizens' Committee for Council-Manager Government.

Newport, Kentucky, voted on November 7 to retain its manager plan, 5,463 to 2,310.

In **Michigan** the cities of **Grosse Pointe Park** and **Grosse Pointe Woods,** the residents of which, former villages, voted this year to incorporate as cities, will vote on December 11 on the question of adopting council-manager charters. Grosse Pointe Park, as a village, has had the manager plan since 1942.

The Manufacturers and Employers Association of **Springfield, Illinois,** proposes that the city commission appoint a city manager, with authority to streamline the operation of all municipal departments. It claims that the commission has the power to make such an appointment—despite the refusal of the Illinois legislature to authorize cities to adopt the council-manager plan.

In **Madison, Wisconsin,** the existing council-manager plan was voted out on November 7, 15,803 to 13,305. The city reverts to the mayor-council plan.

On October 19 the city commission of **Fort Scott, Kansas,** refused to call a referendum election on the question of adopting the manager plan. The Junior Chamber of Commerce had filed a petition of 1,233 names calling for such an election, but the city clerk eliminated 445 names as not corresponding exactly with the list of registered voters. This left the petition with 405 less than the legal requirement of 25 per cent of the last vote for mayor. The city commission therefore called the petition insufficient.

The **Topeka, Kansas,** *State Journal* advocates the manager plan for that city.

Omaha, Nebraska, rejected a proposed council-manager plan on November 7 by a vote of 54,992 to 24,313.

A council-manager plan for **Columbus, Nebraska,** was defeated on October 31 by a vote of 1,885 to 505. **Imperial** defeated the plan, 233 to 121, on November 7.

The city council of **Tonkawa, Oklahoma,** has set December 19 as the date for a special election on adopting the council-manager plan. A petition of 464 names, asking for an election, had been filed.

A council-manager charter is in process of preparation in **Sand Springs, Oklahoma.**

The scheduled November 25 referendum in **Nampa, Idaho,** on adoption of the council-manager plan, has been attacked in the courts. The city attorney questioned the petitions for the election on the score that they were held together with Scotch tape, with names added and deleted. A sponsor of the petitions asserted that "the law does not bar Scotch tape, staples, mucilage, string or baling wire, if necessary, in compiling a petition"; that names had been deleted after comparison with the registration list; and that the petition contained the necessary valid signatures. He denied the charge that the manager movement was associated with the "liquor interests."

Albany, Oregon, voted November

7 to retain the council-manager plan, 1,795 to 1,732.

The city council of **Santa Paula, California,** has established by resolution the office of administrative officer and has invited applications for the new position. Under the resolution the new administrative officer shall head all departments of the city, act as purchasing agent and serve in a general administrative and coordinating capacity, responsible to the city council; he will have limited powers to hire and fire. The city council of **Los Banos,** in the same state, has been considering similar action.

Voters Pass on 164 State Proposals

At the November elections the voters in 34 states were faced with proposed constitutional amendments, initiative propositions and referenda totaling 164. The number of proposed amendments reached 24 in Louisiana —a smaller number than usual in that state, however.

One outstanding result was the defeat in Georgia of a proposal to extend to general elections the county unit voting system now in use for primary elections. Under this plan no county, regardless of population, would be entitled to more than six votes in deciding the election and each county, no matter how small, would have at least two votes. The plan was urged by Governor Herman Talmadge but was denounced as grossly unfair and undemocratic by various civic organizations, individuals and newspapers.

South Carolina voted about four to one to abolish its poll tax, thus leaving only six states with such tax— Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. The tax was adopted in South Carolina in 1865 and was written into the state constitution 30 years later. Its repeal was urged by Governor J. Strom Thurmond and various other political leaders.

In Illinois the "Gateway Amendment" to reduce the obstacles to future constitutional amendment, was approved at the November 7 election. An overwhelming majority of those voting on the amendment were in the affirmative; and because of the intensive campaign in its favor, the necessary majority of all votes cast at the election (an almost insurmountable requirement which this amendment will obviate) was finally achieved.

The so-called "balanced plan" for legislative reapportionment in Oregon was defeated on November 7 by a vote of 208,224 to 175,431. It would have done away with the present constitutional requirement of apportionment on a population basis (the further requirement of decennial reapportionment has been ignored since 1910) in favor of a combination of area and population as a reapportionment basis, thus giving the sparsely settled counties even more political advantage than they have now.

Colorado voters on November 7 adopted two constitutional amendments and rejected one proposed amendment. One of those adopted facilitates revision of home rule charters by permitting the council of any home rule city to submit charter amendments or other measures to vote of the people; this has heretofore been possible only by petition. This amendment also permits the city council of Denver to determine salaries of municipal officers by ordinance, within limits set by the charter; the latter now specifies the exact salaries.

The other adopted amendment provides for annual sessions of the state legislature, instead of biennial as at present; the sessions in even-numbered years are to be limited chiefly to revenue and appropriation bills, thus permitting an annual state budget. It also permits the legislature to provide a method for filling vacancies therein, the present method being only by new elections called by the governor. It contains various other provisions intended to improve the procedure and practices of the legislature.

The proposed amendment that lost would have removed heads of administrative departments from civil service, as is the case in other states; it would also have established various other exemptions and instituted a more flexible civil service system.

A Louisiana constitutional amendment providing home rule for New Orleans has evidently been adopted, although complete figures are not yet available. Thus far the vote is 145,436 for, 63,241 against in 1,603 precincts out of a state total of 2,092. The amendment establishes the city's present charter as its home rule charter, prohibits any subsequent legislature from amending it, and provides methods by which the city council or the voters may propose amendments or new charters.[1]

In Utah an increase in legislators' salaries from $300 to $500 a year, plus $5 a day for expenses at sessions, was authorized. The voters also approved an amendment placing general control of the state's public education system under an elective board and making the state superintendent of public instruction appointive instead of elective.

Arizona defeated proposals to increase old-age assistance, to end segregation in schools and to establish local option prohibition of liquor.

Arkansas voted down a proposal for statewide prohibition of manufacture, sale or transportation of liquor, or the possession of more than one quart. Half the state is now dry, under local option. Oregon defeated a ban on the sale of "promotively advertised" liquor.

Maryland voted to retain the Ober Act, a strict anti-subversive measure requiring a loyalty oath of state officeholders. Michigan adopted a constitutional amendment permitting the legislature to outlaw advocacy of the violent overthrow of the government.

Michigan also increased its residential requirements for voting from 20 days to 30 in the voting precinct and legalized the sale of yellow oleomargarine.

Oklahoma voters decisively refused to put that state on record as favoring the principle of world government.

Rhode Island adopted a proposal to give voting privileges to the Narragansett Indians; Idaho voted heavily in favor of full citizenship for its Indians.

Maryland Votes for Constitution Convention

Voters of the state of Maryland, on November 7, expressed themselves overwhelmingly in favor of a convention to draft a new constitution. Incomplete returns report 202,088 for, 55,829 against.

Next move must be made by the legislature, which will meet in January. It is expected that the Legislative Council will shortly draft proposed legislation to provide for the election of the convention.

Two States Turn Down Constitution Conventions

Voters of both Oklahoma and Iowa turned down ballot proposals on November 7 for constitutional conventions.

The Oklahoma convention question was one of five on the ballot, all turned down decisively by the voters. Vote on the proposal was 347,143 to 159,908. Opposition to the change was based on the expense involved, fear of change, many pressure groups, and the cry that now is not the time to make drastic changes. The Citizens Committee for Calling a Constitutional Convention spearheaded the campaign, aided by the League of Women Voters, State Parent-Teachers Association and various civic groups. Opposition came from the CIO, AFL, Farmers Union, United Drys and many of the politicians interested in the preservation of Oklahoma's long ballot.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, September 1950, page 400.

In the ten times the question has been submitted in Iowa—the constitution calls for it to be placed on the ballot every ten years—the voters approved only once, in 1920. At that time, however, no convention was held since the legislature could reach no decision as to how delegates should be chosen, the constitution not being very specific about the matter.

No Constitutional Convention for Louisiana

A call for a constitutional convention in Louisiana has been repealed by a special session of the legislature. It is reported that the principal issues that led to the repeal of the call include: (1) the method of selecting the delegates and opposition to the number of appointed and ex-officio delegates; (2) objection to a proposal to extend the terms of present officeholders; and (3) a proposal for final adoption of the constitution by the convention instead of by submitting it to the people.

Hawaiians Approve Proposed Constitution

Voters in the Hawaiian Islands on November 7 approved, 83,154 to 27,260, the draft of a proposed state constitution prepared by the recent constitutional convention.[1] The document now goes to Congress and the president for action.

Western Governors Would Extend Interstate Cooperation

The annual Western Governors' Conference, meeting in Denver November 10 and 11, approved unanimously a plan to establish a regional council that would supervise the interchange among states and territories of graduate students in medicine, dentistry, public health, etc., so as to use existing graduate schools in these subjects to the best advantage, without wasteful duplication, and to improve such specialized educational facilities in the region. A draft of an interstate compact was approved; it goes to the various legislatures for ratification. A similar plan has been in effect in the southeast for two years.

The conference also approved, subject to ratification by the state legislatures, a draft of a compact to establish a Western Regional Youth Commission that would set up and operate an institution for confinement and treatment of mentally defective or psychopathic juvenile offenders.

The Western Interstate Committee on Institutional Care formulated the plan in the course of two years of study, in view of inadequate regional facilities for juvenile care and the need to avoid wasteful duplication.

Two other compacts were submitted for ratification to the legislatures of four of the western states—Nevada, Utah, Idaho and Wyoming—for regional pooling of resources in the education and training of the deaf and the blind. Two existing institutions, in Idaho and Utah, each dealing with deaf and blind persons, would be converted into separate schools for the deaf and the blind, respectively, to serve all four states.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, September 1950, pages 375-382; 405.

St. Paul Abandons Single Education Head

The voters of St. Paul, Minnesota, have approved a charter amendment replacing the commissioner of education by an elective non-salaried school board. The city departments will supply the board's requirements for purchasing, civil service, legal advice and general accounting. The board is to present its own budget to the city comptroller and then to the city council, subject to the same procedures as those of the departments. The amendment also provides for a substantial increase in revenue for school and other civic purposes; a supplementary budget prepared for 1951 is $1,460,184 over the previously adopted budget, according to the Municipal Finance Officers Association.

League of Alaskan Cities Is Formed

With a complete constitution and quota of officers, the League of Alaskan Cities has come into being, following a meeting of Alaskan city officials in Anchorage, August 28-31. Officials of southwest Alaska cities had met previously but this was the first meeting of officials from the entire territory. President of the league is Mayor Z. J. Loussac of Anchorage; executive secretary, City Manager Robert E. Sharp of the same city. The trustees come from Nome, Fairbanks, Juneau, Seward and Cordova. The Nome delegate had to travel 536 miles to attend; the Juneau delegate 573 miles—both by air. The University of Alaska (near Fairbanks) has promised cooperation with the league.

Oregon League Observes Silver Anniversary

The League of Oregon Cities celebrated its 25th anniversary at its convention in Portland, November 13-15.

Employee Reclassification Urged for Chicago

The Chicago Civil Service Commission has recommended a reclassification of all positions in the classified civil service of that city, based on a study undertaken in 1948 by a small staff of personnel specialists aided by over 100 city employees. The number of titles would be reduced from about 1,400 to 851; but most of the present employees would not be affected and a minimum of administrative detail would be involved. The greatest duplication and overlapping has existed in the clerical, accounting and administrative services; here 250 titles would shrink to 63.

The present classification of positions has remained virtually static for a generation or more, according to the Civil Service Assembly.

International Town Planners Urge Control of Land Use

The Twentieth Congress of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning adopted a resolution by F. J. Osborn, British town planner, which "urges upon governments and public opinion in all countries the vital importance of a clear policy and adequate legislation for the planning of the use of land in urban and rural regions, which is now proved to be necessary for the maintenance and improvement of housing standards and social and economic efficiency, the provision of sufficient open space for health and recreation, the good relationship between towns and the agricultural countryside, and the avoidance

(Continued on page 580)

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Fairfax, Santa Clara Approve Charters

Three Other Counties Lose Their Battles for Home Rule

TWO of five counties voting November 7 on new charters secured victories at the polls—Fairfax County, Virginia, and Santa Clara County, California.

In one of the most heated election campaigns ever experienced in Fairfax County the voters decided to (1) adopt an optional home rule charter and (2) adopt the executive rather than the manager form. The vote, largest ever cast in the county, was 5,289 to 3,534 on the first issue and 5,210 to 3,502 in favor of the executive as opposed to the manager plan.

Under the executive plan, the six supervisors will be elected by districts instead of at large as provided under the manager plan. The appointive executive will have power only to recommend appointments and dismissals whereas the appointive manager would have had full power in these matters. Both plans provide for a finance department under the executive to replace the abolished elective treasurer and internal revenue commission.

Civic groups had organized to sponsor each plan for this fast-growing county suburban to Washington, D. C. Those favoring the executive plan called themselves the Fairfax County League of Citizens Favoring County Executive Form of County Government and accused the manager supporters of being a "gang or pressure group" bent on controlling the county through a "county manager office boy." The manager plan had the support of the League of Women Voters as well as other civic groups in the county.

The day after the election the Fairfax County board of supervisors adopted a resolution to appoint a commission of seven to study the details and technicalities of the transition to the new form of government. It has been urged that representatives of the groups advocating the two optional charters, as well as those familiar with the present plan, be placed on this commission.

The new charter will take effect in January 1952 after election of the board of supervisors in November 1951.

The same optional charter was voted on by Loudoun County, Virginia, but failed, 2,226 to 729.

Voters of Santa Clara County, California, adopted a council-manager charter on November 7 by the overwhelming vote of 46,220 to 17,322. As previously stated in this section,[1] its home rule manager charter adopted in 1948 was subsequently held invalid by the lower courts of the state. Charter proponents promptly appealed and almost simultaneously initiated action to reelect the charter board that had drafted the 1948 document in the event that the lower court decision was sustained. The board was reelected in June and again drafted a manager charter. Shortly before the November election, however, the State Appellate Court reversed the lower court and upheld the validity of the

---

[1] See the REVIEW, April 1949, page 187; January 1950, page 42; September 1950, page 408; and November 1950, page 513.

1948 charter. The Supreme Court has been asked to affirm the decision.

The voters, however, were given a second opportunity to vote on the manager plan they had approved in 1948 and they again endorsed the manager plan, this time by a ratio of over two to one.

In Merced County, California, the proposed manager home rule charter drafted by an elected board of freeholders was defeated by a vote of three to one. The charter would have provided a board of supervisors of seven who would appoint a chief administrative officer, the latter to name all appointive officials.

Unofficial returns in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, indicate defeat of the proposed new county charter, voted on November 7, by a vote of 223,858 to 205,344. This charter provided for an elective county mayor and a county commission of nine having full legislative powers with authority to reorganize county offices. All other elective officers were abolished excepting the prosecutor. The county was given municipal powers over a number of services.

In Prince George's County, Maryland, the long dominant Democratic party was turned out of office in a surprise upset. In the campaign, the victorious Republicans had claimed that the incumbents blocked good government such as that enjoyed under the manager plan in the neighboring county of Montgomery.

King County Chooses Charter Commission

On November 7 King County, Washington, voters elected a board of freeholders to draft a new county charter. The board of fifteen members, chosen from 93 candidates, represents the slate of the Seattle Municipal League, which led the fight for county home rule. Ten of those chosen served on an unofficial advisory charter commission which has been working on a proposed charter for submission to the official board. This unofficial group has announced its proposal will include a nine-man board of county commissioners which will appoint a county administrator.

Baltimore County Charter Petition Dropped

The Baltimore County, Maryland, Charter Petition Committee, appointed by the county commissioners last spring, recently discontinued its efforts when it became apparent that the requisite 10,000 signatures would not be secured in time to place the question of a home rule charter board on the November 7 ballot. The committee decided that a preliminary educational program was necessary to acquaint the voters with the advantages of a home rule charter. Such a program will be begun in 1951 and a renewed attempt to place the question on the ballot will be made in 1952.

Petroleum County's Manager Plan Basis of Case Study

The Agricultural Experiment Station of Montana State College recently issued a report *County Manager Government in Montana, Presenting a Case Study of Petroleum County,*[1] which reviews the history of the county during the past eight years under the manager form of government. The report concludes that:

1. Consolidation of offices can effect savings in administrative costs,
2. Time and expense of county commissioners can be conserved by turning details over to the manager,
3. Capital expenditures can be reduced by placing control at a central point, as with the manager or in

---

[1] Twelve pages, mimeographed.

some instances with the board of commissioners, and

4. The problem of responsiveness of the manager to the wishes of the people depends upon the nature of persons selected to fill the office.

County Managers Meet in Maryland

The County Managers' Section of the International City Managers Association held a one-day meeting at Montgomery County Court House, Rockville, Maryland, recently at which eleven county executives were present. Civil defense was the chief topic of discussion. It was decided to encourage maximum attendance at the annual conventions of the association.

Committees Cooperate on City-County Consolidation

The Bernalillo County, New Mexico, commissioners have appointed a committee of three, consisting of two commissioners and the county manager, to cooperate with a similar committee appointed by the city council of Albuquerque to draft a plan of city-county consolidation.

Milwaukee County Welfare Department Studied

A study of the Milwaukee County welfare department by the Public Expenditure Survey of Wisconsin reveals weaknesses in general relief operations. The study, made on request of four tax groups in the county, showed lack of adequate preliminary and continued investigation, discrepancies and omissions in case histories on file and little evidence of a program for rehabilitating the indigent.

Among the 391 sample cases studied were found instances of relief recipients owning television receivers, telephones and property in another state. Money received in relief grants was permitting some persons to buy their own homes and persons on relief for years owned automobiles for which they had current licenses. Some relief recipients had not received home visits from welfare workers for more than a year.

A general tightening up of investigation procedures was recommended in the study including:

1. Continuous reapplication and reexamination of persons receiving general relief,
2. Routine and detailed checks at all possible sources to determine accuracy of applicants' statements,
3. Granting of relief only upon a person's certified physical inability to obtain private employment or upon compliance with weekly registration with the Wisconsin State Employment Service,
4. Requiring recipients of general relief to justify expenditures and reappraising welfare budgets to follow the principle that the cost per person in a large family is less than in a small family,
5. Attaching penalties to misuse of relief grants,
6. A reexamination of the county work program and the policy of supplementing private income with relief grants.

Comprehensive Study of County Government Issued

County Government Across the Nation is the most comprehensive study of American county government that has been published to date.[1] It was compiled under the editorship of Paul W. Wager, professor of political science at the University of North Carolina and former editor of the County and Township section of the REVIEW.

(Continued on page 580)

---

[1] For a review of this volume see page 581, this issue.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

City Finances Show Moderating Trend

Increases for 1949 Over 1948 Less Than Other Postwar Years

FINANCIAL transactions of the nation's 397 cities of over 25,000 population showed in 1949 generally moderating influences at work to pare down the large year-to-year increases evident in the postwar period, according to preliminary data released by the Bureau of the Census.[1] Significant exceptions were marked increases in debt and capital outlays which reflected progress in postwar improvement programs as labor and materials became more plentiful.

General revenues of the 397 cities in 1949[2] totaled $4,037,000,000, an increase of 7.5 per cent over 1948 compared with increases of roundly 13 per cent for each of the two preceding years. General expenditures, including capital outlays financed with borrowed money as well as from current income, amounted to $4,507,000,000, 11.2 per cent above 1948. The corresponding 1948 figure had been about 16 per cent above 1947, which in turn had risen roundly 18 per cent above 1946. General expenditures for operating purposes only for 1949 were $3,099,000,000, the 1949 increase over the prior year standing at 8.6 per cent compared with increases of 12.8 per cent and 17.2 per cent respectively for 1948 and 1947.

Not only were the increases in revenues and expenditures generally less percentagewise than in the preceding postwar fiscal periods, but they were also less in dollar amount. The situation was otherwise with respect to debt and capital outlays. The general purpose gross debt, which had declined from $4,599,000,000 in 1942 to a postwar low of $3,675,000,000 in 1946 and then risen 1.3 per cent in 1947 and 3.8 per cent in 1948, rose 6.7 per cent in 1949 to $4,124,000,000, roundly $260,000,000 above the 1948 figure. Capital outlays for 1949 totaled $674,000,000. The percentage increase over the prior year was 44 per cent compared with 47 per cent and 89 per cent for the two preceding periods, but the dollar increase at $207,000,000 compared with increases of roundly $150,000,000 in each of the two prior years and $77,000,000 in 1946.

Also evident in 1949 was a continuing trend toward lessened dependence on the general property tax. As compared with the 7.5 per cent increase in all general revenues, property tax revenues were up only 4.7 per cent over 1948. The increase in property tax revenues since 1942, when they represented roundly 65 per cent of all general revenues, was only 27.8 per cent compared with a rise of 55.4 per cent in all general revenues, and consequently property taxes accounted for only 53.4 per cent of 1949 general revenues.

Election Proposals Meet Varied Fate

The usual assortment of measures and propositions submitted to state and local voters on November 7 met a varied fate, the only clearly discernible trend from early returns being that 1950 was a poor year to legalize gambling. The electorate in four states turned down measures proposing legal gambling as revenue measures: Arizona, California, Massachusetts and Montana.

---

[1] *Summary of City Government Finances in 1949.* U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., October, 1950, 12 pp., tables.

[2] Fiscal years ending between February 1, 1949, and January 31, 1950. For 224 cities the fiscal year was calendar 1949, and only 18 closed their fiscal year in January 1950.

The Massachusetts proposal was to establish a state lottery and was intended to finance additions to old-age benefit payments. The proposal for higher old-age payments apparently was approved, leaving unsolved the means of financing an estimated increase from about $33,000,000 annually to $87,000,000. In Washington a proposal to raise the old-age pension payments from $60 to $65 was defeated.

Other general fiscal measures submitted included a California constitutional amendment to abolish the ad valorem taxation of personal property, decisively defeated, and the abolition of the South Carolina poll tax, approved by a large majority. There now remain six poll tax states: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

New bond authorizations sought at the state and local level had been estimated to approach the one billion dollar mark, with prospects that the approvals would be considerably below the one and a half billion approved in 1949, when state veterans' bonus issues dominated the picture, including $500,000,000 Pennsylvania soldiers' bonus bonds. The largest authorization sought this year was $140,000,000 by Louisiana for various highway and related improvements. Voters turned it down. In West Virginia voters approved by a large majority $90,000,000 soldiers' bonus bonds, while in Oregon $75,000,000 soldiers' bonus bonds apparently carried by a small margin. Washington voters approved $80,000,000 bonds, half for state educational institution buildings and half for aid in local school construction. Michigan voters approved issuance of $65,000,000 bonds for state mental hospitals, and Montana voters approved $22,000,000 soldiers' bonus bonds and a two-cents per pack cigarette tax to repay it.

At the local level, largest approval was by Baltimore voters, who favored $36,000,000 bonds for various local purposes, including $22,500,000 for water improvements. Cincinnati voters authorized $32,000,000 new bonds, including $16,000,000 for streets. Austin, Texas, voters passed issues totaling $19,893,000, including $10,000,000 for schools, and Long Beach, California, authorized $19,798,000 school district bonds. Another large school approval was given by the voters of Akron, Ohio, who authorized $13,465,000 school bonds, and San Diego, California, voters authorized $11,806,000 school district bonds and $875,000 building bonds. Louisville, Kentucky, approved $13,350,000 bonds for various purposes, and Philadelphia voters approved issues totaling $14,850,000, defeating $1,000,000. The Philadelphia approvals included $7,250,000 for subways, the defeated issue was for trackless trolleys.

Among the larger local issues submitted and not approved, according to early returns, were $32,350,000 Seattle bonds, including $25,850,000 electric revenue bonds to finance purchase of the properties of the privately owned electric system which competes with the city light department. The city had in 1943 announced its intention to take over all the electric business in the city by 1952, when the company's franchise expires, and negotiations for purchase of the company properties had already been satisfactorily completed, with approval of the bonds regarded as routine. An anti-bond issue trend apparently accounted for its defeat.

Higher Debt, Lower Interest Cost

A frequent observation in recent years, as many local government units raised their bonded debt to successive peaks by postwar borrowing, has been that prevailing low interest rates permit the servicing of a higher debt without a proportionate increase in interest expense. A concrete illustration is the Los Angeles city school system, which is actually paying less interest now than it did in the mid-1930s when bonded debt was nearly two-fifths lower.

The Los Angeles city school system is administered by three separate school districts having a common board of education. Their combined bonded debt for elementary, high and junior college purposes was increased by borrowing in the 1920s and early 1930s to a pre-World War II peak of $74,202,000 at June 30, 1936. The interest cost on this debt amounted to $3,408,000 in fiscal 1936-37 and decreasing annual amounts thereafter.

The three districts did no borrowing from 1936 until 1946, when they started issuance in installments of $75,000,000 bonds voted for postwar improvements. By this time the bonded debt of the system had been reduced to $48,836,000 but the new borrowing pushed the funded debt to successive new peaks and, with completion of the postwar financing in fiscal 1949-50, the combined bonded debt of the districts stood at $101,511,000 at June 30, 1950. The interest cost on this peak debt is $3,047,000 for fiscal 1950-51 and lesser amounts each year hereafter.

Thus, while bonded debt in 1950 stands 37 per cent higher than in 1936, the peak interest cost to service the debt is 11 per cent lower than the highest annual interest expense needed to service the 1936 debt.

The lower interest expense involved in servicing the higher postwar debt of the system mainly reflects the lower interest rates now prevailing but it is due in part also to recent use of bonds maturing within 30 years compared with a use in the 1920s of 40-year bonds. All bonds have been serials, so that the potential savings in shorter terms to maturity and lower interest rates have been fully realized. Thus, where the cumulative interest cost to final maturity on the 1936 debt was roundly $45,390,000, the total interest to final maturity on the 1950 debt will be $27,862,000, or 39 per cent less.

The shorter term to final maturity on the present debt necessitates, of course, faster retirement of principal and proportionately larger annual principal maturities than obtained following 1936. Where in fiscal 1936-37 principal maturities were $2,945,000, and the total charge for interest and principal came to $6,353,000, principal maturities for 1950-51 total $5,146,000 and combined interest and principal amount to $8,193,000.

Some of the postwar improvement bonds had their initial maturities deferred several years, so that the highest annual maturity occurs in fiscal 1952-53, when principal maturities are $5,883,000 and interest and principal will total $8,533,000. Thereafter the annual total will decline and in ten years reach the 1936-37 level.

Thus, the Los Angeles schools have prudently accepted immediately higher total annual budget charges for their school debt in order to minimize the interest cost of their large postwar improvement program.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

New Boston Committee Off to Good Start

Initiated by Young People, Civic Leaders Cooperating

A NEW NBC has appeared on the horizon—the New Boston Committee. Inspired by the accomplishments of "Students with John B. Hynes for Better Government," who worked for Mayor Hynes's election in November 1949, a group of young people, led by Jerome Rappaport, met early in January of this year to consider formation of a permanent organization to promote active citizenship and good government in the home town.

After consultation with local civic leaders and numerous meetings at which various problems were discussed, the young people called a rally for May 7 which was addressed by a half dozen of the young leaders and by Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary of the National Municipal League. The 800 who attended that meeting agreed that the city needed a dynamic and representative citizens' committee to foster a "new spirit" and to realize upon the opportunity for better government offered by the Plan A charter change.[1]

Objectives of the New Boston Committee, born that night, were defined: To promote honest and efficient government, to spread understanding of the city's problems, to induce citizens to take an active interest in the solution of its problems, to encourage qualified citizens to seek election to public office in the city and to aid in their election, and generally to further the city's best interests.

Realizing that they alone could not achieve these ambitious goals, the young people issued invitations to some 250 distinguished citizens from various fields of endeavor and representing every one of Boston's wards, inviting them to take their place with NBC. With less than a week's notice 110 persons met to discuss the organization, 40 others announcing their approval though not able to be present. These "elder statesmen" approved heartily of the NBC idea and discussed their place as a civic council in the structure of the organization. Almost unanimously they supported the views of such leaders as Henry L. Shattuck, former member of the city council and of the Massachusetts legislature, and John Horan, president of the Boston CIO Council. Mr. Shattuck commented that "previous civic organizations failed because they did not represent all the people. This committee must be effective in its representation of the people and to be effective it must endorse and support candidates for the city council." Said Mr. Horan: "We need an effective organization—and an effective organization is one that can elect men who meet its ideals."

The recently adopted constitution of the committee provides for a governing board of directors of seventeen members including the executive director, four councillors at large, four ward councillors and two organization councillors. This board is chosen by the Civic Council of 250 members made up as follows: 110 are chosen by the council itself for staggered six-year terms, another 110 are selected, five from each of the city's 22 wards, for two-year terms by organization members in those wards, and 30 councillors are appointed by organizations active in Boston civic affairs. First annual meeting of the 250-member civic council was scheduled for November 28, at which time permanent officers were elected. Meanwhile, the New Boston Committee has been operating with temporary officers led by Dan Ahern, Jr., chairman, and Mr. Rappaport, executive secretary.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, December 1949, page 558.

Dues are two dollars per year. This amount was selected as sufficient to show good faith, to provide for a large portion of the expenses, and yet not so high as to discourage memberships. Plans are under way to secure additional funds.

Projects for the new organization include: an NBC Day which will set the wheels in motion for a campaign in support of candidates for the next Boston election; (2) organization of campus groups to work for good government. Both these activities are the creations of the NBC planning board of the young voters group.

During the summer months a series of lectures, "Inside Boston," was attended by an aggregate of some 600 persons, who heard talks on business, education, the city government, news-coverage and political organization in Boston. Eight research committees operated during the summer, whose reports are now coming in. One of the first reports dealt with taxation, devoting particular attention to Boston's assessing department, declared to be inefficient, overstaffed, operated on antiquated restrictions with its clerical processes wasteful.

"The Jubilee is not the only new thing on the Boston horizon," says the Boston *Herald.* "A group of young people, astonishing both for its number and variety of political outlooks, has banded together for the announced purpose of rallying some real civic spirit in the city. And it looks as if the Hub politics might be in for a little 'clean-up paint-up' treatment too. . . . Workers in the cause include six young Boston legislators of various political persuasions, leaders of the C. I. O. and A. F. L., a smattering of Plan E workers, some League of Women Voters people, the head of the Municipal Research Bureau and spokesmen of the Young Democrats and Republican 21 clubs, to name only a few."

What the Schools Are Doing in Civic Education

"Are we teaching citizenship effectively?" asks the *Seattle Municipal News.* On the evidence, says the *News,* answering its own question, "Schools are doing a whale of a better job in exposing their pupils to United States history, civics, citizenship and the values of democracy in a more vital manner than ever before."

Evidence to sustain this statement, from Seattle and elsewhere, is being gathered by the Public Schools Committee of the Seattle Municipal League, which is now engaged in an appraisal of the teaching of citizenship in the local school system. Its *News* is publishing a series of articles on the subject.

By the People—Activities for a Program in Civic Education (trial edition) is a section of *A Teachers' Civic Education Handbook* to be published by the Civic Education Project conducted by the Educational Research Corporation in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Its purpose is "to list and describe things for pupils to do which will help them now and later to behave as good citizens behave." Two other 1950 publications of the project, prepared for classroom use, are *Work Without Strike,* "How Strikes damage us all, how they have become less violent, and how they may sometimes be avoided," and *The Isms and You,* "How the isms threaten our democracy—and what can be done about it."

The Citizenship Education Project being conducted at Columbia University under a grant of funds from the Carnegie Corporation has begun publication of its *CEP News.* The first issue describes its August conference[1] and recites "The Story of CEP to Date."

Roy E. Larsen, president of *Time, Inc.,* is author of an article, "How to Have Better Schools," describing the work of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, in *This Week Magazine.* Mr. Larsen is chairman of the commission.

In Toledo, where the city is doing an excellent piece of work in educating its young people in civic affairs, a Youth Government for a Day was staged as part of the celebration attending the opening of the city's new Union Station. Students of the ten high schools and academies supplied the officeholders from their student councils, school delegates selecting councilmen, city manager, departmental and division heads, judges and other local officials. "The success of the program," reports the *Toledo City Journal,* "resulted in the suggestion by Mayor DiSalle that the establishment of a youth government should be carried on each year probably in connection with the high school seminar for the study of local government now being undertaken for the third year."

An increasing number of public schools are emphasizing city planning activity in their curricula. A survey by the Chicago Planning Advisory Board, of city planning courses and other planning activity in the schools of cities over 100,000, shows that 31 cities include some city planning courses in their studies. Others report that attention is being given the subject or will be in the near future.

From the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools (2 West 45th Street, New York 19) comes *What Do We Know About Our Schools?* (34 pages). Discussed are citizens' committees and how to organize them, the relationship between the community and the schools, school programs, school district, administration, personnel, etc.

Other publications of the commission include "How to Organize Local Citizens Committees," reprinted from *The Nation's Schools,* July 1950; *The Citizens Fight for Better Schools in Arlington, Virginia,* by B. Alden Lillywhite, etc.; *Case History of the Council for Delaware Education, Inc.*

Publications during the past two years of the U. S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, include: *Making Democracy Work and Grow—Practical Suggestions for Students, Teachers, Administrators and Other Community Leaders* (23 pages, 15 cents); *How Democratic Is Your School, Checklist on Democratic Practices for Secondary Schools* (eight pages); *Growing Into Democracy* (64 pages, 30 cents); and *What Is Democracy? America's Schools Are Writing the Definition,* a series of articles from the *Christian Science Monitor* (40 pages).

Teaching High School History and Social Studies for Citizenship Training (191 pages), by Charles C. Peters, describes "The Miami Experiment in Democratic, Action-Centered Education." It was published by the University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, in 1948.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, September 1950, page 418.

And Now 'Gold Feather' Week

The use of the gold feather as a symbol of American citizenship is spreading. Originally developed in Richmond, Virginia,[1] where it is given out at the polls to those citizens who cast their ballots, the symbol is now taking hold in the far west. Exchange Clubs in California were spurred on by a successful demonstration of cooperation in getting out the vote between the club and the city council in San Jose.

"In San Jose," reports *Western City,* "the get-out-the-vote campaign and Gold Feather Week immediately preceded the municipal primary election. It opened with the city council conferring the title of 'distinguished citizen' on ten San Jose residents. A selection committee of five, appointed by the city council, designated the awardees, and rewarded outstanding citizens in an impressive ceremony.

"Other events of the week were boys' city day, council candidates' day and I Am an American Day, featuring a recognition ceremony for naturalized citizens—all with appropriate and extensive newspaper and radio publicity. The week was climaxed by 'Religion in Democracy' on Sunday with the theme actively promoted by the community's churches. The principal purpose was to get out a heavy vote in three local elections, the municipal primary, the municipal final and the statewide primary, all within six weeks of each other.

"Through employers, the schools, the movie theaters, stores, the churches, service clubs and by street corner distribution, 75,000 miniature gold colored feathers were distributed; more than a thousand posters were displayed."

Potpourri

The Poughkeepsie Area Development Association celebrated its second birthday in September. "Originally set up for a two-year period," says its bulletin, *Plans and Action,* "the association's activities were extended, by action of the board in late 1949, for an additional three-month period through the end of 1950. It is now expected that the operations of the association will be extended into 1951."

The Civic Federation of Chicago heard N. Bradford Trenham, general manager of the California Taxpayers' Association, at its annual membership meeting on October 16. Mr. Trenham's subject was "State and Local Governments: The Bulwarks of Our Republic."

"A Tale of Two Cities," an article in the second issue of the *Kansas City Citizen,* published by the Citizens' Association of Kansas City, Missouri, compares St. Louis, "a metropolis of deficits and decay," with Kansas City, which "ten years ago threw machine political government overboard."

The Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, heard William J. Deegan, Jr., city manager of Quincy, at its first fall meeting on October 30. Mr. Deegan, a former city manager of Superior, Wisconsin, has spent 25 years in public service. The association's board of directors has appointed a committee of six to evaluate the progress of the city government under its Plan E charter, in operation nearly a year. Its education committee is investigating the possibility of initiating a series of radio programs to stimulate thinking on important city issues.

"What Ails Politics" is the title of

(Continued on page 584)

---

[1] See "Drama Gets Out the Vote," by Charles Henry Hamilton. The REVIEW, March 1949, page 116.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Wisconsin Educates Local Officials

County, Municipal Employees Attend University Institutes

SINCE early 1949 some 250 Wisconsin local government officials and employees have participated in a series of schools on administrative procedures, conducted by the Bureau of Government of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin.

In 1948 the County Boards Association requested the bureau to provide institutes for county board members. The associations of county treasurers, county clerks, registers of deeds and county traffic officers subsequently requested that institutes be conducted for their officers.

This led to an emphasis on county government, although the bureau also provides services to cities and village governments if such services are not otherwise available.

A 90- to 150-page manual is prepared before each institute, which lays out in precise terms not only what is to be covered but also much of the basic information. Originally bound, more recent manuals have been loose leaf to permit inclusion of supplementary materials.

The pattern of the institutes has undergone substantial change. The early institutes consisted of a series of speeches and panels, drawing heavily on the officials themselves. More recently outside experts have been drawn on more heavily and the problem type approach has been developed to a greater degree.

Objectives of the institutes are dissemination of accurate information on the interpretation of the law, stimulation of improved administrative procedures and development of uniform interpretations and procedures. It is generally felt that within the framework of local self-government which is so strongly established in this state there is ample opportunity for a degree of uniformity in the application of the law. Matters of legislative policy are carefully avoided although weaknesses in the substantive and procedural aspects of the law are noted.

The bureau has also provided institutes for municipal librarians, city attorneys and for top level administrators for Madison. In the latter courses twenty department and division heads enrolled in a ten-session course which met for two hours once a week. Each assignment included a summary of the text material, discussion questions, a series of case studies and some supplementary readings. A manual of more than 300 pages incorporated this material, *Municipal Administrative Practice,* "A Course in Administrative Management" ($3).

As a result of the reasonably broad cross-section of opportunities which has been explored during the past two years many possible areas of operation have been suggested. The value of an opportunity for local officials to discuss their problems at these institutes is becoming increasingly apparent. The bureau's activities in general and the institute technique in particular may in a very real way help close the gap between the need for uniform administration of the law and the desire for local self-government. It affords a method whereby the resources of the university can be made available to a broader segment of the state's people.

M. G. Toepel, *Chief*
Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Accounting

Principles of Municipal Accounting. Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* October 1950. 6 pp.

Annexation

Should Cities Extend City Limits? By Victor C. Hobday. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City,* October 1950. 6 pp.

Budgets

The City Manager's Budget for 1951. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* October 1950. 6 pp. Tables.

Long-Range Capital Improvement Program. Providence, Rhode Island, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* September 1950. 3 pp.

Statement of Daniel L. Kurshan, Executive Director of the Citizens Budget Commission on the Proposed 1951 Capital Budget. New York City, Citizens Budget Commission, October 16, 1950. 7 pp.

Constitutions

The Need for Constitutional Revision in West Virginia. By Albert L. Sturm. Morgantown, West Virginia University, Bureau of Government Research, 1950. 69 pp.

Oklahoma Constitutional Studies. Oklahoma City 5, State Legislative Council, Oklahoma Constitutional Survey and Citizen Advisory Committees, 1950. xxxiv, 609 pp. Tables, charts.

Crime Prevention

The Crime Prevention Division of the St. Louis Police Department. St. Louis 1, Governmental Research Institute, 1950. 38 pp. Tables.

Debt

Keep State and Local Debt Within Bounds. Helena, Montana Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Bulletin,* October 1950. 2 pp.

Education

Des Moines School Building Costs. Des Moines, Taxpayers Association, *Civic Flashes,* October 1950. 2 pp.

Local Public School Organization in Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* October 15, 1950. 3 pp.

The New School Law. 1. Financial Independence for the Schenectady School System. 2. The Appointed and the Elected Board of Education. Schenectady 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* September 26 and October 4, 1950. 4 and 5 pp. respectively.

Partisan Politics on the Campus. Policies regarding the appearance of political figures on the campuses of publicly supported institutions of higher learning in the United States. By Robert F. Ray and Richard H. Plock. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs, 1950. 71 pp.

Elections and Voting

"Tis the Ballot Box." An American Institution, It Suffers from Disinterest. New York 20, Tax Foundation, *Tax Outlook,* October 1950. 3 pp.

Employment

Full Employment Through Business Enterprise. Five Years of Research in One Community. Kalamazoo, Michigan, W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research, 1950. 24 pp.

Industry

Resources for Industry in Kalamazoo. By Samuel V. Bennett and Jack

E. Jordan. Kalamazoo, Michigan, W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research, 1950. 32 pp. Tables.

Intergovernmental Relations

How 1950 Legislation Affects Boston. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, October 24, 1950. 4 pp.

Inter - Relationship Between the County and the Various Municipalities. Los Angeles, County of Los Angeles, Division of Administrative Research, 1949. 25 pp.

Municipal Government

The Problem of Municipal Government in Wellston. St. Louis 1, Governmental Research Institute, 1950. 10 pp.

Police

We Suggest a Three-Year Police Motorization Increase—Not a Three-Year Manpower Increase. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* October 25, 1950. 3 pp.

Pre-Primary Convention

New Mexico's Proposed Pre-Primary Designating Convention. By Charles B. Judah and Oliver E. Payne. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, Division of Research, 1950. iii, 29 pp.

Public Works

$400,000,000 State Building Program. Status of Postwar Plan Outlined. By A. Alan Post. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* October 1950. 6 pp. Tables.

Rabies Control

Rabies Control. By Victor C. Hobday. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, October 1950. 11 pp.

Refuse Collection

The Fee System for Refuse Collection. Waterbury 2, Connecticut, Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* October 19, 1950. 3 pp.

Salaries

City Employees Ask Pay Increases, Other Changes. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 23, 1950. 3 pp.

Police-Fire Salary Measure. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* October 10, 1950. 1 p.

Snow and Ice Control

Snow and Ice Control. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* November 1950. 3 pp.

Surveys

Light Instead of Heat. The League Makes Its Study of Pittsburgh's Department of Lands and Buildings. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* September 1950. 9 pp.

Taxation and Finance

County Tax Rates 1943 to 1951. Payments by California Cities 1947-48 and 1948-49. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* October 1950. 5 and 9 pp. respectively.

Reducing the Cost of County Government. Reno, Nevada Taxpayers Association, *Nevada Tax Review,* October 1950. 5 pp.

Revenues and Expenditures of Utah County Governments 1949. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, 1950. 6 pp. Tables.

State Net Income Taxes. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* November 1950. 5 pp.

The Taxpayer Gets a Break. Minneapolis, Taxpayers Association, *Taxpayer,* November 1950. 2 pp.

Tax Limitations

Skyrocketing Property Taxes Threatened Unless 1951 General Assembly Acts. Supreme Court Ruling in TFI Case Clarifies Tax Limit Problem. Springfield, Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, *The Watchdog,* October 16, 1950. 3 pp.

Training for Public Service

Assessors School Draws 80 to University of Connecticut. School for Firefighters Gives Advanced Methods. Storrs, University of Connecticut, *Connecticut Government,* September 1950. 1 and 2 pp. respectively.

The University and the Public Service. By Albert Lepawsky. (Reprinted from *Journal of Legal Education,* Spring 1950.) University, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1950. 19 pp.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 569)

Thirty-four contributors, in addition to Dr. Wager, wrote chapters on county government in the one or more states assigned to them. Dr. Wager wrote ten of the chapters under a grant from the Carnegie Fund for Research at the University of North Carolina, and nine chapters were prepared as part of a doctoral dissertation submitted by Emmett Asseff at the University of North Carolina.

The significance of counties as important governmental units is emphasized by Dr. Wager in the concluding sentence of his preface in which he states, "County government is close to the people; it serves them in an increasing number of ways; it needs their understanding, their support, their constructive thinking if it is to remain or become a demonstration and a bulwark of American democracy."

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 566)

of excessively long journeys to work. While methods of guidance will vary according to national characteristics, physical conditions and circumstances, the need of forethought and some measure of control of use-zoning, occupation density and the location of industry is common to all countries, if not identical, and in the view of this Congress should be a major concern of governmental policy and of public opinion."

Nearly 50 Per Cent of Hoover Report Realized

Estimates of the Citizens Committee for Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government indicate that nearly 50 per cent of the recommendations of the Hoover report on executive reorganization have been enacted into law.

Three more Hoover Commission bills were passed and signed in the closing days of the last session of Congress. They are:

Public Law 841, modernizing the organization and management of Panama Canal activities;

P. L. 874, the Budgeting and Accounting Procedures Act, which approves the performance type of budget setup, recommended by the Hoover Commission and recently placed in effect by the Bureau of the Budget, and prescribes a modern uniform system of federal accounting; and

P. L. 873, providing for "performance ratings" in place of the type of "efficiency ratings" heretofore given to civil service personnel. Under the new system the work requirements of federal positions are to be definitely set forth for the information of officers and employees concerned, and performance of the functions is to be appraised in relation to such requirements with a view to improving effectiveness of employee work and strengthening supervisor-employee relationships.

The Second National Reorganization Conference will be held in Washington, at the Shoreham Hotel, December 11 and 12, with discussion of accomplishments and further goals.

Books in Review

County Government Across the Nation. Edited by Paul W. Wager. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1950. xiii, 817 pp. $7.50.

Here is a big new source book. Dr. Wager has been diligently accumulating information on our least known unit of government for over 25 years and for a long time has been the country's principal authority on counties and rural government generally. In these pages, with the aid of numerous correspondents, he has accomplished the feat of collecting from every state parallel descriptions of law and practice including the structure of each state's court and school system, the place therein of the counties, the structure of at least one typical county and of at least one town or township where such subdivisions exist.

The volume becomes the logical starting point for every excursion into this field hereafter, providing us for the first time with any such line-up of facts from all the states. Indeed it is the first book on county government since 1933. Thousands of footnotes in other books hereafter will acknowledge the debt of authors to Dr. Wager.

The pictures of county government support all the ridicule of past commentators as to its undue complexity, its ramshackle structure, its unprogressiveness and the wonder as to how such a loose-jointed contraption could ever work at all. But the author draws no moral and ventures no conclusions; it is a bit disappointing that he does not bring in the Model County Manager Charter, the National Municipal League's program in the county field and the story of the progress that has been made in developing the principles of county managership in fifteen counties.

Each of the 48 accounts has usefulness within one state and as the interest of many will be limited to the data on their respective home states, the necessity of paying $7.50 to get the twenty to fifty pages devoted thereto becomes a barrier to the circulation of the material to ordinary citizens. Civic organizations, schools, legislators and the state Leagues of Women Voters could use the state chapters as local manuals of basic information if each state section could be made available in separate pamphlets printed on order from the plates. The high school civics textbooks which must necessarily generalize when they reach the field of local government, could thus be supplemented by complete and specific data on the county and rural setups of the home state.

R. S. C.

Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System. A report of the Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association. (Issued as a supplement to the *American Political Science Review,* September 1950.) New York 16, Rinehart and Company, 1950. 99 pp. $1.

This committee of sixteen university professors was headed by E. E. Schattschneider of Wesleyan University and began work in 1947. With classic coolness and good order, it reviews the role of the political parties and the need for strengthening them as real parties with better integration and responsibility as an offset to the dangerous modern growth of self-serving pressure groups. The latter are credited with replacing the older geographical sectionalism with a new sectionalism based on economic conflicts.

Specifically, the report suggests: Make the national party conventions smaller and have them meet at least biennially; give the convention control of a national committee which correctly reflects actual party strength in the areas its members represent; create a party council of 50 members to develop recommendations on platform and policy every two years; create an authorized party leadership in Congress with enough influence in making committee assignments to override seniority and power to impart priority to causes; closed primaries, four-year terms for representatives, fair apportionment within states; removal of other ballot clutter by state action shortening ballots; more completely financed research into the elective process.

The report keeps to the national level. It neglects the fact that most of our 165,000 units of government are local, about nine times more numerous than is necessary and most of them individually unnecessarily complex. Parties deal with nearly a million elective offices of which less than 600 are in the national government; accordingly, like icebergs, they are mostly below the surface of the national scene responding to unseen and unpredictable currents and erosions. The preoccupation of the party managers with local affairs makes national questions almost a side issue in their day's work. The congressman, too, is heavily moored to local politics and will risk his bread and butter if he lets himself be moved by party leadership at Washington to objectives unfamiliar to his home district political club houses.

The effect of nonpartisan municipal elections, now in use in 60 per cent of our 2,000 cities of over 5,000 population, must be to congressmen a desirable disentanglement from alien contentions, and state contests which proceed in disregard of national party lines are also in sight. Until there is some such severance of national from state and local issues or until local party management, by sweeping simplification, is gotten out of the hands of self-serving mechanicians, the party managers will continue to be the kind who will have little time or interest in such intellectual abstractions as national party policy.

Nevertheless the plea of this committee for organized authorized leadership of parties in their national operations is sound and well defended. It reveals how much more could be done by the great collection of diligent and competent faculties which make up the association if they could be implemented with money enough to pay for travel expenses of committee members to meetings, secretarial help, field workers and free dissemination of findings to key people in the fields discussed.

R. S. C.

The Patronage System in Oklahoma. By H. O. Walby. Norman, Oklahoma, The Transcript Company, 1950. 100 pp. $1.

A richly factual picture of the current and recent conditions of Oklahoma's state government, still running an unabashed spoils system with jobs as the medium of exchange in the legislature. Oklahoma, despite long campaigning by the League of Women Voters, has no civil service merit system whatever. The turnover from one administration to another is immense and payrolls are padded. A dismal picture of a backward state, reminiscent of conditions that were banished in New York State, for instance, 75 years ago.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Defense

Survival under Atomic Attack. By National Security Resources Board, Civil Defense Office. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1950. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Elections and Voting

Absentee Voting in Wisconsin. A Discussion of the Duties of Municipal Clerks and Election Officials. Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1950. 9 pp.

Health

A Survey of Accident and Health Coverage in the United States as of December 31, 1949. By the Survey Committee of the Health Insurance Council. New York 22, Health Insurance Council, 1950. 14 pp.

What's the Score? Evaluation of Local Public Health Services. By Ray Torr in consultation with Roscoe P. Kandle. New York 19, American Public Health Association, 1950. 52 pp.

Municipal Government

Your City of Dayton, Ohio, in Review. A Three-Year Progress Report. 1947 Challenge, 1948 Decision, 1949 Action. Dayton, Office of the Mayor, 1950. 48 pp. Illus.

Planning

The Planning Function in Urban Government (second edition). By Robert A. Walker. Chicago 37, University of Chicago Press, 1950. xxi, 410 pp. $4.75.

Police

Police Administration. By O. W. Wilson. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950. x, 540 pp. $6.

State Government

Government, Politics and Administration in Missouri. By Carl A. McCandless. St. Louis, Educational Publishers, 1949. 314 pp. $3.

Subversion

Municipal Registration and Control of Communists. Washington 6, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1950. 9 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Collections of the State of Oklahoma 1941-42 to 1948-49. Fund Accounts of the State of Oklahoma 1941-42 to 1948-49. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1950. 33 and 21 pp. respectively.

The Financial Responsibility of Municipal Clerks and Finance Officers. A Discussion of Possible Personal Liability in the Performance of Official Duties. Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1950. 20 pp.

Legal Problems Involving Act 481 (second edition). By Elizabeth Smedley. Harrisburg, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Internal Affairs, 1950. 48 pp.

Sales Tax Collections for the Fiscal Years 1937-38 Through 1948-49 by Business Classification Showing the Increase or Decrease by Years and a Comparison of the Per Cent of the Total Collections Represented by Each Concern. **State Income Tax.** Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1950. 21 and 32 pp. respectively.

Some Aspects of Recent Corporation Income Tax Legislation in Canada. By J. R. Petrie. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* September-October 1950.

Taxing Municipal Bond Income. By Lyle C. Fitch. Berkeley 4, University of California Press, 1950. xi, 161 pp. $2.50.

Text Books

Readings in American National and State Government. By David Fellman, Lane W. Lancaster and A. C. Breckenridge. New York 16, Rinehart & Company, 1950. viii, 347 pp. $2.40.

Traffic

Get Out of the Traffic Muddle. A Program for Community Action. Washington, D. C., National Highway Users Conference, 1950. 8 pp.

Problems in Drafting Traffic Laws. By J. Allen Davis. Washington, D. C., American Automobile Association, Traffic Engineering and Safety Department, 1950. 16 pp.

A Volume Warrant for Urban Stop Signs. By Morton S. Raff. Saugatuck, Connecticut, Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, 1950. 121 pp.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion for December 1950. Theme: **Holiday Hazards.** Chicago, National Safety Council, 1950. Variously paged.

Urban Decentralization

Office Decentralization. A Challenge the Central City Must Meet. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* October 1950. 2 pp.

Urban Redevelopment

Blighted Vacant Land. An Opportunity for the City and the Private Builder. By Carl L. Gardner. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* September 1950. 3 pp.

Utility Bill Collections

Municipal Substations for Utility Bill Collections. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1950. 8 pp. 35 cents.

Water

Clean Water Is Everybody's Business. By Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service, in cooperation with the State Water Pollution Control Agencies. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1950. 26 pp. Single copies free; 20 cents each in quantity.

Conservation and Development of the Water Resources of Connecticut and New England. By Richard Martin. (Submitted to the President's Water Resources Policy Commission.) Hartford, Connecticut State Water Commission, 1950. 29 pp.

CITIZEN ACTION

(Continued from page 576)

an attractive illustrated folder of the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance. Too few good citizens are offering themselves as candidates for public office, concludes the alliance. "If good men won't run for public office, then good men will never be elected."

Strictly Personal

The Board of Governors of the City Club of Chicago has elected Dr. John A. Lapp, widely known in educational, social service and labor relations circles, as president. Dr. Lapp, one of Chicago's outstanding civic leaders, has been active in the work of the club for many years. For the past year he has been chairman of its Local Government Committee.

John C. Phillips, former deputy attorney general of Pennsylvania, has been elected president of the Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning. He succeeds Henry C. Beerits.

Benjamin Torf, a former teacher and ardent worker for Plan E in Revere, Massachusetts, has been appointed executive secretary of the Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester. He succeeds James Gratton, who has resigned to study law at Harvard University.

The Connecticut Merit System Association has appointed Henry Hallas as its executive secretary, succeeding Mrs. Aileen Roberts Lotz. Mr. Hallas, former newspaper man, will also act as editor of the association's publication, *The Merit Man.*

Ammunition

The publications listed below are indispensable tools for citizen groups seeking better government:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 45 pages (1949)	$ .20
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950)	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1949)	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1950)	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1948)	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1948)	.05
P. R., 12 pages (1948)	.05

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946)	.75
Model Bond Law, 20 pages (1929)	.50
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948)	.75
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941)	1.50
Model County Manager Charter (Preliminary Draft) 37 pages	1.00
Model Direct Primary Election System (Preliminary Draft) 58 pages	1.00
Model Election Administration System, 42 pages (1930)	.75
Model Liquor Control Law, 34 pages (1934)	.75
Model Registration System, by Joseph P. Harris, 73 pages (1939)	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 23 pages (1946)	.50
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948)	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946)	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1950)	.15
Citizen Organization for Political Activity: The Cincinnati Plan. 32 pages (1949)	.50
City Growing Pains, 116 pages (1941)	.50
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 90 pages (1950)	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 34 pages (1947)	.50
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1949)	.50
Modernizing State Constitutions, 21 pages (1948)	.25
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1939)	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940)	.25

Discounts on Quantity Orders — Write for Complete List and Description.

National Municipal League

299 Broadway **New York 7, N. Y.**

1950 Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws

1. Review of state constitutions which permit county manager structures
2. Digest of proposed Model County Charter (now in draft form)
3. Digests of 12 constitutional provisions, 7 optional laws and 15 charters permitting effective county manager positions in 15 states.
4. Digest of 6 other county charters providing appointive executives in four states.

Loose-leaf, mimeographed **$2 postpaid**

National Municipal League

299 Broadway **New York 7, N. Y.**

Preliminary Drafts Available

Model County Manager Charter

For charter revision commissions and citizens interested in reorganizing their counties on a businesslike, efficient basis.
37 pp. mimeo. $1

Model Direct Primary Election System

Discusses forms of nomination for public office and makes recommendations for a Model Primary Election System.
58 pp. mimeo. $1

Model Medico-legal Investigative System

Replaces elective county coroners with state medico-legal investigator selected by civil service examination.
Mimeo. $1

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

299 BROADWAY **NEW YORK 7, N. Y.**